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Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed (Sudan).

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: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (concluded) (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VII; A/6439; A/C.4/L.833 and Add.1)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.4/L.833 AND ADD.1 (concluded)

1. Mr. MENA SOLORZANO (Nicaragua) explained that for reasons beyond his control he had been absent during the voting on draft resolution A/C.4/L.833 and Add.1 at the previous meeting. He asked for it to be recorded that the Nicaraguan delegation would have voted in favour of the resolution.
2. The CHAIRMAN said that that would be included in the record.

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of South West Africa: 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

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (A/C.4/666 AND ADD.1 AND 2)

3. The CHAIRMAN recalled that at its 1597th meeting the Committee had agreed to grant three requests for hearings (A/C.4/666 and Add.1 and 2). He accordingly invited the first petitioner to take a place at the Committee table.

At the invitation of the Chairman, the Reverend Michael Scott took a place at the Committee table.

4. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that some petitioners had been unable to come to the United Nations; others had made claims of doubtful authenticity about those whom they represented and one had even gone so far as to call himself a representative of Chief Hosea Kutako, without the latter's knowledge. He felt it would be advisable for the Committee to appoint some kind of credentials committee, as it had done in the past, to determine the importance and representative character of the petitioners, who might be able at a private meeting to give details which were not suitable for discussion at a public meeting of the Committee.

5. The happenings of the last twenty years, culminating in the recent declaration of technical incompetence by the International Court of Justice, had made the need for the establishment of a United Nations presence in South West Africa a matter of the greatest importance and urgency, in order to prepare the people of that Territory for the changes now being decided upon. It was also urgently necessary to appeal to Member States to offer their services and resources to the United Nations so that, by whatever means were necessary, it could protect the people of South West Africa from the afflictions they were suffering under a Mandate which was being exercised on the authority of none other than the United Nations and which constituted the only justification for the presence of South Africa in that Territory. The United Nations could very well take away a Mandate previously conferred by the international community, if it had been neglected or betrayed by the Mandatory Power. That was what the people of South West Africa had never ceased to ask.

6. The statement which the representative of South Africa had made at the 1417th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 26 September 1966 had shown clearly his complete contempt for the advisory opinion

given by the International Court of Justice in 1950.^{1/} In such circumstances it would be vain to think that South Africa would respect any opinion whatever of the Court. In fact, its contempt for such opinions was exceeded only by its contempt for the decisions of United Nations organs and for the statements of petitioners. It was therefore the duty of the United Nations to assume control of South West Africa without delay, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory, before the situation degenerated into an open racial conflict with unforeseeable consequences for all mankind. The United Kingdom had expressed its unwillingness to take part in any programme of effective sanctions against South Africa and, if it agreed to any further recourse to the International Court of Justice, that would be only in order to delay any positive measures.

7. United Kingdom and United States interests in the gold, diamond and metal mining corporations in South Africa were growing ever greater. Those corporations exercised a powerful influence on the policies of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States. As for the Government of South Africa, its policy of apartheid was in reality a system of organized labour on the basis of cheap migrant labour. The mining corporations allowed the families of their African workers to cultivate land taken from the indigenous population, in lieu of wages which would otherwise have to be paid to enable the miners to support their families in the cities. Thanks to those corporations, South Africa possessed the most highly organized industrial economy in all Africa and a basis for its growing military strength. They included the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, the British South Africa Company, the Union minière du Haut-Katanga, Tanganyika Concessions, De Beers Consolidated Mines, the Rhodesian Selection Trust, the Rhokana Corporation, Mufulira Copper Mines, American Metal Climax, Inc., etc. Those corporations were closely connected, thanks to their interlocking directorates: eighty-eight men occupied 150 directorships, while six men occupied twenty-two of those seats.

8. He had compiled a list of some 300 companies in the United Kingdom which had about a thousand subsidiaries in southern Africa; the list was available to anyone who might wish to see it. The American Committee on Africa had made a comprehensive study of United States interests in southern Africa in the articles entitled "A Special Report on American Involvement in the South African Economy"^{2/} and "Partners in Apartheid—United States Policy on South Africa".^{3/} There were also the reports and papers prepared by various United Nations organs on that aspect of the question.

