

58. His delegation appealed to the influential Members of the United Nations which had been giving tacit support to Mr. Vorster's régime to join other countries in isolating that régime. Any support to Mr. Vorster, however indirect, helped to sustain *apartheid*.

59. Those Member States had the responsibility of upholding the principles of the Charter. That was why they enjoyed special rights and they should not use those rights to protect the enemy. They must not sacrifice the interests of the United Nations for individual material interests.

60. His delegation condemned the South African régime and *apartheid*, and was convinced that the efforts of that régime were futile and that the forces of freedom would win.

61. He congratulated the leaders of the liberation movements in South Africa and was convinced that their task, however great, was not insurmountable. The whole world was behind them, for they were struggling not only to bring freedom and hope to their people but also to save humanity from a great evil.

62. The decision to declare a Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners showed that the United Nations was aware of its responsibility and could effectively realize the aspirations embodied in its Charter.

63. Mr. GHEORGHE (Romania) welcomed the participation by representatives of liberation movements in the solemn meeting as an affirmation of the principle whereby matters affecting the destiny of a people were to be

discussed only with the direct participation of the legitimate representatives of the people concerned.

64. In opposition to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in defiance of many resolutions by the General Assembly and protests by world opinion, the South African Government continued to conduct, without restraint, its policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Furthermore, at the beginning of the year, it had carried out a series of arrests among black students and other persons who opposed *apartheid*. The white minority exercised a discretionary control over the majority of the population.

65. It was, therefore, the duty of the United Nations and all peoples devoted to liberty and justice to act more resolutely and in close co-operation against *apartheid* and all forms of discrimination. The cause of the South African population and its imprisoned representatives must be supported.

66. Romania reaffirmed its solidarity with the South African political prisoners and called for their immediate and unconditional release. The Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners was being observed in Romania through meetings and lectures organized by the Romanian League of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa and Asia. The Romanian people condemned the policy of *apartheid* and extended its full support and sympathy to those who had dedicated themselves to the struggle against *apartheid*; it was in that spirit that his delegation would act during the Special Political Committee's discussion of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

## 954th meeting

Friday, 10 October 1975, at 3.10 p.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Roberto MARTINEZ ORDOÑEZ (Honduras).

A/SPC/SR.954

### AGENDA ITEM 53

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa  
(*continued*) (A/10050-S/11638, A/10052-S/11641,  
A/10103-S/11708, A/SPC/174):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (A/10022);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/10281)

### DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS (*continued*)

1. Mr. FREEMAN-GREENE (New Zealand) said that his Prime Minister had issued a statement the day before strongly supporting the release of South African political prisoners and endorsing efforts by the United Nations to call attention to the fate of the victims of *apartheid* in South Africa.

2. Mr. HRČKA (Czechoslovakia) said that his Government condemned *apartheid* as a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and basic human rights and had always supported those States which were striving in deeds as well as in words to eliminate it. His Government fully supported the people of South Africa in their struggle for human rights, dignity and national liberation. He noted that despite world-wide protests, the racist régime in South Africa continued to imprison fighters for human rights and national liberation. His Government demanded that the South African racist régime stop violating basic human rights, repeal all racist laws and immediately release imprisoned South African patriots. His delegation joined in appealing to all States, especially those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which had not yet done so, to apply the sanctions invoked by the United Nations against South Africa and to implement all other resolutions aimed at eliminating the inhuman system of

*apartheid*. His Government would continue to give full support to all peoples struggling against colonialist, racist and social oppression and would stand shoulder to shoulder with all peoples to achieve the liberation of the courageous fighters for human rights, dignity and national liberation in South Africa.

3. Mr. ABDULDJALIL (Indonesia) said that his country categorically condemned the criminal, racist policy of *apartheid* and reaffirmed its consistent support for the valiant people of Azania under the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). It urged compliance with the decisions taken by the international community in support of their struggle and called upon all nations and organizations to reaffirm their solidarity with South African political prisoners by stepping up their campaign to eradicate *apartheid*.

4. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) said that his delegation firmly supported the people of Azania in their dauntless struggle against white racist domination in South Africa and wished to express sympathy for that country's political prisoners. The people of Africa were continuing to win brilliant victories in their struggle for national independence and liberation despite the counter-revolutionary tactics employed by the South African white racist authorities with the connivance of the super-Powers. Though it spoke of reconciliation, détente and peace, the South African racist régime was building up its military forces and carrying out ever more savage and brutal persecution and suppression of the South African people. Many freedom fighters had been murdered and the number of political prisoners was increasing. The détente propagated by the South African authorities was nothing but deceptive verbiage aimed at undermining the unity of the African liberation movement so as to preserve white reactionary rule. But the heroic Azanian people would not be deceived and would understand the need, stressed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its twelfth ordinary session held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975, for revolutionary armed struggle to overthrow the racist régime.

