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SECRETARIAT**

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**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE QUESTIONS OF
DECOLONIZATION AND APARTHEID**

January, 1967

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON DECOLONIZATION
AND APARTHEID

Introduction

This paper contains a summary of specific events in connection with the situation in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Territories under Portuguese, Spanish and French Domination.

We are reporting here events which have occurred after the Third Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The paper contains decisions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly, communications to the Organization of African Unity and United Nations, other available official statements and press reports - prior to February 1, 1967..

I - SOUTH WEST AFRICA

- 1) On October 2, 1966 the General Assembly voted to terminate South Africa's mandate to administer South West Africa. South Africa and Portugal voted against the resolution while Britain, France and Malawi abstained. The General Assembly also voted for the setting up of a Special Committee consisting of 14 member States to make practical recommendations on the world body's administration of the territory. The job facing the United Nations is a difficult one especially in the field of expenditure. The latest estimates put South Africa's annual expenditure in the territory as exceeding the regular United Nations budget by almost one hundred per cent.
- 2) The ad-hoc Committee for South West Africa, consisting of Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Soviet Union, United Arab Republic and United States is to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible, and not later than April 1967.
- 3) The Committee held its first meeting on Tuesday, January 17, 1967. It elected Mr. Max Jacobson from Finland as its Chairman. The Committee's main task is to find practical means for the population of South West Africa to exercise its right to self-determination. The deliberations of the Committee are being held in closed sessions.

4) The African members of the 14-Nation Committee (Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and UAR) circulated a memorandum in which they offered a four-point working plan for the Committee :

- (a) Creation of a UN administration for South West Africa, with recommendations as to its composition and terms of reference;
- (b) An assessment of the financial and personnel requirements of such a body together with suggestions on how these needs might be met;
- (c) Recommendations on how the administration should be established in the territory;
- (d) A recommended target date for the attainment of South West Africa's independence.

5) The South African Government has decided to resist the imposition of a United Nations administration in South West Africa and to go on with its own plans of expansion in the territory. It also decided to carry on with the implementation of the Odendaal plan and has, at the same time, stepped up its repressive measures. On December 3, 1966 it arrested three of the leaders of SWAPO (Mr. Gottlieb Nathaniel, acting President of the Party, its Secretary Mr. John Otto and Mr. Jason Mtambula a senior official) under the Suppression of Communism Act.

6) The Council of Ministers may wish to discuss what steps could be taken by the Organization of African Unity in helping the Special Committee to implement the United Nations' Resolution and the four-point work plan proposed by the African members. If this cannot be done during this session it would be advisable to put it on the agenda of the next Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

II - RHODESIA

1) There have been many developments in the Rhodesian issue since the meeting on the H.M.S. Tiger, on December 1, 1966 between Mr. Wilson and Ian Smith. Ian Smith announced on December 5, 1966 that his Government had been unable to accept the working document prepared aboard the Tiger.

2) An analysis of the working document shows Britain's intention in the Rhodesian issue. The interim period would have lasted four months only. During those four months, Rhodesia was to return to legality. The Independence Constitution was to be drafted and the people of Rhodesia as a whole were to express their views. What guarantees were they to have? None. Since Smith would be legally Premier of a "broadened" government which would include two Africans. Smith and Wilson were to choose those Africans. The Independence Constitution would be drafted on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. No representative of the 4 million Africans would be consulted on these matters. During those four months all sanctions would be lifted. If this period ended with the granting of independence no safeguards would remain since there would be the elections of Members of Parliament whose amendments would mean little change in effective voting strength in Parliament. If Mr. Smith and his party won, they could reform the present government. Thus the Constitution would not have guaranteed progress towards majority rule. Any changes to the Constitution would have to be approved by two thirds of the two Houses. Thus a third of the legislative Assembly and the Senate could veto any changes. While this veto power would have become automatic for the Europeans, it would not necessarily become automatic for the Africans.

3) The Europeans would have 29 specific seats in the two Houses out of a total of 93, the Africans would have 14, 6 of which would be for chiefs. Thus the African would have had to win 17 seats on the 'B' electoral vote and maintain close unity with the 8 elected Africans in the Senate. The defection of any two members would have lost to them the power to veto any changes. If at the end of 4 months it was proved that the people as a whole rejected the proposed settlement, Smith would have repeated UDI. It is incredible that Mr. Wilson believed that the people of Rhodesia as a whole would accept this new Constitution, the terms of which were even less favourable than those of the 1961, which had been rejected.

