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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 (continued) 1

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(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 (continued) (A/7254, A/7259, A/7270)

1. Mr. BORSANYI (Hungary) said that the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/7254), like the resolutions adopted over the years by the General Assembly, had expressed the profound disquiet caused by the policy of the South African Government among delegations which feared for international peace and security. During the past year the situation had been constantly deteriorating. In 1968, several laws and regulations had come into force and had further reduced the rights of the coloured population and legalized oppressive measures, all of which were widely applied. According to recent information, the number of persons imprisoned had risen by approximately 70 per cent over a period of one year. In February 1968, the Department of Planning had proposed the establishment of ninety-seven new ethnic zones, which brought misery, suffering, famine and privation to the native population. The tendency to export the policy of apartheid to neighbouring countries had also increased. In 1968, the South African authorities had tried thirty-seven Nambians, and despite the protests of world public opinion, had imposed long prison sentences on thirty-three of them. The South African Prime Minister had said that South African police was sent to Southern Rhodesia to fight terrorists destined for South Africa, and would do so whenever the country concerned allowed it. Those so-called terrorists were those who dared to oppose the policy of apartheid. That dangerous trend, which had been mentioned by several previous speakers as well as by petitioners who had testified before the Special Committee, would have incalculable consequences for the whole of the African continent. His delegation wished once more to emphasize the

importance of the adoption of appropriate measures before it was too late.

2. However, it was the forces which gave economic and political support to the South African régime that had prevented the United Nations resolutions from being carried out. The allies of Pretoria, who were also the most important members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and even France—although they frequently condemned the policy of apartheid, continued to co-operate with the Pretoria Government. Despite the appeals and resolutions of the United Nations, those countries were still increasing their trade relations and investments in South Africa. According to recent statistics, the United States' capital investment in South Africa had increased by approximately 50 million rand during the past year. In the first quarter of 1968, the imports of South African goods by the United Kingdom had increased by more than 15 million rand over the corresponding period of 1967. During the last quarter of 1967, the volume of goods imported from South Africa by the Federal Republic of Germany had increased by 63 per cent. In April 1968, the Deutsche Bank, in co-operation with other banking institutions, had granted South Africa a loan of 60 million marks. It was natural that the South African Minister of Finance should have stated that the inflow of foreign capital was a clear sign of confidence in South Africa. One reason for that inflow was the fantastic profits obtainable in South Africa through the exploitation and impoverishment of its coloured population. For instance, in the mines a white worker earned 261 rands per month and a coloured worker sixteen.

3. The major trading partners of South Africa pointed out that the Security Council had placed an embargo only on arms. Yet the United States of America exported truck chassis to South Africa; the Atlas Aircraft Corporation of South Africa manufactured jet training aircraft of Italian design, equipped with United Kingdom jet engines; it had been stated in the French Press that France was to supply about \$450 million worth of arms to South Africa; it was rumoured that France would help Pretoria to build atomic reactors; and most of the South African submarine crews were being trained in France. While the United Nations had been discussing the possible effects of a more extensive embargo, South Africa had been setting up its own war industry and was determined to speed up its programme of making that country relatively, if not entirely, self-supporting in the armaments field. It was therefore relatively unaffected by the arms embargo, so long as it could maintain economic and financial relations with the Western

Powers, which would enable it to continue manufacturing its own armaments.

4. It was therefore clear, first, why resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly had not achieved the desired results, and secondly, that the principal economic partners of South Africa shared the responsibility for the continuation of the policy of apartheid in that country.

5. His country had always condemned the policy of racial discrimination and had done and would continue to do everything in its power to help the just and legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and other parts of the world, which it was convinced would be victorious. The General Assembly should undertake a thorough study of the question and make its position clear by adopting a resolution condemning all those who facilitated the continuation of the policies of apartheid and indicate at the same time the means of reaching a solution of that problem.

6. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania) said that, during the past year, there had been no abatement of the rigour or intensity of the policy of apartheid in southern Africa but that the phenomenon appeared to be spreading its tentacles even wider. In Namibia, a Territory under the direct administration of the United Nations, the South African authorities had illegally constituted regional tribal administrations in an attempt to impair the unity of the African people and entrench the superiority of the white racists. In Southern Rhodesia too, the white rebels had closely copied the nefarious practices of their South African brethren.

7. The various United Nations organs had in vain requested the South African authorities to desist from the practice of apartheid and had called for a return to sanity in southern Africa. The ad hoc Working Group of Experts set up by the Commission on Human Rights to examine the violation of human rights in South African prisons had found that its prison conditions reflected the policy of apartheid and violated the standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners laid down by the Economic and Social Council, which South Africa had incorporated into its national legislation. The Group had reported that elements of genocide were to be found in the Republic of South Africa in that one of the results of the policy of apartheid was to destroy the non-white population in whole or in part. The Commission on Human Rights had endorsed the findings of that Group and had called upon South Africa to repeal the Suppression of Communism Act and to abandon the Terrorism Act which, infamous enough in itself, also sought to spread the elements of reaction in the Territory of Namibia.

