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Chairman: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 87

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/5167 and Add.1-6) (continued):

- (a) Race conflict in South Africa;
- (b) Treatment of people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin in the Republic of South Africa (A/5166, A/5173)

1. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) said that the presence of five new Member States would undoubtedly contribute to the success of the General Assembly's work. Every year the discussion of the issue now before the Committee had evoked the deep indignation and anxiety of all Member States, and every year the Government of the Republic of South Africa had intensified its policy of oppression; it had even gone so far as to destroy systematically the indigenous majority in South Africa solely on the grounds of race. The only example of comparable Government behaviour in the twentieth century was Hitler's fascist régime, and the present rulers of South Africa undoubtedly drew their inspiration from that source. The legislation recently enacted in the Republic of South Africa, including the notorious General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) of 1962 had already been condemned by many previous speakers. That Act was intended to stifle all opposition to the policy of apartheid and indeed any attempt to alter the status quo.

2. Under South Africa's plan for the separate development of the white and non-white population, to which the Foreign Minister of South Africa had referred (1128th plenary meeting) as his country's "New Frontier" twelve million non-white South Africans were to be herded into 13 per cent of South African territory, and that the least fertile part of the country; the remaining land was set aside for the enjoyment of three million Europeans. The South African Government was also encouraging European immigration on the largest scale. Its goal was to achieve a numerical balance between whites and non-whites by the year 2000. South African Emigration Offices had been opened in a number of European countries and with the connivance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bloc, negotiations were being carried on for the establishment of further offices.

3. South African racial discrimination was not directed against the indigenous inhabitants of the country only, but against all non-whites, including people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin, in violation of specific treaty obligations.

4. More than ten years of public outcry throughout the world, appeals from international organizations, and repeated resolutions by the United Nations had failed to influence the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Its only reaction had been to intensify the reign of terror. Its repressive apparatus had been strengthened through the setting up of arms factories and the purchase of weapons abroad. The Foreign Minister of South Africa had made it quite plain to the whole world in his recent speech to the General Assembly (1128th plenary meeting) that South Africa had no intention of changing its domestic policy of apartheid. On the contrary, it was determined to intensify it, despite the fact that it might at any moment lead to an explosion of violence which would engulf the whole of Africa. The danger was increased by its foreign policy which was directed towards assisting the racist Governments of other neighbouring territories. The Ghanaian representative had given details at a previous meeting (327th meeting) the Committee of a coalition of racist, colonialist and neo-colonialist Governments that had been formed to perpetuate racial discrimination throughout the whole of the southern part of Africa. Such activities were contrary to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) and adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session; they were contrary to the Purposes and the Principles of the Charter, and to the cause of peace.

5. Many delegations had already expressed disapproval of the policies of those Governments which were assisting the Republic of South Africa in various ways to maintain a policy which was incompatible with membership in the United Nations. Attention had already been drawn to deliveries of weapons by countries in the NATO bloc and others. Those weapons were being used not only to prevent the indigenous population from rising up and overthrowing the system of apartheid but also to assist neighbouring colonialist governments. Mention had also been made of large-scale investment in the Republic of South Africa by the NATO bloc countries and their intensive trade relations with that country. Negotiations were now in progress between South Africa and the members of the Common Market with a view to South Africa's admission as an associate member. The delegations of the colonialist Powers and countries in the NATO bloc had prevented the adoption by the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of measures that might have forced the Republic of South Africa to abandon its discriminatory policies. They had replaced a reso-

lution^{1/} proposing effective measures with a series of platitudinous pronouncements designed to postpone a solution indefinitely.

6. The Romanian delegation strongly disapproved of any assistance, direct or indirect, to the Government of South Africa in maintaining its policy of apartheid for it could only hinder the work of the United Nations.

7. Romania was unalterably opposed to racial discrimination of every kind, and it therefore associated itself whole-heartedly with those country which demanded an immediate cessation of apartheid. The Romanian delegation would support any measures to that end. In the meantime, it expressed sympathy for indigenous people of South Africa and its hope for a successful outcome to their righteous struggle.

8. Mr. NGYESE (Congo, Leopoldville) said that an overwhelming majority of States Members had condemned the policy of apartheid for it was based on doctrines of racial discrimination which were contrary to the principles of the Charter and incompatible with the obligations of Members under Article 56 in particular. At the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, almost without exception, Member States had again expressed their anxiety at the development of the situation in South Africa and their indignation at the intransigence of the South African Government. Determined efforts had been made to secure the adoption of measures to remedy the danger that apartheid represented to peace and security in Africa and to the world at large. Although no direct result had been achieved, the peoples of the world had become more aware than ever of the threat of apartheid to world peace.

9. The Congolese delegation felt that the lack of success had been chiefly due to the ambiguous attitude of the colonial Powers, which had shirked the responsibility of adopting stringent and effective measures. Those same Powers, instead of giving full effect to the decisions of the General Assembly, had only applied them half-heartedly and without conviction, purely in order to save face. The provocative attitude of South Africa called for co-ordinated action and unanimous decisions on the part of all Member States. The case had again revealed one of the chief weaknesses of the United Nations. The failure of the Organization had encouraged the Government of South Africa to adopt still more discriminatory legislation. The recently adopted Sabotage Act was an example of the harsh measures to which a police State, well on the way to totalitarianism, had to resort to keep itself in power. The need for such measures showed that the Organization had been correct in its estimate of the situation in South Africa, and more than justified the anxiety of Member States. It was yet another reason for the Organization to examine the problem more realistically and to adopt decisions which would be much more effective than in the past. The Organization's continued failure to act could have the most serious results. The Africans had put their trust in the United Nations, as the recent visit of the Special Committee for South West Africa to South Africa and South West Africa had shown (A/5212, para. 19), and they were entitled to expect it to supply a remedy. The United Nations must remove the growing danger to international peace and security lest the people of South Africa should, in desperation, use violent means to free themselves from oppression.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 76, document A/4968, paragraph 13, draft resolution I.