4) Even though the British Government was committed, after Smith had rejected the terms of settlement, by the clause of the Commonwealth Communiqué stipulating: "The British Government will withdraw all previous proposals for a Constitutional settlement which have been made. In particular they will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule". Yet,

Mr. Bowden hinted in the Commons that if Mr. Smith now carried through the Constitutional amendments, the British Government might not insist on all the rest:

5) However, on December 8, 1966 Britain brought the issue to the Security Council and asked for selective mandatory sanctions. Mr. George Brown presented a draft resolution calling for an embargo against Rhodesian exports of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products, skins, hides and leather. It also stipulated that UN members should prohibit their nationals from engaging in any trade in their territory with Rhodesia, or shipping from these territories to the rebel colony, arms ammunition, military equipment, vehicles and tools for manufacturing arms and military equipment. Britain added that the situation must not be allowed to develop into a confrontation - economic or military involving the whole of Southern Africa.

6) The African Group at the UN agreed on a move to press for the inclusion of oil in the resolution. They also drew up amendments to the British draft the most important of which are :

- (a) Determines that the continuance of the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;
- (b) Deplores
 - (i) the refusal of the UK to use every means including force to bring about the immediate downfall of the Ian Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia;
 - (ii) the action of states, notably Portugal and South Africa, which have been rendering support to the rebel regime in contravention of Security Council resolution 217 of November 20, 1965;
- (c) Calls upon the UK to make a categorical declaration that it will not grant independence to Southern Rhodesia until majority rule and that all offers previously made by the UK to the illegal racist regime are now withdrawn;
- (d) Invites the UK to prevent by all means the transport to South Rhodesia of oil and oil products;

(e) Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the UN. The amendments also asked for the inclusion of "coal and all manufactured goods".

7) The Security Council adopted on December 16, 1966 a resolution ordering selective mandatory sanctions. Eleven members voted for, and four abstained. These are, France, on the grounds that Rhodesia falls only within Britain's domestic jurisdiction, the Soviet Union, Mali and Bulgaria because they deemed the resolution inadequate.

The key phrase in the resolution is "The Council decides that all State Members of the UN shall prevent the import of the embargoed items and the supply and shipment of prohibited exports". The Council included oil but rejected the African efforts to bring a stronger resolution. It rejected reference to the use of force against the Rhodesian regime, as well as the inclusion of coal and manufactured goods. The call on Britain to withdraw all offers to the illegal regime was defeated by 8 abstentions as well as the paragraph deploring the action of South Africa and Portugal.

8) The UN General Assembly passed on November 17, 1966 a resolution concerning Southern Rhodesia calling upon the UK to take the necessary measures including the use of force to put an end to the regime in Southern Rhodesia, and

- (a) Reaffirmed the rights of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence;
- (b) Deplored the failure of the UK so far to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime;
- (c) Condemned the activities of foreign financial and other interests supporting the Southern Rhodesian regime and called upon governments concerned to end such activities;
- (d) Condemned any arrangement between the UK and the Rhodesian regime which would fail to recognize the rights of the Zimbabwe people;

- (e) Called upon the UK to take all necessary measures including the use of force to put an end to the regime.

This resolution was adopted by 89 votes in favour, 2 against and 12 abstentions.

9) South Africa has declared that it would not abide by the Security Council resolution. The result of the resolution will be nullified if there are no provisions for enforcing it.

10) Ian Smith asked Australia and New Zealand to send a fact finding mission to test Rhodesian public opinion. He also made a second approach to the Australian Prime Minister to meet him at any time and place for a discussion. But both approaches were ignored.

11) Mr. Wilson announced in the House of Commons on December 20, 1966 that the British Government had, formally, withdrawn all offers of an independence constitution "In future, no grant of independence will be contemplated unless African majority rule is already an accomplished fact". But he added "On the Rhodesian Government becoming a legal one, which the Smith regime could do to-morrow if it wished, anyone in Rhodesia is free to negotiate with us about a return to the 1961 Constitution with an end to sanctions".

12) U Thant has asked the Member States on January 16, 1967 to inform the UN of all the measures taken to implement the resolution against Rhodesia. He also requested to be informed of all the trade exchanges concerning the embargoed articles not only with Rhodesia but between the other countries so as to be sure that these exchanges are not done directly or indirectly with Southern Rhodesia. He also requests that this information be imparted to him monthly and that the first report concerning the month of January should reach him by February 15, 1967. Also that the future reports should reach him by the end of each month. He also hopes to be able to submit his report to the Security Council by the first of March.

