



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 31:

*The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa . . . . .* 1

Chairman: Mr. Abdulrahim Abby FARAH (Somalia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/7254; A/7259 and A/7270)

1. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, introduced that Committee's report (A/7254). Contrary to what the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa had said at the 1680th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, developments in that country, since the Special Committee submitted its last report,<sup>1/</sup> pointed conclusively to the fact that the Government had no intention of relaxing its inhuman policy of apartheid. In fact, the situation had not improved despite the condemnations, pleas and efforts of the General Assembly and the Special Committee. Assured of the economic and military collaboration of its principal trading partners, the South African Government had intensified the application of its apartheid policies and its repressive measures against those guilty of opposition to that crime against humanity. As the Secretary-General had pointed out in the introduction to his annual report, the policies of apartheid had set the whole of southern Africa on a collision course (see A/7201/Add.1, para. 134).

2. The report of the Special Committee and its annexes gave details of how the situation had deteriorated in South Africa and how the application of apartheid had been intensified, with a resulting sharpening of the danger of violent conflict. During the year, the South African Government had expanded its military and police forces as well as its production of arms and ammunition and was actively promoting a shipbuilding industry which would eventually

be capable of constructing submarines and other ships for the South African Navy. It was unusual for a country which proclaimed its peaceful intentions to be so feverishly concerned with developing a military machine at the expense of its social obligations to the majority of its population. That attitude appeared to have two objectives, the first being to intimidate the opponents to apartheid and the second to terrorize the neighbouring countries which were joining civilized international opinion in demanding the eradication of the pernicious policies of apartheid.

3. The South African Government was also effectively pursuing its policy of apartheid through legislation. The Group Areas Act enabled the Government to uproot from their homes thousands of non-white families, and in order to speed up the elimination of the "black spots" from areas designated White, the Government had removed African families to locations without even minimum facilities. Recently, in order to strengthen apartheid, the South African Government had also adopted a number of legislative measures, in particular, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, 1968, the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act, 1968 and the South African Indian Council Act, 1968. Despite the protests of many organizations, the Pretoria régime had continued to freeze its national policies along racial lines of unprecedented harshness. Arbitrary punishment had been increasingly meted out to the opponents of apartheid and banning orders, house arrests, arbitrary imprisonment and banishment continued to be the order of the day for those who spoke for freedom, justice and equality.

4. It was particularly disturbing to note that South Africa was increasingly frank about its intention to export apartheid to neighbouring States with its armed forces. The South African Government had threatened independent African States with military intervention and its Prime Minister had reiterated that his Government would fight the so-called "terrorists" not only in Southern Rhodesia but also wherever it was allowed to do so. The Administrator of Natal had gone so far as to state that the Portuguese Territories and Southern Rhodesia had become South Africa's first line of defence. Those developments could not fail to hasten a violent racial conflict and patriots in the whole of southern Africa were determined to fight for the cause of justice and for the fundamental human rights denied them by the racist régime of Pretoria. That determination had become all the more resolute because of the extremely harsh treatment meted out to them by the reactionary régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon.

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 35, documents A/6864 and Add.1.

5. The propaganda machinery of the South African Government was aimed at influencing certain racial groups all over the world and, since the General Assembly had mandated the Special Committee to arouse the world's conscience to the evils of apartheid the Pretoria régime had considerably bolstered its own propaganda. Nevertheless, the Special Committee would not be deterred in the discharge of its mandate, believing as it did that in the end, its cause would triumph.

6. There had been a considerable increase in the volume of trade between South Africa and its major trading partners. The flow of private investment had also been maintained at a substantial level in the case of both major investors in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. New trading partners had emerged, new ways had been found to circumvent the decisions of the United Nations and new patents had been acquired for establishing manufacturing plants in the Republic. In his statement to the plenary Assembly, the South African Foreign Minister had quoted statistics depicting economic growth in his country. It was significant that he had glossed over the shameless exploitation of the non-white majority in South Africa.

7. In a report issued in June 1968,<sup>2/</sup> the International Labour Office had drawn attention to a steady tightening of apartheid systems in labour matters in South Africa and declared that the Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Act of 1967 constituted a striking example of labour legislation based on the theory of the separation of the races. The report further showed that the policy of apartheid created difficulties for the trade unions and imposed restrictions on coloured workers.

8. South Africa's desire for greater economic co-operation with neighbouring States was hardly motivated by altruism. How could a country which did not respect the human person within its borders convince anyone that it was concerned about the interests of the non-white majorities of the neighbouring countries? While South Africa was the country where the first successful heart transplant had been performed, it was also the country where thousands of non-Whites were suffering from malnutrition.