8. It was a bitter irony that, at a time when the United Nations was commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it should be confronted with such anachronistic colonial and racist policies. While flouting with impunity the many resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the South African Government had added to the oppressive legislation designed to stifle any semblance of opposition to the system of apartheid. The Pretoria régime, linked as it was with the rebellious Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and

the fascist régime in Lisbon, and enjoying the massive economic support of its Western allies, felt bold enough to menace the neighbouring independent African States. The South African Government had threatened to attack the Republic of Zambia merely for its opposition to the racism which had been condemned by the international community and which the overwhelming majority of Member States were committed to eliminate. The Zambian Government had refused to be intimidated and had replied that it would defend its homeland against aggression, but such threats could not be taken lightly. At their last session in Algiers^{1/} the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had declared that any aggression against a member State of that organization by the colonialist and racist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia was regarded as an aggression against all members of the organization.

9. Operating from what they termed their "first line of defence", South African troops remained in Zimbabwe in flagrant violation of General Assembly resolution 2262 (XXII) and had been engaged in military operations against the African patriots. His delegation was astonished that the United Kingdom Government should have remained inactive and unconcerned when South African troops had marched into that colony, for which the United Kingdom was still responsible. Those operations by the South African military forces indicated that the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon régimes were retaining their colonial dominance in southern African by jointly using group force in complete defiance of international law and of the United Nations Charter.

10. Those developments showed not only that apartheid, colonialism and aggression were all linked together, but also that the much-feared large-scale confrontation in southern Africa was increasingly imminent and had in some respects already started. It was a very sad reflection on the United Nations that, at a time when southern Africa was threatened with a racial conflagration, some States should continue deliberately to frustrate every possible alternative course of action which could result in a less violent solution. There was no doubt whatever that the apartheid régime was further strengthened as a result of the economic and financial collaboration of its major trading partners. Previous speakers had pointed to the Western Powers' continued economic support to the Vorster régime, and the representative of Guinea, at the Committee's 598th meeting, had mentioned certain countries, including Japan, which had increased their financial transactions with South Africa. Japan's attitude pained Afro-Asian Member States which strongly deplored it. His own delegation was particularly disturbed that some States, including France, had actually increased their supplies of arms to the Pretoria régime, despite the arms embargo decided upon by the Security Council. The racist authorities could want those arms for one purpose only—the destruction of the African people.

11. It was difficult to reconcile the activities of the Western Powers with their public condemnations of

^{1/} Fifth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Algiers from 13 to 16 September 1968.

the immorality of apartheid and the denial of freedom, justice and human dignity in South Africa. If a bloody conflagration was to be avoided, the industrial Powers concerned must comply with the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The Heads of State and Government of the OAU had condemned the activities of those Powers in view of the serious consequences of their continued economic and military assistance to South Africa.

12. The liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia had considered all possibilities for a peaceful settlement but, having been blocked at every turn by the major Western Powers, had now recognized that they must have recourse to violence to counteract the violence of their oppressors—as paragraph 93 of the report of the Special Committee (A/7254) pointed out. That was a painful but inevitable development. Recent engagements between the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe and South Africa and the troops of Vorster and Smith demonstrated the seriousness of the situation and the determination of the nationalist forces who deserved the active support and solidarity of the United Nations.

13. Both the General Assembly, in resolution 2326 (XXII), and the Third Committee had characterized apartheid as a crime against humanity and the United Nations recognized the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the freedom fighters. It was therefore obvious that the freedom fighters were doing a great service to mankind by fighting against apartheid. Those captured could not be treated as common criminals; they were essentially and legally prisoners of war. His delegation was in full agreement with resolution XXIII of the Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights^{2/} that they should be treated as prisoners of war or political prisoners under international law. His delegation supported all the recommendations of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, paras. 85-149); in particular, it strongly supported the recommendation in paragraph 106 of the report.

14. For the people of Africa, apartheid was a ruthless system of racial discrimination and, above all, of vicious colonial oppression and exploitation. The continued domination of a white minority clique over the African and coloured population must come to an end—by peaceful means, if possible, but by force, if necessary. It was for the racist minority and its supporters to decide how the transformation should be brought about. His delegation was confident that the oppressed people of South Africa would continue to enjoy the international community's support. The United Nations should try to make those helping to sustain the apartheid régime realize the dangers—to the African people, to international peace and security and, therefore, to themselves—of the course they were following.

15. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia) said that his delegation believed the United Nations to be the most important organization in the contemporary world. Nevertheless, there was a growing desire for its reformation as a safeguard against the nineteenth century concepts of great Power influence to which it was reverting in its approach to vital issues. The Organiza-

tion must be saved from itself by the maturity of its Members. His delegation expected that, during the current session, the United Nations would narrow the gap between Africans and Europeans in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Given determination, that could be done; the United Nations had worked to reduce tension in the Balkans, Kashmir, Indonesia, the Congo, Cyprus, the Middle East and Korea. Any deviation from the humanitarian principles of the Charter and any support for causes repugnant to civilized humanity would mean conspiring against the future generations.

16. Apartheid in South Africa had become an urgent problem in the foreign affairs of every Member State. The reasons for its continued existence lay not in the ill-will of members of the Committee but in the obsolescence of the ideas held on the subject in world chancelleries. Most men who held the destiny of the world in their hands were apparently oblivious of the tempo of modern history and of the transformation wrought by science and technology and the momentum of social change. The question of apartheid had remained unsolved for too long on the Committee's agenda because of the dull-mindedness of politicians who, at one time or another, had employed the policy of apartheid in their political evolution. Every race, and in some measure every generation, had practised some form of segregation. Happily for the world, the peoples of Europe and America had been quick to learn the fallacy of racial superiority and had concluded that any political system founded on racial prejudice had never endured permanently. His delegation earnestly hoped that the great Powers would dissuade South Africa from its ruinous course; procrastination was dangerous and could consign all races in South Africa to a state of abject wretchedness.

17. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General had said that the effectiveness of the United Nations in facing the grave South African challenge would depend on their ability to reach an agreement on meaningful effective measures (see A/7201/Add.1, para. 145). Apartheid continued in South Africa only because the great Powers of the United Nations did nothing; history would not absolve them from blame. His Government's policy of moderation and reason was often misunderstood by political fledglings who indulged in propaganda to minimize the importance of the position it took on vital issues. It was a mistake to impute conservatism to Liberia. He himself had lost none of his pristine nationalist instincts. There had not been an African leader since 1944 who had not been aided morally and financially by the President of Liberia out of the country's meagre resources. Liberia had inherited nothing from colonial masters and had had its birth in opposition to man's inhumanity to man. Since its independence in 1847, it had systematically opposed racial discrimination in all its forms and, surrounded by colonialism and imperialism, had been an asylum for Africans, Asians, Europeans and Americans, who were denied the benefits of human rights in their native homes. His country would continue in that direction until apartheid was destroyed.

18. His delegation had concluded from the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report that, as

^{2/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2.

presently constituted, there was very little to expect from the Security Council by way of effective measures to eradicate apartheid. Conscious of the fact that blood was thicker than water and that economic self-interest transcended all other considerations of State, his delegation suggested that the United Nations should embark on a more conciliatory approach. Compromise was the supreme law of life; there were no fixed positions in successful diplomacy. Anything that Member States could do to allay fear and suspicion in South Africa or among the permanent members of the Security Council would contribute immensely to the eradication of apartheid. The issue of trade was infinitesimal in comparison with the vast sums spent on space exploration. With the proper approach, the great Powers could solve the problem. Like the Secretary-General, his delegation depended upon the great Powers to put an end to apartheid. His delegation opposed not the presence of white government in South Africa at the present stage but the importation into the continent of the nazi racial policy of a superior race, which was an insult to all decent peoples of the world. Africa was large enough to accommodate all races—but in dignity and mutual respect. It was within the wisdom and ability of the Committee to ensure a new South Africa by helping its people to build a strong nation, undivided by tribal, ideological or racial strife, on a solid foundation of freedom, equality, justice and creativity. The time for resolutions on apartheid which could not be implemented had gone; the time for diplomacy had arrived.

19. Some issues could not be resolved by open debate in the General Assembly or Security Council as at present constituted. The Organization should, therefore, change its strategy and pass a resolution appealing to the great Powers and giving them authority to resolve the problem on the basis of partnership between Whites and Blacks and mutual respect. Some European and American States, which had been subjected to South African propaganda, should know that the Africans were not trying to drive the whites out of South Africa. The Africans wanted laws passed making discrimination in any form punishable, removing all colour bars and ensuring voting rights to citizens. The Africans were not suing for black States as such, but for national States in which all citizens, whatever their colour, could live creative lives. The sooner the world overcame ethnic provincialism, the sooner there would be peace.