5. Mr. ADJIBADE (Dahomey), while commending the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts, noted that the Vorster régime had for years ignored the efforts of the international community to protect the freedom of the black community in South Africa. It continued to create "bantustans" and to take repressive action against trade unions, students and others. The ultimate liberation of the country was all the more inevitable because of the fact that Mr. Vorster's oppressive laws were also being used against the white community. Africans could be patient, but eventually slaves had to fight back. All of Africa supported the liberation movement, and if bloodshed was to be avoided the Vorster régime would have to repeal the anti-terrorism laws and grant unconditional amnesty to all prisoners and refugees. The only alternative short of force would be economic sanctions, an arms boycott and the isolation of South Africa by the international community. There could be no peace, security or détente as long as the Vorster régime was usurping power and oppressing the people.

6. Mr. ADLI (Malaysia) deplored the imprisonment of brave African patriots whose only crime had been to engage in a just struggle for self-determination and expressed astonishment that the Pretoria régime could persist in disregarding international censure of its inhuman repression and racist minority rule. His delegation reaffirmed its full support for the liberation movements of South Africa and its opposition to *apartheid*. It felt that the Pretoria régime must be subjected to constant criticism so as to make it aware of its total isolation in the world community. The Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners was an effective way of calling attention to the plight of the victims of *apartheid*.

7. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that *apartheid* was the root cause of all South Africa's problems. That country's laws were still being framed so as to ensure the strict application of racial discrimination. All opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa was considered a crime and subject to ruthless repression. It was the duty of the international community to condemn *apartheid*, to isolate the South African régime and to bring pressure to bear upon it to repeal all repressive laws and release all political prisoners. The Special Political Committee should show its solidarity with South African political prisoners by redoubling its assistance to PAC and ANC, the authentic representatives of the peoples of South Africa, so as to enable them to hasten the total liberation of South Africa.

8. Mr. SSEGIRINYA (Uganda) said that the Vorster régime was persisting in its repressive policies despite general international condemnation because it still had the backing of some countries which recognized it and thus gave indirect support to those policies. It was absurd that those imperialist countries refused to recognize the liberation movements, which represented the victims of *apartheid*. They should be reminded that former representatives of other liberation movements were now sitting in the Committee as representatives of sovereign States. The imperialists continued to support the Vorster régime because they shared in the profits of repression. He called upon the Governments concerned to join in condemning *apartheid* and to refrain from supporting the South African régime. His delegation also called for a quick revolutionary armed struggle to overthrow *apartheid*.

9. Mrs. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) congratulated the Chairman and the officers of the Committee on their election and welcomed the entry into the United Nations of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea.

10. The Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners coincided with the anniversary of an outstanding event in Cuban history. On 10 October 1868, the struggle against Spanish colonialism had been initiated by the Cuban patriot, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who had freed his Negro slaves so that they could join the revolutionary ranks. For Cuba, that anniversary was an ideal occasion to recall that hundreds of Africans were today languishing in South African prisons for the simple reason that they had opposed the odious policy of *apartheid*.

11. According to the statistics, one in four Africans was imprisoned every year under one or another of the

*apartheid* laws. In 1974 approximately 100,000 persons, including youths, women and elderly persons, had been crowded into prisons in South Africa and Namibia which were judged to be especially inhuman by the United Nations. A new wave of detentions unleashed in 1975 had met with the vigorous opposition of those who genuinely pursued justice, liberty and equality among men. Nevertheless, abetted by the Western Powers, the despicable Pretoria régime continued its machinations to perpetuate white power.

12. In mentioning the names of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Nyati Pokela, Karel Tip, Gerry Mare, Glen Moss and Abram Fischer, her delegation wished to pay homage to all the South African and Namibian political prisoners and to encourage the national liberation movements to intensify their struggle against the racist régime and its collaborators. Cuba joined in expressing its complete solidarity with their just cause and demanded the liberation of all the South African and Namibian patriots.

13. The CHAIRMAN invited the representative of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law to address the Committee.

14. Mr. PEAY (Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law) said that the struggle of the South African and Namibian political prisoners was essentially a struggle for the realization of fundamental human rights for the black majorities in those countries. Their struggle symbolized the irreconcilable contradictions between the Draconian laws of South Africa and the basic human rights embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

15. The Terrorism Act of 1967, which vested the South African police with unlimited power to detain a person for life on the mere belief that his activities fell within the all-embracing definition of terrorism, was particularly repugnant. Detainees were frequently cut off from all contact with their spouses and lawyers. Moreover, no provision existed for either judicial review or invalidation of the Terrorism Act itself.