III - SOUTH AFRICA

1) On September 19, 1966 the South African Government introduced in Parliament the "Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill" providing that no person can be elected as a member of the House of Assembly or the Cape Provincial Council or nominated as Senator to represent coloured voters,

if he is a member or is in any way connected with a political party of the white population group during the three years preceding his nomination as a candidate.

2) The immediate purpose of the Bill was to prevent the Progressive Party from contesting the elections of the House of Representatives in the Coloured Constituencies in October.

The Bill contains other provisions. It provides that no person may engage directly or indirectly in the following activities in any population group except the one to which he belongs:

- (a) Assistance in registration of voters;
- (b) Taking part in or helping with the establishment or organization of political parties; and
- (c) Taking part in the political activities of members of the group.

Political parties will belong to one population group and will not be able to help or oppose the political parties of other population groups. Members of any group may criticize the actions of the Government of the day, but a member of a population group other than the population group out of which the Government is constituted cannot criticize the political party of members of the Government, that is, non-whites cannot criticize the ruling white party.

3) The South African Government announced on November 28, 1966 measures which would lead to the creation of South Africa's second Bantustan. It will be situated in the Northern Transvaal and include the tribal reserve of North Sotho, a tribe group related to the people of Lesotho. The first Bantustan is the Transkei.

4) South Africa opened on December 9, 1966 a large fully equipped air force base close to the Rhodesian border. The base has been established at Pietersburg in the North of the Transvaal and by the end of January 1967 it is to be equipped with a full complement of Sabre-jets and three super-sensitive radar units.

5) On November 28, 1966, the UNESCO General Conference passed by 72 votes in favour, 11 against and 26 abstentions a resolution authorizing the Director-General to withhold assistance in matters relating to education,

science and culture from South Africa and Portugal. It also authorized him not to invite these countries to attend conferences or take part in other UNESCO activities, "participation in which might be considered as conferring technical assistance, until such time as the Government of those countries abandon their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination".

6) The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on December 14, 1966 which calls for the dismantling of military bases and installation in colonial territories. The resolution which was adopted by 76 votes in favour, 7 against and 20 abstentions also urged all States and international institutions to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority regime in Rhodesia.

7) On December 11, 1966 the General Assembly adopted a resolution designed specially to :

- (a) Draw the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security and that action under Chapter VII of the Charter is essential in order to solve the problem of apartheid and that universally applied mandatory economic sanctions are the only means of achieving a peaceful solution;
- (b) Request the major trading partners of South Africa to take urgent steps towards disengagement from South Africa and to facilitate effective action under the auspices of the United Nations to secure the elimination of apartheid; and
- (c) Appeal to all States to comply with the decisions of the Security Council on this question and to consider effective political, moral and material assistance to all those combating the policies of apartheid.

IV - TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

1) The Angolan Freedom Fighters have recently increased their activities. The number of casualties on the Portuguese territories is reportedly mounting. Since October there has been trouble in the North Western pocket of Cabinda as well as in the Eastern most promontory of Cazombo (the area between Katanga and Zambia).

- 2) On several occasions, Portugal has ventured to extend its aggressive policy into the neighbouring countries. It raided the Zambian border village of Musala on November 22, 1966. It was also alledged that a Portuguese column walking close to the Congolese frontier was fired at with machine guns and mortars from the Congolese side. As a result Portugal decided on December 15, 1966 to close its frontiers with the Congo.
- 3) Yet, on December 26, 1966 Portugal announced that an attack had been made on the village of Teixeira de Sousa and that the raiders came from the region of Dilolo in the Congo. It also said that it had repelled the attack and killed about 200 raiders. The attackers however cut the Benguela railway in several places. The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Nogueira announced on December 27, 1966 that his country intended to take new measures against the Congo.
- 4) The freedom fighters of the FRELIMO are also intensifying their activities in the Mozambique. Portugal is still carrying on with its oppressive measures there. People are arbitrarily arrested and accused of subversive activities, then sentenced to prison or to preventive detention.
- 5) Portugal is also menacing Tanzania from the Mozambique side. On November 30, 1966 Portuguese troops crossed the Tanzanian border, entered the Mtwara region where they murdered four Tanzanians and wounded five others. The invaders also tried to plant mines and explosives on the road near Mahurunga village.
- 6) In so-called Portuguese Guinea, the PAIGC has won international recognition for the efficient struggle it is carrying both on military and political levels. Many European reporters have been able to cross inside the free areas and reported with convincing facts the great achievements of the freedom fighters.
- 7) The General Assembly adopted on December 17, 1966 a resolution by 73 votes in favour 2 against and 1 abstention stipulating that among other things the OAU and specialized agencies should increase their assistance to the refugees from the territories under Portuguese domination and to the people who have suffered and are still suffering owing to military operations.