20. The permanent members of the Security Council would win more friends in Africa by devising a plan to transform the social attitude of white people in South Africa and Rhodesia. He was confident that the great Powers were capable of changing the course of events in those countries. Africans needed the technical know-how of the permanent Powers, but fear and violence would persist as long as Africans were treated as sub-humans and given the most menial jobs. If the permanent Powers intervened in Rhodesia and South Africa, they might temporarily lose some of their investments, but they would make immense gains elsewhere as 15 million Africans were drawn into the economy. The pattern of change in Africa was a challenge to the Committee, and to the permanent Powers in particular, but they possessed the qualities necessary for success. Talk of communism

was merely a subterfuge to perpetuate apartheid; African socialism was rooted not in a doctrine but in its own egalitarian traditions and culture.

21. During his intervention at the twenty-second session (556th meeting), when he had pointed out that copies of speeches in that Assembly had been available only to the Government of South Africa and not to the general public of that country, he had made certain suggestions, which he wished to amplify in the following manner:

(a) Influential members of the Committee should form a non-governmental international organization to support and guide the South African freedom fighters. He was happy that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session (2307 (XXII)) had taken cognizance of his suggestion;

(b) Such an organization might establish a "radio-free South Africa", which would inform South Africans that black Africa was not anti-White, but favoured a multiracial society;

(c) Such an organization might combat apartheid by establishing lobbies in the main capitals of the world;

(d) The Committee should call upon the permanent members of the Security Council to assume sole responsibility for social change in South Africa;

(e) The Committee should call upon Governments of Member States to urge their people to protest against apartheid in South Africa;

(f) The permanent Powers of the Security Council should submit a plan to achieve the Committee's objective;

(g) The Special Committee on apartheid should conduct a constructive campaign in the United States to implement his first three suggestions.

22. Although moderation in the pursuit of justice was not a virtue, Africans should be aware of the effectiveness of moderation policies adopted by the great Powers. If necessary, the intelligence agencies of the great Powers could be used in South Africa, but something meaningful should be done during the current year. He suggested that, instead of holding seminars and sending fact-finding committees, the money should be devoted to lobbying in the leading capitals. Excellent information on apartheid could be gleaned from the great newspapers.

23. It was only the permanent Powers of the Security Council who could solve that issue; they should form a committee and go to South Africa to end apartheid. African dependence on the great Powers would induce them to achieve effective results.

24. Mr. IRAQUI (Morocco) said that the General Assembly's many debates on apartheid should not become purely routine. Apartheid constituted a state of crisis and should be ended. His delegation deplored the lack of response from South Africa to appeals by the General Assembly to end its flagrant violation of the Charter. Morocco considered racist doctrines fundamentally harmful to the dignity of man, and had therefore repeatedly denounced the policy of apartheid. The situation in South Africa was becoming increasingly critical, since many Governments still

assisted the Government to carry out its policy. His country energetically condemned any such direct or indirect assistance.

25. In his statement to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Algiers on 13 September 1968, the Secretary-General had stressed the critical nature of the South African problem, which was not due to indifference on the part of the United Nations but to the refusal of certain Powers to co-operate in applying effective solutions. The Secretary-General had said that the South African situation was giving rise to deep international concern, especially since the Government had attempted to extend the policy of apartheid to neighbouring territories; it was widely felt that there could be no peaceful evolution towards a society founded on justice and equality. Moreover, the report of the Special Committee had noted that the South African Government had continued to procure military equipment from several States despite the Security Council's arms embargo, its military personnel was still receiving training abroad and South Africa had begun to manufacture her own arms (see A/7254, para. 16). Measures were therefore needed to make the arms embargo more effective. The Pretoria Government was also being encouraged by the economic assistance it was receiving from several other Powers.

26. A peaceful solution could be achieved only if all countries ended their aid to South Africa. If they did not, they would be fully responsible for the inevitable serious consequences of apartheid. A more extensive publicity campaign on the relations of certain Powers with South Africa would help to solve the problem, and might encourage moral and material assistance to the

victims of apartheid. His delegation wished to thank all countries which had already offered assistance. His own Government had decided to double its contribution, for 1969, to the United Nations Special Fund for South Africa.

27. He did not wish to overlook other efforts by the United Nations to eliminate apartheid. South Africans were benefiting from the training and vocational education programme, and the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa in Kitwe (Zambia), in 1967, would produce satisfactory results.

28. The General Assembly had tried repeatedly, but ineffectually, to bring the Government of South Africa back to reason. Nevertheless, history had shown that a people which was determined to throw off the yoke of oppression would eventually succeed. In the Human Rights Year, it was the duty of the Pretoria Government to recognize its responsibilities to the African population. Its apartheid policy was in conformity neither with the purposes nor the principles of the Organization. In accordance with the Charter, the Security Council should therefore take the necessary measures, in particular impose universal and binding economic sanctions, to ensure the overthrow of apartheid.

29. He expressed the hope that the South African Government would listen to the voice of reason and act in a manner appropriate to a State Member of the United Nations. His delegation would support any resolution which made it easier to attain that objective.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.