16. At the present moment, 10 courageous young black men were being prosecuted jointly as so-called "terrorists" under the Terrorism Act and, if convicted, faced possible execution or a minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment.

17. Those young men were political prisoners in the truest sense of the term. They had been charged not with criminal activities but with the "crime" of expressing black pride and criticizing the injustices of *apartheid*. They had been held in detention for extensive periods, in some cases exceeding a year. Furthermore, if they were ultimately convicted and sentenced to a prison term, not one day of the time already spent in detention would be credited against the time to be served.

18. Such ill-treatment, which was regularly meted out to political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia, fell far short of even the most elementary standards of justice or fairness.

19. The number of detentions under the Terrorism Act was increasing. In recent weeks, at least 75 persons had been detained, and the total number of detainees was estimated to be in the hundreds. It was not known how many were in solitary confinement or had been physically assaulted or tortured. The detainees had no way of communicating with their families or the world about their situation or of preventing further torture or assaults from taking place.

20. At least 22 persons were reported to have died while in detention, and there was no way of knowing how many of the 75 or more political prisoners currently held would suffer the same fate. Even the pro-Nationalist newspaper *Die Vaderland*, in an editorial published on 22 August 1975, had admitted that detention without trial was becoming more and more difficult to defend.

21. Political imprisonment in South Africa and Namibia took many forms. Many prisoners were rotting away on Robben Island or in the gaols on the mainland. Scores were banned or subjected to house arrest under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. Others were banished to distant localities in South Africa to survive as best they could. What all the prisoners had in common was their desire for racial equality, justice and human rights—in short, those internationally recognized norms to which South Africa, as a State Member of the United Nations, had subscribed. When, however, would such fundamental standards of due process of law and human dignity prevail in South Africa?

22. Those who were privileged to live in societies which recognized and respected the inalienable and fundamental human rights had a moral obligation to support the political prisoners, in word and in deed, in their struggle to bring about justice, equality and the rule of law in the land of their birth.

23. Mr. MOTSEPE (Botswana) congratulated the Chairman and the other officers of the Committee on their election.

24. The Committee was meeting to register solemnly its solidarity with South African political prisoners. Those gallant people had been thrown into inhuman prisons for calling for an end to the repressive system which excluded the majority of the people from exercising their right to shape their own destiny. The voice of the victims of *apartheid* was being ruthlessly suppressed through systematic police harassment, indefinite detentions, house arrests, banning orders and life imprisonment.

25. The Day of Solidarity was an indication of the international community's continuing concern over the inhumanity of institutionalized racism and the constant violation of fundamental human rights practised by the racist minority Government of South Africa.

26. His Government rejected the policy of "bantustans", which assigned only 13 per cent of the land to 16 million Africans while 87 per cent went to 3 million white supremacists. The establishment of "bantustans" in South Africa was aimed at keeping the oppressed majority perpetually divided and economically dependent on Pre-

toria. The "bantustans" would serve as a reservoir of underpaid labour to sustain the white economy of the oppressors in South Africa. The so-called "independence" of the "bantustans" would be nothing more than a sham freedom.

27. His Government believed that a peaceful, non-racial society that was free from inequalities and injustices should be sought in that troubled land. His delegation welcomed with satisfaction the end of colonial rule in Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, which made it quite clear that there was no future for white minority rule in southern Africa. It was therefore unjustifiable and immoral for any Power to sell offensive arms and give technical military assistance to the racist Government of South Africa. Such collaboration only strengthened the régime and facilitated its constant oppression of the disenfranchised majority.

28. His delegation called for international action to press the minority Government of Pretoria to free all the political prisoners it continued to hold in disregard of General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) and other relevant decisions of the United Nations. Meaningful dialogue could be held only with the true representatives of the majority of the oppressed people and not with the collaborators and leaders of the *apartheid* institutions. The prisoners were not, as the régime alleged, criminals, and the international community should therefore reject the South African Government's arrogant assertion that it was holding no political prisoners. The Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, together with other equally repressive laws and regulations, should be abolished as a step towards a return to sanity in that part of the world.

29. The régime had given ample evidence of its disregard for human life by pursuing a policy of aggression and torture, thus posing a clear threat to international peace and security. Action was needed to defuse the explosive situation.

30. Assistance should be given to the victims of *apartheid* through the appropriate organs of the United Nations. His delegation urged pledges and contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and other such funds.

31. Finally, his delegation commended the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Unit on *Apartheid* for their work in publicizing the inhumanity and repression of the *apartheid* system.

32. Mr. BÁNYÁSZ (Hungary) welcomed the admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea as States Members of the United Nations. They had waged a long and bitter struggle against the forces of imperialism and had won their freedom and national independence; his delegation wished them every success and assured them of its friendly co-operation.