9. In spite of the deterioration of the situation in South Africa, the Special Committee on Apartheid was still firmly convinced that economic sanctions and the related measures it had recommended were the only effective means of bringing about peaceful change in South Africa and that the United Nations must continue to exert every effort to ensure that the sanctions were fully implemented.

10. The General Assembly, in its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, had recognized that an entente had been formed in southern Africa between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. The purpose of that entente was obviously to perpetuate white supremacy in that part of the world, and events since the application of mandatory economic sanctions

by the Security Council had demonstrated the complicity of those racist and colonial Governments. Despite the mandatory sanctions, South Africa and Portugal had openly come to the aid of the Salisbury régime and violated Article 25 of the United Nations Charter. The three racist régimes were engaged in mutual assistance to defeat the measures decided upon by the Security Council. The unwillingness of some permanent members of the Security Council and major trading partners of South Africa to co-operate had certainly strengthened the view that South Africa, in its determination to pursue the policy of apartheid, had the tacit agreement of those Powers. Unfortunately, the Security Council had not taken up that question since 1964, although its own decisions had been flagrantly violated. It was most regrettable that the remissness of some members of the Security Council had prevented any effective action.

11. The Special Committee on Apartheid recommended inter alia that the General Assembly should request the Security Council to consider the situation in South Africa without delay. It further recommended that the Special Committee should be authorized to study and report on the implementation by Member States of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; that the General Assembly should strongly reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people and urge all States and organizations to give it greater moral, political and material assistance; and that information on the dangers of apartheid should be more widely publicized in order to promote greater support from world public opinion, especially in North America and western Europe.

12. One of the purposes of the United Nations was to prevent armed conflicts, and the situation in South Africa allowed the international community no alternative but to intensify and co-ordinate efforts against the intractable forces of apartheid. It could not wait until a racial war erupted.

13. In conclusion, he paid a tribute to Mr. Achkar Marof, Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, who had just returned to his country, and requested the Guinean delegation to convey to him the sincere good wishes of the Committee members.

14. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden) drew the attention of the Committee to the report of the Secretary-General (A/7270) on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa established under operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 2054 B (XX) for the purpose of assisting voluntary organizations and other bodies in providing relief to the victims of the apartheid policies of the South African Government. The Fund's terms of reference included legal assistance to persons charged under discriminatory legislation in South Africa, relief for dependents of persons persecuted by the Government of South Africa, education of prisoners, their children and other dependents and relief for refugees from South Africa. Its humanitarian assistance was not intended as a substitute for the political action required to solve the problem of South Africa. It was, however, a complement to the repeated demands for the libera-

<sup>2/</sup> Fourth Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1968).

tion of all persons imprisoned for opposing the policies of apartheid. The Fund provided one means for Member States to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid and their concern for its victims.

15. According to document A/7270, since its inception the Fund had received a total of \$634,367 in voluntary contributions from States, organizations and individuals and had given a total of \$533,430 in grants. More than forty Member States had so far made contributions, and since the adoption of the report by the Committee of Trustees further pledges had been made by Poland and Nigeria. Happily, it had been possible to carry on that humanitarian assistance in spite of some very serious developments in South Africa, including the banning of the defence and aid committees in South Africa and the enactment of new and drastic repressive legislation such as the Terrorism Act of 1967.

16. The statement just made by the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid had given more details of the present shocking situation in South Africa. It was a source of satisfaction that the Fund had received not only the virtually unanimous endorsement of the General Assembly but also very strong support from the Special Committee, the Commission on Human Rights and various other bodies and institutions. The situation in South Africa had not improved and, in fact, had appreciably deteriorated. In the circumstances, the need for humanitarian assistance was constantly increasing, and he therefore hoped that Member States would make generous contributions to meet the increased need. It was also to be hoped that all Member States contributing to the Fund would adopt the practice of making an annual contribution and that all States which had not yet contributed to the Fund would make at least token contributions. Paragraph 9 of the report of the Committee of Trustees (A/7270, annex), indicated the desirability of revising the terms of reference of the Trust Fund in order to correct certain technical deficiencies.

17. In conclusion, he recalled that the small but important contributions which the Trust Fund could make were in no way designed to replace United Nations political action but expressed, concretely as well as symbolically, world solidarity on a problem of concern to mankind.

