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Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed
(Sudan).

Welcome to the representatives of Guyana and Indonesia

1. The CHAIRMAN said that he wished, on behalf of the Committee, to welcome the representatives of Guyana and Indonesia, who were present for the first time at the current session.

2. Mr. ABDULDJALIL (Indonesia) thanked the Chairman, on behalf of the Indonesian Government, for his remarks and expressed his best wishes for the success of the Committee's work.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUESTS CONCERNING SOUTH WEST AFRICA (AGENDA ITEM 65) (concluded) (A/C.4/666/ADD.3)

3. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the request for a hearing (A/C.4/666/Add.3) received from Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee granted that request.

It was so decided.

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 (continued)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued) (A/C.4/666 AND ADD.1-3)

At the invitation of the Chairman the Reverend Michael Scott, and Mr. Emil Appolus and Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, representatives of the South West Africa

People's Organization (SWAPO), took places at the Committee table.

4. The CHAIRMAN said that there were several delegations on his list that wanted to put questions to the Reverend Michael Scott; he suggested, however, that Mr. Emil Appolus and Mr. Jacob Kuhangua should first be invited to make statements.

It was so decided.

5. Mr. Emil APPOLUS (South West Africa People's Organization) expressed gratitude to Ethiopia and Liberia, for the action they had undertaken before the International Court of Justice,^{1/} and to the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their assistance to those struggling for freedom in South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

6. In the General Assembly, at the 1417th plenary meeting on 26 September 1966, the representative of South Africa had painted an idyllic but quite unrealistic picture of South West Africa. On that same day Mr. Muller, the Deputy Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, had been speaking at Pretoria about the war against the Africans in South West Africa and claiming that their struggle was part of a world-wide conspiracy through which 2,000 communist guerrillas, equipped with modern weapons, had infiltrated into South Africa. In support of his statement, he read out various South African newspaper headlines.

7. Mr. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, had said that the indigenous terrorists had suffered a number of casualties in an encounter with South African forces; that was not correct. The freedom fighters had had several engagements with South African troops and on 26 September fifteen South African soldiers had been killed. The people of South West Africa were not invading South Africa but were defending their country. A cruel period was now beginning. For twenty years the people of South West Africa had submitted petitions seeking relief from their sufferings, in the hope that the world Powers would fulfil their promises. Those hopes had so far proved vain; the only result was that South Africa's oppression of the Africans was constantly increasing and that the Africans had finally resolved to put an end to oppression in South West Africa, realizing that the solution to the problem lay in their hands alone. Whatever the cost, the policy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth would be pursued; the oppressor's days were numbered.

8. The matter of most urgent concern to SWAPO was the reprisals of the racists against the people of

^{1/} I.C.J., South West Africa case (Ethiopia, [Liberia] v. Union of South Africa), Application instituting proceedings, 1960, General List, No. 46 [No. 47].

South West Africa. A reign of terror had been instituted; villages were being burnt down and men, women and children killed at random, on a scale comparable to the war of extermination during the period of German colonization. The Chief of Police of South West Africa had announced the arrest of more than twenty leaders of SWAPO, who according to official sources had been taken by plane to a maximum-security prison in the Transvaal, under a 180-day detention law which was not applicable to South West Africa.

9. The previous week seven freedom fighters had been arrested in the former Bechuanaland. He feared that they might be handed over to South Africa and urged the Government of Botswana not to take such action, for there had been no question of an invasion; it had simply been an error due to confusion regarding the frontier.

10. The African peoples would never submit and would not let Africa die. The conspiracy to frustrate every move in the United Nations for action against South Africa was doomed to failure. If the United Nations did not defend the people of South West Africa, Africa would have to tackle the problem itself, for it was decisive for its political and international future. SWAPO appealed to all the African countries to support it in its struggle.

11. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa People's Organization) thanked Ethiopia and Liberia, on behalf of his organization and of the peoples of South West Africa, for their support for the struggle for the liberation of the Territory, even though their efforts had been frustrated by the extraordinary decision of the International Court of Justice.