33. Through the observance of the Day of Solidarity, the entire international peace-loving community was standing by the men and women who had been imprisoned because of their opposition to the policies of *apartheid* and racism, policies which had been condemned by the United Nations.

34. The Socialist countries had always been on the side of the South African patriots in their fight for freedom and human dignity. The Socialist countries were providing them with assistance to enable them to achieve final victory in their just cause and were continuing to do all within their power to bring about the release of imprisoned freedom fighters.

35. Thirty years had passed since the defeat of the Hitlerite Fascist régime, and yet countless victims were languishing in Fascist prisons. The observance of the Day of Solidarity therefore must not remain a cry in the wilderness. Only by renewed action could the Committee effectively support the just cause of the South African people.

36. Mr. KASINA (Kenya) said that the Committee had decided to observe the Day of Solidarity because of its concern over the increasing number of arrests carried out by the racist régime in South Africa. In previous years, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations had repeatedly called upon the régime to grant unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to *apartheid*. The racist régime, however, had spurned every such appeal.

37. Outstanding political leaders of the liberation movements, such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, were still gaoled under the "Sabotage Act" of 1962 for their opposition to the policies of *apartheid*. They were the authentic representatives of South Africa, and it was they who should represent that country in the United Nations.

38. The African population of South Africa continued to be subjected to oppression and degradation of every kind. Basic human rights such as freedom of association and expression had long since been swept aside.

39. The wave of arrests and detentions which had taken place in September 1974 was a vivid example of the intensification of political repression. As recently as August and September 1975, additional detentions had taken place. Most of those detained were young people, and all were accused of opposing the policies of *apartheid*, policies which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations.

40. The intensification of repression in South Africa posed an ever-growing threat to international peace and security, and effective action was therefore urgently required. Persons imprisoned or restricted under the *apartheid* laws for their part in the legitimate struggle for national liberation must be released immediately and unconditionally.

41. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism should not mistakenly be attributed to South Africa's dialogue with African States. His delegation had consistently rejected the notion of dialogue with the South African régime. South Africa should instead initiate a dialogue with the black majority population within its borders. His delegation rejected dialogue because it would be detrimental to the struggle of the African peoples for self-determination and

would imply recognition of the racist régime and its vicious *apartheid* policies.

42. The attempts by Vorster to attain credibility with black Africa were mere ploys. His aim remained the same, namely to consolidate *apartheid*. The régime's new tactics had been necessitated by the intensified struggle carried on against it by the liberation movements and the world community. They were also a result of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, which had come as a great shock to the architects of *apartheid* and had eliminated the belt of buffer States which had effectively cut off South Africa from the rest of the continent.

43. The rhetoric of "separate development" was intended to deceive Africa and the world as to the régime's real intentions in establishing the so-called "bantustans". It was easy to see through such deceit, however. The whites, who represented less than 17 per cent of the population, would receive 87 per cent of the land, while the Africans would receive what was unwanted. The "bantustans" could not conceivably be viable economically, and, moreover, nearly half the African population did not live in them.

44. South Africa continued to defy the resolutions of the United Nations because of the commercial, military and diplomatic support it received from many States Members of the Organization. Despite the appeals of the United Nations, certain Western countries, most of them members of NATO, had continued to supply arms to South Africa. Many other Western countries continued to trade with and invest in South Africa. Faced with the constant refusal of the South African régime to comply with its resolutions, the United Nations had no alternative but to maintain and strengthen military, economic, political, cultural and sports boycotts against the régime. The international community must lend all necessary support to the liberation movements in their legitimate struggle by all available means, including armed struggle.

45. The CHAIRMAN invited the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to address the Committee.

46. Mr. SIBEKO (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) said that he wished to clarify a point; he observed that the purpose of the Committee's meeting was to express solidarity with South African prisoners and all the comrades-in-arms fighting against fascism in South Africa. He had been greatly disturbed therefore to note that speaker after speaker had referred only to the leaders of ANC. Perhaps that was merely an oversight on their part, or perhaps PAC did not have the right connexions in the right places. It might even be suspected that an orchestrated campaign was afoot. PAC had even gone to the trouble of setting up outside the conference room a display consisting of photos and texts documenting the plight of PAC leaders under Vorster's persecution. In their position in the forefront of the struggle, PAC leaders had undergone the same suffering as other leaders; they, too were therefore deserving of inclusion in the expressions of solidarity. Otherwise, the day might just as well be called a "Day of Selective Solidarity". A tribute should be paid to all who were involved in the struggle. The representatives of ANC had referred to the contributions of PAC and he himself had referred in his own statement to the contribution of

ANC, in a spirit of seeking to unite all the forces which were fighting against the common enemy. The cause of unity was not served by promoting rivalry. The Committee should not therefore try to divide the Azanian people any more than they already were.