18. Mr. ADDAE (Ghana) welcomed Mr. Farah's election to the chairmanship of the Committee; it was an honour for all of Africa. The item under discussion was not new to the Committee. Indeed, it had been discussed for so many years with no speedy and lasting solution in sight that some regarded any further discussion as unnecessary and fruitless. His delegation, on the contrary, considered it defeatism to abandon the problem on the pretext that it was insoluble. Apartheid had been branded time and again as an obnoxious and dirty policy and condemned as an affront to the conscience of mankind. The only Members of the United Nations which refused to recognize that apartheid was one of the worst evils afflicting the world today were the authors of that hateful policy and their accomplices. Apartheid was a threat to world peace and must be rooted out as quickly as possible if the explosion which it seemed destined to bring about was to be averted. At a time

when the world was celebrating the International Year for Human Rights, it was more necessary than ever to bring into focus the harmful nature of the policies of apartheid in order to secure better co-operation from everyone. No appreciable progress had been made thus far because of the intransigence and hypocrisy of some Members of the United Nations. A satisfactory solution to the problem of apartheid could be found only through the implementation of the resolutions which had been adopted. Although apartheid was unanimously recognized as a crime against humanity, there were some who had the effrontery to claim that they were doubtful about the legal implications of that statement.

19. It was a sad comment on the United Nations that after so many years of struggle to eliminate apartheid, the practice was still spreading. Apart from what was going on in Mozambique and Angola, now Southern Rhodesia, inspired by South Africa's example, was taking steps to legalize apartheid. Because warnings from every quarter had been ignored, millions of oppressed Africans were now ready to resort to violence because they regarded it as the only possible means of improving their lot.

20. The report of the Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid (A/7254, annex I) pointed out that since 1948 the South African Government had maintained an elaborate information and propaganda service and had spent huge sums of money in order to mislead world public opinion. With the complicity of its trading partners, South Africa was attempting to further disfranchise the millions of African inhabitants. It was therefore essential to give the widest possible publicity to the continued broadening and intensification of the policy of apartheid.

21. Events in Namibia confirmed the need not only to destroy apartheid as it was practised in South Africa but also to halt its spread. South Africa's attitude towards the Olympic Games was another example of its contempt for world opinion. Even in the United Nations, side by side with those who wished to see justice done throughout the world, there were hypocrites who continued, for commercial reasons, to conspire with South Africa and gloss over the principles of the Charter, which they had pledged to uphold. Meanwhile, South Africa was arming itself to the teeth and only the most vigorous action could put an end to the shame of apartheid.

22. His delegation appealed once again for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations to be implemented with the support of all, including those who had temporized until now. It was the duty of all Members to translate into action all the declarations made in condemnation of apartheid and to give strong support to the millions of Africans who were suffering as they waged a legitimate struggle to regain their rights.

23. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) congratulated the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur on their election.

24. His delegation noted that, although the United Nations had been striving for twenty years to put an end to the tragic fate of the non-white population of South Africa, its efforts had produced no results; on the contrary, the de facto authorities which had usurped power had been constantly strengthening the legal basis

of a State which rested upon the racist philosophy of apartheid. For twenty years, arbitrary laws whose sole purpose was to ensure the functioning of an infernal machine for the bestial exploitation of African people had been consolidating the position of the oppressor from the Christian West. Some might wonder how the white minority was able to keep itself in power and how the segregationist régime in South Africa managed to retain the support—support which he found almost incredible—of States which at the same time, associated themselves in words with those who condemned South Africa's barbarous and inhuman policy. The answer was that without the financial assistance which the Western monopolies afforded the South African economy in order to ensure its development, the Government of South Africa would fall an easy prey to the African nationalists. The figures spoke for themselves, and it was to be noted that foreign investments had increased by approximately 25 per cent between 1963 and 1966. The United Kingdom, of course, remained the chief supplier and chief customer of the criminal Pretoria régime. Next came the United States. Mention should also be made of the Federal Republic of Germany, whose business dealings with South Africa had increased by more than 100 per cent, as had those of Japan. Others to whom he wished to refer were Italy and France. The latter, disregarding the arms embargo had supplied South Africa with submarines and military vehicles and had undertaken to provide it with all the military equipment necessary to transform South Africa into a full-fledged military power.

25. However, that coalition could no longer halt the nationalists of southern Africa, who since August 1967, as a result of the joint action of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (ANC) had formed and ratified a military union which would soon extend not only to Namibia but also to the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in reaction against the Portuguese-Rhodesian-South African military axis. Racial war had already begun in southern Africa—a war which would liberate the white as well as the black race and would lead the people to victory and to the elimination of white domination, not only in Africa but throughout the world.