12. The Government of South Africa had clever lawyers, who could win cases against those who instituted proceedings on the innocent presumption that such cases were decided on the basis of international law. The Africans now knew that they could not place any faith in international justice, because South Africa could always find some sophistry to justify its inhuman crimes. The judges of the International Court of Justice had obviously not studied fully the arguments against South Africa. Had the African countries foreseen the result, they could have saved their efforts and their funds. Ethiopia and Liberia had fought valiantly in the International Court of Justice for South West Africa's cause and the decision of 18 July 1966^{2/} showed that the Court was no more than a white man's court and a mockery of the international community. In a case in which the very life of a people was at stake, the President of the International Court of Justice had merely supported apartheid, which was a copy of nazism.

13. It could not be forgotten that the concentration camps in which the people of South West Africa were confined had been rendered possible by the indulgence of the United States and the United Kingdom. The Africans would not have wished to see a struggle develop between Whites and Blacks, but there seemed to be no other course left.

14. Was the United Nations the body which claimed to uphold peace? Peace was needed in South West Africa and the United Nations must establish its presence there in order to guide the people.

15. The President of SWAPO, who unfortunately could not be present, had stated that his organization had received weapons from Germany and other countries, and that there had been an armed engagement as a result of which the South African army had shot twenty-five members of SWAPO and buried them in two communal graves. As a result of various causes, there had been other encounters between Africans and the South African army and police, with casualties on both sides. That was what was happening in South West Africa, where the United Nations had a mission to fulfil. It could not stand idly by while the Africans were exterminated.

16. The United Kingdom and South Africa had imitated the German technique for the extermination of the African people and their confinement in concentration camps. It was difficult to believe that the United Nations was going to limit itself to a mere discussion of the question. The people of South West Africa continued to believe that the United Nations would help them in their plight. They knew that once they began the struggle their sons would be exterminated, but they preferred that to living in slavery. It was that sentiment that had driven him to leave his hospital in order to appear before the United Nations to tell it that the people of South West Africa had faith in it. From the beginning of time, man had striven with nature and his fellow-man. In the end, slaves had always rebelled and obtained their freedom. The people of South West Africa might be enslaved and subjugated today, but tomorrow, after conquering their oppressors, they would live in freedom and happiness.

17. Mr. APPIAH (Ghana) said that the petitioners had given valuable evidence and that the presence of the Reverend Michael Scott showed that the anti-imperialist struggle was not a matter of Black versus White but a struggle of the universal conscience. The United Nations should honourably assume its proper place in defense of the people of South West Africa. Ghana, for its part, would give all possible aid to that just cause. He asked the Reverend Michael Scott whether he had lived in South West Africa and whether he was acquainted with living conditions in that Territory.

18. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that he had first gone to South West Africa at the request of the Hereros, to help them with their petition to the United Nations, after the South African authorities had detained him in Durban. After his release he had been invited by Tshekedi Khama in 1946 to meet Herero leaders, including Paramount Chief Frederick Maherero, who were under British protection. They had asked him to visit South West Africa and to convey their messages to Chief Hosea Kutako. He had done so and had returned to Bechuanaland, where the Hereros, original petition to the United Nations had been drafted. He had subsequently returned to South West Africa, where he had kept in touch with Hosea Kutako, other Herero chiefs and chiefs of other peoples of South West Africa. He had not lived in the Territory for very long but he had lived there long enough to know

^{2/} South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

something of the living conditions of the Africans in the reserves. He had sent telegrams to the United Nations in 1946 on behalf of Chief Maherero questioning the results of a "referendum" in South West Africa.

19. Mr. MUSA (Malaysia) said that his Government supported the people of South West Africa in their struggle for liberation. That grave problem now presented a new aspect and the United Nations should consider what could be done about South Africa, which had not fulfilled its obligations to the Territory, and about the enormous economic interests established there. He asked the petitioners whether they had any statistics about educational conditions in the Territory and whether there was any institution of higher education for Africans.

20. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that he had no statistics with him at the moment but they could be found in United Nations documents. Furthermore it was very difficult to obtain information or publications of the South African Government and that was a serious problem for the petitioners.

21. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa People's Organization) said that there were a few institutions in the Territory which apparently provided secondary education, but the question was whether the education thus provided would enable pupils to go on to higher studies without any difficulty or whether it was just a blind. It was a fact that the petitioners could not obtain accurate figures since only Whites had access to official information and publications and an African was definitely not a member of the community. Mr. Scott's presence before the Committee showed that the problem of South West Africa was not a racial but a human problem, but the question was how many people saw the problem in that light.

22. He himself had decided some time ago to appeal to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and to the world community to establish an educational institution in Tanzania for refugees from South West Africa who were leaving the country because it offered them no educational facilities. The Tanzanian Government had agreed that such an institution could be established and the necessary staff could undoubtedly be obtained with the assistance of the international community.

23. Mr. MUSA (Malaysia) said that the purpose of his question had been to emphasize the importance of education and to show how colonialism could use the lack of education as an instrument. He appreciated the fact that the petitioners were unable to obtain information and he deplored that extremely serious situation.

24. Mr. BRUCE (Togo) said that it was surprising that the Powers which had fought against racism and fascism in Europe were today supporting similar régimes in Africa which were even more harmful in the long run. He wondered how a world which claimed to be civilized and free could show such apathy towards the existence of apartheid and the slow extermination of some peoples. The international community was responsible for the continuance of that tragedy and he appealed to the human conscience to ensure the adoption of the draft resolution submitted to the General

Assembly (A/L.483 and Add.1) and the eventual triumph of justice.

25. Mrs. MENESES de ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) recalled that Mr. Scott had said at the previous meeting that the economic interest of the United Kingdom and the United States in South Africa were operating through a system of interlocking directorates which influenced not only the economic but also the political activities of all three countries and that South Africa's industrial complex was the most advanced in the continent and the basis of its military power. She asked Mr. Scott how that military power might obstruct United Nations efforts to give South West Africa effective independence.

26. The Reverend Michael SCOTT replied that the influence of that powerful structure could and did obstruct United Nations efforts in two ways: first, it slowed down the development of the Africans by hampering their education and their progress in order to have cheap migrant labour available for mining and agriculture and by not allowing them to take skilled employment; secondly, it aroused in the African people a feeling of frustration which would lead to an explosion of violence that, in turn, by its own logic, could bring about unprecedented disaster, including the use of nuclear weapons.

27. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the position of the Soviet Union was based on its opposition in principle to colonialism the Soviet Union categorically rejected the argument that some peoples were not ready for independence. He wished to ask the petitioners a few questions and he hoped that their replies would show what were the basic causes of the problem.

28. Recalling the recommendations of the Special Committee in its report on the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa^{3/} and General Assembly resolution 2074 (XX) on the question of South West Africa, he said that the Assembly had requested all States, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, to use their influence to put an end to the activities of the foreign monopolies which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territory. He asked the petitioners whether there had been any change during the past year and what the United Kingdom and the United States had done to influence the monopolies.

29. Mr. APPOLUS (South West Africa People's Organization) replied that he could assure the Committee that there had not been the slightest change in the attitude of those companies, which were still collaborating in the system of apartheid and reaping huge profits, owing to the low wages and the general situation in which the indigenous people were being exploited.

30. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa People's Organization) said that he was not so ingenious as to believe that the United Kingdom would endeavour to bring about a change in the economic situation, when

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

it clearly did not want any change in the political situation, had invested \$2,000 million in the Territory and did not dare to take any action to solve the problem of Southern Rhodesia. He therefore appealed once more to all peace-loving countries. The people of South West Africa hoped that practical measures would be adopted and that the United Nations would establish a presence in the Territory, putting an end to the exploitation of the inhabitants. Certainly nothing had been done so far and there had been no change whatsoever; the Territory remained as it had been in 1946.

31. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that the Government of the United States was encouraging its nationals to invest capital in South Africa, where they found very favourable conditions, since the Government of South Africa offered subsidies to foreign industries and at the same time provided them with an abundant supply of cheap indigenous labour. According to a report of the American Committee on Africa, entitled "Partners in Apartheid—United States Policy on South Africa",^{4/} as a result of United States investments there had been a change, beginning in 1961, in the unfavourable trend that had been appearing in the South African economy. In that year, United States companies had invested \$23 million and South Africa's favourable balance of trade with the United States had provided an additional \$50 million. Lastly, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank and other bodies had granted South Africa loans amounting to \$150 million. That economic aid was continuing and, as a result, South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves had risen to an unprecedented level.

32. Investments made by United States nationals were still less than those of United Kingdom citizens, but the latter were showing a downward trend whereas United States investments were increasing daily. At the same time, the profits earned by United States companies in South Africa continued to grow and had risen from \$43 million in 1959 to \$72 million in 1962.

33. According to the above-mentioned report, certain United States public figures such as James F. Byrnes and John Foster Dulles, had been connected with the mining companies that operated in South Africa. That might be one of the reasons for the tolerant attitude of the United States Government towards the Pretoria régime.

34. He recalled that in his statement to the Committee on 30 September 1966 (1601st meeting) he had referred to the illegality of South Africa's unilateral act in arrogating to itself, when it had withdrawn from the Commonwealth, a Mandate that had been entrusted to the British Crown. That situation raised the general problem of the transfer of sovereignty over a territory and its inhabitants by one State to another. That was a question which the Fourth Committee might perhaps study.

35. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked the petitioners for their replies, which provided tangible evidence that the countries on which the General Assembly had called to put an

end to the activities of the monopolies had not heeded that call.

36. He agreed with Mr. Kuhangua that it would be ingenuous to think that those States would reply to an appeal of that nature, since their principles had little connexion with respect for human dignity and much with the exploitation of the cononial peoples.

37. In its resolution 1899 (XVIII) on the question of South West Africa, the General Assembly had urged all States to refrain forthwith from supplying in any manner or form any arms or military equipment to South Africa and to refrain from supplying in any manner or form any petroleum or petroleum products to South Africa. That recommendation of the Assembly, supported by the votes of the great majority of Member States, had such moral authority that it could not be disregarded. He asked the petitioners to give the Committee any information they had on the way in which that appeal of the General Assembly had been heeded.

38. The Reverend Michael SCOTT said that the documents of the Special Committee gave information on that subject to which he would refer at the next meeting of the Committee.

39. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked the Reverend Michael Scott. He asked the representatives of SWAPO what political forces in South West Africa were prepared to participate in the establishment of a sovereign State and how they intended to assert the legitimate rights of the people of the Territory.

40. Mr. KUHANGUA (South West Africa People's Organization) said that, as was well known, since the decision of the International Court of Justice the people of South West Africa had lost patience and had no alternative but to resort to violence. According to Article 79 of the Charter of the United Nations, the withdrawal of a mandate required the agreement of the Mandatory Power and, in the case of South West Africa, it was obvious that South Africa would never give up the Mandate. There was nothing left, therefore, but recourse to armed force. If the United Nations wished to carry out its mission, it would help the people of South West Africa to regain their freedom and dignity and to exercise their right to self-determination.

41. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he was in agreement with that reply. The political forces of the Territory had long sought a peaceful solution, but they now realized that the colonialists and racists, and those who supported them for the sake of money-making, only understood the language of violence. The people were not seeking a conflict but they would know how to wage the war forced on them by the colonialists and, with the assistance of all peace-loving peoples, would emerge victorious from their just struggle.

42. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the petitioners should withdraw until the following meeting, at which members of the Committee would put further questions to them.

The petitioners withdrew.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

^{4/} *Africa Today*, vol. XI, No. 3 (March 1964).