47. The CHAIRMAN said that he believed he spoke for the entire membership of the Committee in stating that the Committee was meeting to express its solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa and for that purpose only. That did not mean that the Committee had forgotten those who were carrying on the struggle but merely that the focus of the day was on the tears, blood and suffering of the prisoners. Therefore, while respecting fully the point of view of PAC, he rejected the criticism expressed by its representative.

48. Mr. MARMULAKU (Yugoslavia) said that the solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa that was being expressed in the Committee reflected the indignation of all progressive world public opinion at a racist and Fascist régime which ruthlessly trampled on fundamental human rights, violated the Charter and ignored the decisions of the United Nations. All recent developments in South Africa as well as the documentation submitted to the Committee, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (A/10022), the introductory statement by the Rapporteur of that Committee (951st meeting), and the statement made in the Special Political Committee by the representative of OAU at that meeting showed beyond any shadow of a doubt that the racist régime in South Africa was becoming even more brutal and that, after its defeat through the suspension of its delegation at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, it was endeavouring to deceive the international community by pretending that it was ready to negotiate with the black majority while it was actually trying to split the liberation movements and the people of South Africa in order to prolong the existence of a racist régime based on exploitation.

49. On behalf of his delegation he pledged full support for, and solidarity with, the liberation movements and political prisoners in South Africa. His delegation believed that the United Nations and the international community as a whole must make resolute efforts to secure the complete elimination of *apartheid*, the most shameful system in human history.

50. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners all progressive mankind and all those who prized peace, freedom, human dignity and justice were expressing their solidarity with and support for the struggle of the people of South Africa and were angrily condemning racism and the barbaric system of *apartheid*, which had been branded as a crime against humanity.

51. As far back as 1963, in its resolution 1881 (XVIII), the General Assembly had unanimously called for the release of South African political prisoners. However, the racist régime in South Africa continued to trample on the Charter of the United Nations and to ignore that resolution as well as all other decisions of the United Nations calling on it to put an end to racism and oppression. As the latest report (A/10022) of the Special Committee against *Apart-*



heid showed, racist terror had assumed even greater dimensions and there had been a new wave of arrests involving dozens of people who opposed the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

52. After illegally occupying Namibia, the Pretoria authorities were implanting colonial and racist systems there and strengthening repression against those who were struggling for the freedom and independence of the oppressed people of South Africa. The racist régime, with the help of its well-known guardians and protectors, was equipping its army with new weapons and feverishly creating a staging area against the liberation movement of the African peoples, which had gained new strength since the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire. Those developments created a direct threat to international peace and security and at the same time exposed the true aims of the policy of so-called "mutual understanding" recently proclaimed by Pretoria. The reason why the South African racists ignored United Nations decisions and continued to pursue a policy of *apartheid* lay chiefly in the extensive military, political, economic and financial support being given to them by imperialist circles and their monopolies, which profited at the expense of the Africans. That was confirmed by the report and other documents of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. With the aim of preserving *apartheid*, intimidating the indigenous population and suppressing the national liberation movement, the racist authorities were continuing to apply inhuman laws which constituted a gross violation of the Charter. Using alleged infringements of those racist laws as a pretext, they had sent and were continuing to send thousands of their opponents to prisons and concentration camps, often to their death. The memory of Abram Fischer, the courageous fighter for the future of the people of South Africa, was venerated. The endurance and strength of spirit of the many who were still in prison aroused admiration, and their courage and devotion to the cause of the liberation of their country were convincing proof that the racists would never under any circumstances succeed in breaking the will of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, who would inevitably triumph in their just struggle.

53. The sympathies of the Ukrainian people were wholly on the side of the fighters in South Africa, and his country had given and would continue to give support and assistance of every kind to the South African freedom fighters. His delegation was strongly in favour of a proposal calling for effective action against the South African racists in order to attain the release of all South African political prisoners. It was convinced that the Day of Solidarity would help to mobilize further the efforts of the United Nations and of the world community in support of the just struggle of the patriots of South Africa for the freedom and independence of their people and for the isolation and final elimination of racism and *apartheid*.

54. Mr. GHELEV (Bulgaria) said that his delegation welcomed the opportunity to express once again solidarity with the martyrs of racist repression at a time when it was more than ever necessary to mobilize world public opinion with a view to strengthening and rendering more effective the struggle against the forces of reaction. Bulgaria's position on *apartheid* was well known. Any form of racial discrimination was quite unthinkable for the Bulgarian

people. The theory and practice of racism had always been rejected and strongly condemned by the Bulgarian Government, whose position was founded on the basic principles of the Socialist State and reflected in its legislation and Constitution. The Government of Bulgaria had always associated itself with international action against racism in all its forms and manifestations and, more particularly, that of *apartheid*. For that reason, his delegation entirely endorsed United Nations activities in defence of the victims of the racist and criminal régime of South Africa. That régime had once again defied the appeals and resolutions of the United Nations and had rejected all requests by the international community on the subject of South African political prisoners. It had even promulgated still more repressive laws and had expanded the network of repression. It was the sacred duty of the international community to denounce categorically the barbaric policy of South Africa, which constituted the very negation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In view of the racists' refusal to liberate the political prisoners, all Governments should consolidate activities to isolate that régime and make further efforts to support those who fought for liberty and human dignity in South Africa.