9. With such industrial power and with the help of certain foreign Powers, among them the United Kingdom, South Africa was building up military power superior to that of any other State or group of States in Africa. Further, it had the ambition and technological potential to produce nuclear weapons. Accord-

ing to an article in the Johannesburg *Star*, which he read out, that process had already started and it obviously constituted a danger to civilization in Africa and to the peace of the world.

10. Thus there existed in southern Africa an explosive situation which the United Nations must face; it must not adopt the attitude taken by the European democracies when they had been confronted by the menace of Nazi tyranny. It must assume the control and administration of South West Africa and adopt technological, political and economic measures which might prevent the situation from exploding into violent conflict. The attitude of the International Court of Justice had made that an unavoidable obligation for the United Nations.

11. In his recent statement in the General Assembly, the representative of South Africa had defended his Government's policy, claiming that its aim was the accelerated development of each group towards self-determination and that segregation did not arise from any doctrine of racial superiority or hatred. Yet that Government, which claimed to have the support of the African population, had been unable to bring before the International Court of Justice or the General Assembly a single African to support its policy.

12. In the matter of land, the South African representative had either distorted the history of the peoples of South West Africa or was completely ignorant of the purpose of the Mandate, which in the case in question had been established to ensure some redress for the indigenous inhabitants of the southern part of the Territory, who had been brutally dispossessed. Far from their lands being returned to them, however, more had been taken away from them. The South African representative had said that the northern parts of the Territory constituted the best farmland and had been reserved exclusively for the use and occupation of the indigenous people. The fact was, however, that that land belonged to South Africa and was at its disposal. Furthermore, the peoples of the north had never been conquered and driven from their lands as had happened with the Hereros, Namas and the Berg Damaras. In the south the Government of South Africa had behaved as if it were the inheritor of the ruthless German extermination policy. The savagery of the German conquest of the territories in the south had been revealed with horrifying realism in a letter from a German soldier under von Trotha, which had been quoted in the Hereros' original petition.^{4/} Furthermore, in a speech made in the Reichstag in 1904, the socialist deputy Bebel had said that it was impossible to impose a German presence in that country by relying solely on military force and had called colonization a business enterprise which, in its pursuit of the greatest gain, did not hesitate to commit monstrous crimes and to shed blood.

13. From the legal point of view, all the obligations of the League of Nations had been taken over by the United Nations. While the draft resolution sponsored by fifty-two Powers (A/L.483 and Add.1) was under consideration, legal advice could be sought on such questions as the legitimacy of South Africa's action when, at the time that it had left the Commonwealth,

^{1/} *International status of South-West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.*

^{2/} *Africa Today*, vol. XIII, No. 1 (January 1966).

^{3/} *Ibid.*, vol. XI, No. 3 (March 1964).

^{4/} *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Fourth Committee, annex 3 e, document A/C.4/96.*

it had unilaterally withdrawn the Mandate from the British Crown. Another question was the validity of the treaty, made at the same time as the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, between the United States and Germany whereby the United States reserved its rights in the former German colonies. It might well be considered that that treaty had been violated by subsequent events and the world war that had ensued.

14. The problem of South West Africa constituted a threat to all African States. He appealed firstly to the people and Government of the United Kingdom and then, in particular, to the people of Scandinavia. The Scandinavian countries might form a group which, co-operating with the Africans on a basis of equality, could show Africa and the world another way of life, organize their industrial and social development on the basis of freedom from serf labour and equal opportunity to develop their skills and talents and thus advance further the constructive tasks of peace.

15. In conclusion, he appealed to the General Assembly to accept responsibility for the administration of the Territory and to grant facilities for petitioners to come and express their points of view at United Nations Headquarters.

16. Mr. OMAIER (Libya) said that he supported in principle the idea of setting up a credentials committee for petitioners.

17. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that the petitioner's statement was a valuable contribution and merited the attention of delegations which were opposed to injustice and were fighting for the principles of the United Nations Charter to be put into practice.

18. Mr. Scott had referred to collusion between the United States and the United Kingdom in South Africa, which explained certain tactics on the part of the supporters of apartheid and their attitude of delaying the application of measures to reach a solution in that part of Africa.