V - TERRITORIES UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION

1) The United Nations General Assembly discussed the questions of Ifni and Spanish Sahara at its XXI Session and adopted a resolution in which it :

- (a) Invites Spain to expedite the process of decolonization in Ifni and make arrangements with Morocco for the transfer of powers;
- (b) Requests Spain to establish conditions ensuring that the indigenous population of Spanish Sahara is able to exercise its right to self-determination;
- (c) Requests the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the resolution; and
- (d) To appoint immediately a Special Mission to be sent to the territory of Spanish Sahara.

2) It has also been reported that a popular revolt had started in the Sahara area of Saggiyah al Hamroh and that the tribes of this region were demanding independence.

3) A sub-Committee of the Committee of 24 which visited Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Po and Rio Muni) from August 19 to 24 following on the invitation of the Spanish Government issued its report in November 1966.

The report stated that the Committee of 24 should recommend that the administering power should :

- (a) Convene immediately a conference in which the various political parties and all sections of the population are fully represented to establish the modalities for the transfer of all powers to the people without delay and to set a date for independence which should not be later than July 1968.
- (b) Transfer, in the meantime, governmental powers to the representatives of the territory, remove all restrictions on political activities, and establish full democratic freedom;
- (c) Replace the present electoral system by one based on universal adult suffrage, and hold elections on this basis before independence;

- (d) Establish full equality of political, economic, social and other rights and, in particular, reform land tenure and labour conditions, permit the formation of representative Trade Unions and ensure the equal application of justice;
- (e) Intensify its assistance to the territory in the economic field;
- (f) Establish institutions of secondary education and higher learning in the territory and accelerate training programmes adequate to the urgent needs of Equatorial Guinea; and
- (g) Continue to co-operate with the UN by ensuring the organization's participation in the processes leading to the independence of the territory.

4) Three members of the autonomous government of Equatorial Guinea, Mr. Francisco Macis, Mr. Antonio Nang, and Mr. Raphael Nsue asked for the opening of negotiations with Spain to fix a date for independence.

5) The General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1966 a resolution on Equatorial Guinea. There were 109 votes in favour none against and 7 abstentions. The Assembly decided to ask Spain to ensure that the territory acceded to independence as a single political and territorial unity.

6) The Spanish delegate to the UN announced that Spain would hold a constitutional conference early in 1967 in Equatorial Guinea at which all sections of the territory's population could be represented. The conference would help the territory's people to determine their own future.

VI - TERRITORIES UNDER FRENCH DOMINATION

1) The French Government decided to hold a referendum in Djibouti before July 1, so that the people would be able to choose either independence or to remain as part of the French Republic. This decision was taken after the demonstrations which took place during De Gaulle's visit to the territory last August.

The French National Assembly adopted by 283 votes on December 2, 1966 a Bill providing for the terms of the referendum. The French Senate approved the Bill on December 15, 1966 by 64 votes to 0, 193 senators abstained.

2) The terms of the referendum are as follows :

Article I - Before July 1, 1967 the population of the French Somaliland will be consulted on the following question : "Do you wish to remain within the French Republic ?"

Article II - (i) If the answer to the question is affirmative the Government will table a Bill for a new territorial statute, in the four months following the consultation and in accordance with Article 74 of the Constitution;

(ii) Should the answer to the question be negative, the President of the Republic is entitled to implement, in accordance with Article 53 of the Constitution, all acts recognizing the independence of French Somaliland. On the same assumption and to this same end, the Government can by law, until April 2, 1967, in accordance with Article 38 of the Constitution, take all measures within the jurisdiction of the law. The Bill carrying ratification of these rulings is expected to be presented to Parliament, before December 1, 1967.

3) If the people of the territory decide to remain as part of the French Republic, Mr. Billote, Minister for Overseas Territories has outlined the Statute to be proposed to the Somalis :

(a) The Statute will establish strong links between the different communities which form the territory whilst assuring them of equal representation in the new institutions. It will aim at speeding up the training of local personnel and review the former system of aid provided by France;

(b) The territory's institutions will consist of :

(i) a government Council, whose members of ministerial rank, will have individual powers; and

(ii) a Chamber of deputies composed of members elected by universal suffrage. The Council will be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies.

The French Governor Mr. Louis Saget will become a High Commissioner who will be responsible for the territory's Foreign Affairs, Defence policy and Currency;

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