55. His delegation was willing to associate itself with any action which would succeed in breaking down the indifference, if not the hypocrisy, of certain circles and Governments and which would also bring a message of hope and encouragement to the many victims of racist repression.

*Mr. Tellmann (Norway), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

56. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan) associated his delegation with the expressions of solidarity with South African political prisoners, who were incarcerated because of their opposition to the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa and their struggle for fundamental freedoms and human rights. Afghanistan had always supported the struggle of peoples under colonial rule and alien domination and a cardinal tenet of its foreign policy was rejection of racism and *apartheid*. His delegation wished to reaffirm the support of the Government and people of Afghanistan for the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the total elimination of *apartheid* and for the right to self-determination.

57. The international community had first appealed in General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) for the unconditional release of all persons detained or restricted for their opposition to *apartheid*, but the South African Government had disregarded that and subsequent appeals and had enacted even more oppressive laws and extended the system of repression and imprisonment.

58. Reiterating its indignation at the continuation of the inhuman and uncivilized policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, his delegation wished to associate itself with a further call to the Government of South Africa to grant an unconditional amnesty to all prisoners detained because of their opposition to *apartheid* and to repeal all repressive laws and regulations perpetrating racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa.

59. Mr. PINTO-BAZURCO (Peru) said that, although the South African racist régime continued to detain many leaders of the South African people, the just struggle of the people went on. History was irreversible and the cause of the South African people would triumph. *Apartheid* would be remembered as a strange phenomenon in the development of human civilization and an absurd practice by a State against its people. When the natural evolution of a people was hindered by force, a revolution became legitimate and, accordingly, his delegation wished to reaffirm his country's solidarity with those who were fighting to free themselves.

*Mr. Martínez Ordóñez (Honduras) resumed the Chair.*

60. Mr. ZENKYAVICHUS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, in proclaiming the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* was calling on the international community to reaffirm its support for the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for their national liberation, and was also calling on all Governments and organizations to reaffirm their solidarity with South African political prisoners. The Day would be fittingly and broadly observed by Soviet society. Soviet public organizations were actively informing the Soviet people through the mass media about the events taking place in southern Africa and about the evils of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, and were mobilizing the Soviet public in support of the campaign for the liberation of South African political prisoners.

61. The Soviet Union was pursuing a consistent and principled policy against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*: one of the basic principles of its foreign policy was all-round political, diplomatic and other support for the peoples who were selflessly struggling for their independence and national liberation. In the international arena and in the United Nations, it consistently advocated the immediate and final liquidation of the colonial and racist régimes. The Soviet Union greatly admired the thousands of selfless fighters for freedom in southern Africa, many of whom had been sentenced to life imprisonment, who were currently languishing in the prisons and torture chambers of the South African régime. Those sacrifices had not been in vain because the prisoners' deep faith in their own people and in their just cause and final victory inspired all the South African people to new efforts. The success of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, based on the fraternal assistance and support of the Socialist countries and other progressive forces of the world, was a shining example for them. In alleviating the fate of the captives of the Fascist régime of South Africa, much depended on those countries which connived with and often protected that régime. Their representatives spoke a great deal about human rights at the United Nations, but when it came to taking effective measures to protect the rights of the freedom fighters in South Africa they failed to support the victims of racism, *apartheid* and colonialism. However, history irrefutably showed that the struggle of peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress was insuperable.

62. Détente, which through the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries was becoming

irreversible, was a powerful impulse for the new upsurge of the struggle for the full and final liberation of peoples. The affirmation of those who, contrary to commonsense, tried to maintain that détente hindered the national liberation movement was deeply erroneous and harmful, and played into the hands of the racists. In the years when the trend to détente had begun to gather force, the world liberation movement had achieved many important advances.

63. His delegation considered that the time had come to take effective measures against the South African racists and to call for the complete release of South African political prisoners as soon as possible. A wide campaign for their liberation should be waged throughout the world. The Soviet delegation hoped that the just cause of the South African patriots would triumph and that the peoples of South Africa would become free.