19. It would be very useful if a list of the 300 companies to which the petitioner had referred could be circulated, since it had often been alleged 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 that those enterprises benefited the Africans. The representative of South Africa had said that the Africans in his country enjoyed a higher level of living than that of any other people of Africa. He asked the petitioner what benefits the companies brought to the African population.

20. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that the matter had already been exhaustively discussed in various documents and publications, including a report of Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee,^{5/} and in the articles entitled "Partners in Apartheid—United States Policy on South Africa" and "A Special Report on American Involvement in the South African Economy", to which he had already referred. The former article had been published more than a year previously and since that time the only objection that had been raised to the information published had come from the First National City Bank of New York.

^{5/} A/AC.109/L.154.

21. It might interest the Committee to know that wages in the copper industry were higher in another African country than they were in South Africa. The reports stated that the high profits of the mining industry in South West Africa were due more to the low wages resulting from the policy of apartheid than to the quality of the mineral ore, so much so that even low-grade mineral ore, which could not be mined in any other part of the world unless men were replaced by machines, was economically profitable.

22. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that, comparing figures, the Committee could imagine how happy the Africans people in South West Africa must be about the foreign investments; the profits produced by such investments were going to end up in banks in the United States and other Western countries.

23. The nuclear question had been a matter of great concern to the African countries; the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity had asked for the denuclearization of Africa, and the General Assembly had adopted resolution 2033 (XX) on the matter. As the petitioner had just said that, with the connivance of some of the Western Powers, South Africa was working on a nuclear reactor known as the Safari I, he would like to know what repercussions that fact might have on the denuclearization of Africa.

24. The Reverend Michael Scott said that it was generally recognized that various countries, including Japan, India, Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa, were at present capable of producing nuclear weapons. A book entitled Must the Bomb Spread? by Leonard Beaton, Senior Research Associate of the Institute for Strategic Studies, London, had been published by Penguin. The book stated that South Africa was using the fact that other African countries knew of its nuclear potential to reinforce its position and to obtain external support, that its intention to export uranium seemed to indicate that it wished to involve itself in negotiations for nuclear materials, and that at present it was the third largest uranium-producing country among the non-Communist countries, according to information from the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). In order to produce nuclear weapons, South Africa needed to produce U-235, which was difficult and expensive to manufacture, or plutonium, which was easier to produce with reactors using U-238 enriched with U-235. The Safari I reactor used enriched U-238. South Africa could not produce either plutonium or U-235 and could only obtain such substances from the United States since in that particular case the other major producing country, the USSR, could be discounted. The technological revolution in the production of uranium might change the situation, but it would not change the intentions of South Africa.

25. Mr. THIAM (Mali) pointed out that the Second World War had broken out because of the extermination of a race and because of a conflict of interests. He appealed to all Powers to turn their attention to the tragedy of the extermination of the Hereros before it was too late to put an end to apartheid politically, and to bear in mind that, however promising the immediate prospects of investment might ap-

pear, it might well encounter very serious problems in the long run.

26. He requested that the statement made by the Reverend Michael Scott should be circulated as a Committee document.

27. Mr. Ahmed ALI (Pakistan) supported the request.

28. The CHAIRMAN said that the statement would be circulated in the usual way.

29. Mr. Ahmed ALI (Pakistan) observed that the Reverend Michael Scott had been heard by the Committee almost every year since 1949, but had not appeared before the Committee for the past two years. He asked where the petitioner had been, and wondered whether the petitioner's failure to appear before the Committee was an indication that his concern for the people of South West Africa had waned.

30. The Reverend Michael SCOTT replied that he had been on a peace mission elsewhere. His absence was not an indication of waning interest in the people of South West Africa.

31. Mr. DIALLO Seydou (Guinea) said that when the Committee had heard the Reverend Michael Scott a few years previously it had seemed that a solution to the problem of South West Africa was near; today, however, it was quite clear that that was not the case. He wondered whether the United States and the United Kingdom had changed their attitude, whether their people were aware of the tragic situation and whether the members of the Committee realized their responsibility in the matter. Nothing had changed in those countries; all that mattered to them was their economic interests. He would like to know if any of the statesmen of the great Powers had seats on the boards and councils of the corporations operating in southern Africa. He would also like to have more details of the petitioner's idea that a credential committee should be established.

32. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that the names of the persons in question could be found in the article entitled "A Special Report on American Involvement in the South African Economy". In addition, the corporations influenced the policies of their respective Governments and had access to the highest levels of government; they did not conceal their attitude and perhaps they really thought that what was good for business was good for the countries concerned.

33. With regard to the question of the examination of the credentials of petitioners, he said that, in his view, a body should be created which would hold private meetings to examine the credentials of the petitioners who wished to be heard by the Fourth Committee. In that way, such a committee would be able to assess the importance, the weight and the representative scope of their views of petitioners.

34. Mr. DIALLO Seydou (Guinea) said that the petitioner's suggestion for the establishment of a committee was worth studying and had his delegation's full support. He emphasized that the United Kingdom had in no way changed its policy and seemed to be involved wherever problems arose, whether in the Middle East, Asia or southern Africa.

35. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) asked the petitioner whether there was a direct relationship between the great profits earned by foreign investors in South West Africa and the low wages paid to the workers. He would like to know whether workers were separated from their families and for how long, and he would also like to have details of foreign participation in the mining and cutting of diamonds, in view of the importance of the diamond industry to the Territory.

36. The Reverend Michael SCOTT replied that the profits earned on foreign investments amounted to 25 per cent. In the mining industry, especially in the gold mining industry, wages were based on the principle that the family of the worker was far away and lived on the produce of the land, so that the worker did not have his family to support in the city. Moreover, the price of gold was not related to the cost of producing gold but was fixed in New York or London. Work contracts usually lasted from six months to two years. It should also be remembered that most diamond cutting was done in Europe, particularly in the Netherlands.

37. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that he would like to know what stage had been reached in the implementation of the Odendaal Plan,^{6/} which was designed to divide up South West Africa with a view to its complete annexation to South Africa.

38. The Reverend Michael SCOTT replied that a Commissioner had already been appointed to carry out the plan, against which Chief Hosea Kutako had protested. He had no further information on the stage reached in its implementation. In that connexion, he pointed out that the so-called homelands provided for in the plan would not be self-governing and that sovereignty over them would rest with the White Parliament, in which no African could take part.

39. Mr. RAHMANI (Algeria) said that in view of the decision of the International Court of Justice, which was a further demonstration of the encouragement which was being given to the colonialists, he would like to know whether the petitioner thought it likely that, if the United Nations did not take effective steps to revoke South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa and to give its people genuine independence, there might be an explosion of unforeseeable magnitude resulting in an arms build-up and repressive measures, with the consequent danger to peace and security in the world.

40. The Reverend Michael SCOTT replied that it was precisely because the situation was explosive that the United Nations had been asked to prepare a programme of sanctions. So far, however, no agreement had been reached on the matter, perhaps because the problem had not been properly studied and its importance was not understood. He quoted an article published in the Johannesburg Star of 13 July 1966 concerning a conference at which Dr. Jansen had stated that gold exports and petroleum imports were the Achilles heel of the South African economy, but that South Africa could take steps to counteract the

^{6/} Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963 (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1964).

effects of sanctions; in addition, the proposed restrictions would have equally unfavourable consequences for such countries as the United Kingdom and the United States; Dr. Jansen had expressed the hope that the enemies of South Africa would refrain from acting in a hasty and irresponsible manner. He himself considered that the situation was difficult, and that if other procedures failed there would be conflicts, first non-violent incidents and then violence provoked by repression. That was the crisis that was confronting the United Nations.

41. The CHAIRMAN thanked the petitioner for his statement and for his replies to the questions which had been put to him.

The petitioner withdrew.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUESTS CONCERNING SOUTH WEST AFRICA
(AGENDA ITEM 65) (continued)

42. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that a request for a hearing on the question of South West Africa had been received. He suggested that, in accordance with the Committee's practice, the petition should be circulated as a Committee document and that the Committee should consider it at a later stage.

It was so decided.^{1/}

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

^{1/} The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/666/Add.3.