26. South Africa and its accomplices must be made to realize that the Organization of African Unity unreservedly supported the great movement of national liberation which was shaking Africa and which sought to restore to the entire continent the sovereignty that the African peoples had once possessed and exercised under the great empires and kingdoms of Africa's past. Since the United Nations had shown itself incapable of exploding the South African myth, the Africans themselves bore full responsibility for their own liberation, whatever the cost might be.

27. The Security Council had not devoted a single meeting to the problem of South Africa since June 1964, and the conservative forces represented in the Council, which happened to be the Pretoria régime's main partners, were resorting to subterfuge and consistently refusing to apply the arms embargo against their South African ally. However, the Special Committee had made numerous efforts to induce other Member

States—the very ones which were unwilling to cooperate—to become members of the Committee with a view to intensifying the struggle against the Pretoria régime and giving the nationalists the moral and material support which they so greatly needed.

28. The non-white peoples of South Africa were victims of twofold colonization—that of the Afrikaners and that of international imperialism. South Africa, which was one of the richest regions in the world, paradoxically contained people who were among the most underprivileged. Those people could not continue to live in bantustans, which were breeding-grounds for the revolutionary struggle which would truly ghettos. The bantustans were also breeding-ground for the revolutionary struggle which would bring down not only the South African régime but also an imperialist system which was still represented in that region by Portuguese colonialism and the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

29. Since 28 September 1958, when it had itself rejected the colonial system, his Government had decided to give its full support to the national liberation movements which would rid the African continent of Western domination. The Republic of Guinea, as President Sékou Touré had stated, would not regard itself as wholly free until its brother countries of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa had regained their full national sovereignty.

30. It was essential for the General Assembly, guided by the conclusions of the report submitted by the Special Committee, to intensify the struggle against the South African oppressor throughout southern Africa. In order to topple that neo-Nazi régime, bold action must be taken to make the arms embargo effective, to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, to obtain the withdrawal of financial assistance from South Africa's principal military and commercial allies, and to give all possible support to the freedom fighters by recognizing their national liberation struggle as legitimate.

31. Perhaps international action, such as the refusal to admit the South African team to the Olympic Games in Mexico, would help to bring down upon the South African régime the general condemnation which would lead to its downfall and destruction. However, only the armed struggle of the freedom fighters, supported by effective action by the international community, would make possible the total attainment of that objective. The fighters who were giving their lives every day and walking in the footsteps of such heroes as Chief Albert Luthuli, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela would be the eternal symbol of African resistance.

32. In conclusion, he recalled that in 1967 the Special Committee had held a series of conferences and seminars in Europe in order to familiarize the public with the question of apartheid by having it debated outside United Nations Headquarters, within whose confines certain Powers were anxious to keep it. Those meetings had taken the Special Committee to Sweden, a country which was making a significant moral and humanitarian contribution to the freedom fighters of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique

and Namibia. In that connexion, his delegation proposed that the document recording the results of the Committee's meetings in Europe<sup>3/</sup> should be circulated to the members of the Committee, particularly those delegations which were not members of the Special Committee.

33. Lastly, he expressed his delegation's gratitude for the tribute paid to Mr. Achkar by the Vice-Chairman.

34. The CHAIRMAN called the attention of members to the proposal made by the representative of Guinea that the document published by the Office of Public Information concerning the Special Committee's visit to Europe should be regarded as a basic document of the Committee. If there was no objection, he would take it that the proposal was adopted.

*It was so decided.*

35. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines) said that the statements made during the meeting, particularly the presentation of the report of the Special Committee (A/7254) made by the representative of Nepal, con-

tained substantive information which would certainly be helpful in subsequent debates. His delegation therefore proposed that the proceedings of the meeting should appear in the record in extenso.

36. Mr. Dosumu JOHNSON (Liberia) associated himself with the preceding speakers in congratulating the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur on their election. He supported the Philippine representative's proposal and hoped that it would be adopted unanimously.

37. The CHAIRMAN, referring to the proposal made by the representative of the Philippines and supported by the representative of Liberia, noted that if the Committee so decided a record based on the sound transcription could be circulated in English and French to the members of the Committee. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee adopted the Philippine representative's proposal.

*It was so decided.<sup>4/</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*

<sup>3/</sup> The United Nations and Apartheid, United Nations Office of Public Information, Publications Feature No. 7, July 1968.

<sup>4/</sup> The verbatim record of this meeting was circulated as document A/SPC/PV.598.