64. Mr. AKIMAN (Turkey) said that it was most fitting for the international community to observe a Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, whose suffering would bring about a just and equal society in their country. His delegation believed that the struggle for freedom, equity and justice in Azania would be won by the Azanians themselves; whatever action the international community took would be secondary to that taken by the Azanians. His delegation solemnly affirmed its support for the people of Azania and for those Azanian patriots whose determination and devotion to the principles of freedom and equality were an example to all mankind.

65. Mr. BENUZZI (Italy), speaking on behalf of the nine delegations of the European Economic Community (EEC), read out the text of a letter from the Permanent Representative of Italy to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The letter stated that the nine States agreed to observe the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. Those States supported the relevant General Assembly resolutions and affirmed that the concept of imprisonment for political beliefs was alien to them. They associated themselves with the appeal by the Special Committee for freedom for all those who had been imprisoned because of their opposition to the policy of *apartheid*.

66. Mr. DE PRAT GAY (Argentina) said that on the Day of Solidarity his delegation wished to express the support of Argentina for all who were fighting to eradicate racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The day would come when *apartheid* would be brought to an end and when the equality advocated in the Charter of the United Nations would become a reality.

67. Mr. AMISSAH (Ghana) said that, as his delegation renewed its unflinching support for the victims of racial oppression, hatred and discrimination in southern Africa, it was consoled by the independence of Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe.

68. Thirty years previously, *apartheid* had been considered an internal and domestic matter which could not be discussed by the General Assembly, but today the overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Nations had affirmed that the liberation movements were

the authentic and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa. The recharting of the map of Africa and the attainment of independent and sovereign statehood by the former colonial countries had made South Africa realize the inevitability of the collapse of the oppressive structure of that country. Its so-called détente was nothing more than a smoke-screen to give more time to the architects of *apartheid*. While Vorster had offered to mediate in Southern Rhodesia, he had intensified his oppression in South Africa with more arrests and detentions without trial, torture and brutal treatment of political prisoners, banishment of opponents of *apartheid* and the like. In 1974, South Africa had requested a grace period of six months to enable it to effect changes in the heinous system of *apartheid*, and that hypocritical request had been resolutely supported by the friends of South Africa. Those changes had been dictated by economic necessity caused by the non-availability of white labour at the lowest level of the skilled-labour ladder. If those petty changes were what South Africa and its allies had meant when they had given assurances of changes within six months, they must be told that the majority of people of goodwill in the world would be satisfied only with the total destruction of the entire *apartheid* apparatus.

69. The South African racists had said time and again that there would never be equality between the races in that country. Their actions were directed to stabilizing and perpetuating the system of *apartheid*. In the circumstances, the international community might ask why France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America supported South Africa with all the means at their disposal and opposed attempts to discipline South Africa. Why did those three countries want to retain South Africa, with its racist national policy and practices, in the United Nations and why did the United States find it difficult to support a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa? The answer lay in the economic and military profits accruing to those countries from the continued exploitation of cheap labour of blacks and non-whites by South Africa. In the view of his delegation, colour contributed to the negative attitude of those countries. Recently, there had been an emotional outburst in the countries of EEC against a State Member of the United Nations, but thousands of people suffered imprisonment, death, detention without trial, and the denial of basic human rights and human dignity in South Africa while EEC looked on, expressing only theoretical support and refusing to take corrective action. The European countries had instituted punitive measures against a country whose victims were white, but in South Africa the victims were non-white and Europe therefore opposed effective sanctions against that country.

70. The United States of America, the United Kingdom and France had shamelessly reiterated their support for the racists of South Africa when the Special Political Committee had decided to permit ANC and PAC to participate in its deliberations and to exclude therefrom the representatives of the Fascist régime. They had shamelessly opposed and vetoed the expulsion of South Africa. However, South Africa, by previously refusing to be present when *apartheid* was debated, had forfeited the right to participate in the deliberations of the international community. His delegation took consolation in the fact that opposition to *apartheid* was growing each day and that South Africa was

conscious of its increasing isolation. The eradication of so-called "petty" *apartheid* was not enough; what was required was the total eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and all forms of racial discrimination anywhere in the world. His delegation believed that reason, objectivity and reality would prevail over the love of economic gain and military alliances, over racial oppression and racial injustice. Very soon those who supported *apartheid* would request permission to endorse the liberation movements as the legitimate representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa. Meanwhile, the struggle continued unabated and victory would inevitably be won by the people of South Africa.

71. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) extended the greetings and support of the Government of Nigeria to the exploited, suppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa and to their liberation movements and pledged support for their legitimate struggle for freedom, justice and self-determination. The great heroes of South Africa, of Africa and of all oppressed and underprivileged people had for many decades fought for their basic human rights. The struggle in South Africa had started as a peaceful one. It was becoming an armed struggle and, unless the minority régime in South Africa read the warning signs, it would doubtless become a racial conflagration, which would help nobody.

72. The people of South Africa today were condemned to acquiesce in their plight and remain in delimited reserves, join the slave-camps in the mines and ghettos around the resplendent cities, or resort to armed struggle and go to prison. As was well known, 15 million non-whites were condemned to live in the most barren reserves covering 13 per cent of their homeland, while the racist minority group of less than 4 million whites plundered 87 per cent of the land. The majority could not be expected to continue to live in such despicable circumstances. Those who sought work were forced to live like slaves in the notorious compounds regulated by the pass laws and were denied the right to travel freely within their own country. The main concern of the white minority had been to create and contain a vast supply of cheap African labour by means of collective agreements by the mining companies to peg African workers' wages, a recruitment monopoly which frustrated the free relationship between supply and demand, and servile labour measures regulated by racist laws and institutions. It was well known that 97 per cent of the labour force in South Africa was engaged on yearly contracts, the purpose of which was to prevent workers from developing skills and acquiring class consciousness. Moreover, the workers were kept in place by quasi-military institutions inside the compound. The South African system was the most theoretically perfect system of labour exploitation yet devised. Workers could neither individually nor collectively exercise their power, could not bargain with management, could not employ organizers, could not withdraw their labour and could not strike. Political power was used by the minority to perpetuate economic privilege for the whites whose efforts were directed to perpetuating the *status quo*.

73. The police detained people indefinitely and held them incommunicado in the harsh conditions of Robben Island prison and in remote areas. All colour groups which supported liberal values were arrested and detained under



one repressive law or another. The brutality of the South African police was well known; all recalled FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) Day in 1974, when they had unleashed their dogs on people during a peaceful rally.

74. The Day of Solidarity was a time when the good wishes of the international community went out to the thousands of political prisoners in South Africa to pledge solidarity with them, their cause and their objectives. The international community should continue its efforts to help the oppressed people of South Africa and his delegation pledged its full support to their cause. It stood solidly by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. It asked for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. Though the heroes of South Africa might be held in prison today, the cause for which they were fighting would go forward to victory.

75. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, since a number of delegations still wished to speak, the Committee might wish to devote a third meeting on Monday, 13 October 1975, to concluding the commemoration of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.*

## 955th meeting

Monday, 13 October 1975, at 3.25 p.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Roberto MARTINEZ ORDOÑEZ (Honduras).

A/SPC/SR.955

### AGENDA ITEM 53

**Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa**  
(continued) (A/10050-S/11638, A/10052-S/11641, A/10103-S/11708, A/SPC/174):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (A/10022);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/10281)

### DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS (concluded)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue its observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

2. Mr. IPSARIDES (Cyprus) noted that three decades after the establishment of the United Nations, which had emerged from the ashes and ruins of the Second World War, the ruthlessly repressive white minority régime in South Africa continued to plunder the indigenous black majority of that country. His delegation, together with the vast majority of Member States, wished to pay a tribute to those who had been persecuted because of their quest for freedom and equality and because they refused to live as slaves. It was not, however, enough to pay a tribute to those men and women and to express solidarity with them in their courageous and heroic struggle. What was needed was effective action by the international community as a whole. Moreover, racism could only be effectively eradicated if those who practised it were deprived of the means of doing so. Perhaps the only effective answer would be the total isolation of the South African régime and increased support for the oppressed peoples of South Africa and their liberation movements, whose cause was the cause of all mankind.

3. His delegation associated itself with all other delegations in expressing once more its firm solidarity with South

African political prisoners and in calling upon the South African régime to halt forthwith and unconditionally its acts of persecution.

*Mr. Hussein (Somalia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

4. Mr. WOLF (Austria) said that his delegation wished to join the many other delegations which had condemned time and again the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. On numerous occasions, in the United Nations and elsewhere, the Austrian Federal Government had unequivocally stated its position in favour of political liberty throughout the world. It noted with regret, however, that the efforts of the international community to put an end to the oppressive policies of the Government of South Africa seemed to have been in vain, although an undeniable wind of change in the southern part of Africa provided grounds for some measure of optimism for the immediate future. Convinced that the forces of repression in South Africa would not triumph, his delegation wished to declare its solidarity with South African political prisoners and to join in the appeal for their immediate release.

5. Mr. K.B. SINGH (Nepal) recalled that General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) had been highly significant because, with the single exception of South Africa, all Member States had voted in favour of it. However, the police régime in Pretoria had ignored that resolution and continued its reign of terror in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The purpose of the Day of Solidarity was not merely to draw the attention of world public opinion to such violations but also to reaffirm that there could be no peaceful solution in South Africa unless all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to *apartheid* were released unconditionally and allowed to participate in genuine negotiations, on a basis of equality, with a view to working out the destiny of South Africa. With the liberation of the former Portuguese