10. All States had followed with interest the recent developments in the southern United States where the most energetic action had been taken by the President to secure respect for the rights of an individual member of a minority. The Congolese delegation was convinced that more States which possessed powerful means of persuasion, such as the United States, Great Britain and France, could and should do more to influence the South African Government. Although they had been urged to do so in General Assembly resolution 1663 (XVI), it would not appear that they had done all that was in their power to bring about an abandonment of the policies of apartheid.

11. The accession to independence in 1960 of a large number of African States had had a profound effect on the membership of the United Nations. Former colonial countries now constituted a large part of the General Assembly and the number of colonial Powers had declined in importance. That state of affairs could not fail to have an important effect on the Organization's attitude to apartheid. Since its liberation from the colonial yoke, the Congo had been determined to oppose colonialism in all its forms. It regarded its own independence as only a stage in the struggle for the liberation of all Africa. Although South Africa had been one of the founding Members of the United Nations, the Congolese delegation queried whether there was still much advantage in keeping it in the Organization. Article 6 of the Charter provided for the expulsion of Members which persistently violated the principles of the Charter and there could be no doubt that South Africa was doing so.

12. The Organization must take firm and effective measures. At the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the African and Asian countries, supported by many other States, had put forward a proposal^{2/} for economic sanctions against South Africa. Unfortunately the proposal had not achieved the required majority in the General Assembly. He hoped that those delegations which had believed that South Africa could be convinced by vague pronouncements would now realize that more effective means, such as economic pressure, would have to be used.

13. All Member States, particularly the Western States, must dissociate themselves from the policy of apartheid and make the decision to impose economic sanctions. The danger threatening the southern part of Africa could be kept within bounds only with great difficulty. The deplorable activities of the South African Government in South West Africa were well known, as was its support for other colonialist régimes such as the Government of Sir Roy Welensky in Rhodesia, the Portuguese administration in Angola and Mozambique, and even the activities of foreign companies in Katanga. South African action against the people of the Congo had not been confined to sending mercenaries; arms, ammunition and aircraft had also been dispatched.

14. The danger was growing. The independent African States could no longer stand by in silence while their African brothers in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa suffered tragic oppression. Those people must be allowed to enjoy their right to self-determination lest the threat to international peace and security become overwhelming. The Congolese delegation would vote for the adoption of the most stringent measures for they might still be capable of

^{2/} Ibid.

influencing the course of events and providing a peaceful solution.

15. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan) deplored the South African Government's refusal to heed the decisions of the United Nations, the persuasion of friendly countries and the pleas of its own people. In complete isolation, it held stubbornly to a policy which was not only dangerous to the peace of Africa but to the future of the white minority in South Africa itself. The indigenous peoples of all Africa were united on one basic issue; they were determined to wipe out completely from the continent the racial discrimination that had caused them centuries of hardship, misery and political and economic exploitation. Afghanistan strongly condemned the policy of racial discrimination followed by the Government of South Africa, and it had always been one of those countries which, year after year, requested the inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of items relating to that question. He wished to place on record once again Afghanistan's deep anxiety at the continuation of the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa for it was contrary to the solemn provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter. His delegation deeply regretted that although many perennial problems had been solved by the General Assembly or were nearing a solution, the problem of race conflict in South Africa was far from solution and was growing increasingly explosive.

16. There was no doubt that racial discrimination existed in other countries as well, but the Governments concerned were at least condemning discrimination and working towards a solution. The courageous stand of the United States Government in Mississippi had already been referred to by a number of speakers. The Government of South Africa was the only Government in the world which was practising apartheid as a national policy.

17. The discussion of the items under consideration followed the same course every year, and every year resolutions of the same pattern were adopted by the Assembly only to be ignored by the South African Government. Nevertheless, they were a reflection of world feeling. After discussing racial discrimination in South Africa for some seventeen years, however, the Assembly had reached a stage at which sterner and stronger measures were required. The policy of persuasion had merely led the South African Government to intensify its policy. The United Nations could not tolerate indefinitely a state of affairs which was a flagrant violation of the principles laid down in Article 55 of the Charter.

18. The history of contemporary Africa and of other parts of the world showed that Government oppression could not indefinitely silence the voice of the people or extinguish the fire of freedom. The delegation of Afghanistan firmly believed that the policy being followed by the leaders of South Africa would in the long run be harmful to the white population. Their limited numbers and their situation in the heart of a continent so sensitive to the policy of racial discrimination, which had caused such suffering in the past, made the white population very vulnerable. The new African nations would not tolerate further humiliation and discrimination. The policy of apartheid had a corrosive influence on the prospects for the peace and well-being of the African continent as well as on the relations among the peoples of the Republic of South Africa. If that policy continued, the resulting tension

might lead to more violence. The Sharpeville incident of March 1960 might be only a prelude to still greater bloodshed. In discussing the policy of apartheid, the United Nations was as much concerned for the safety of the white South African minority as it was for the rights of the non-white majority. The South African Government now regarded criticism of its policy of apartheid as intervention in its domestic affairs, but the day might come when the United Nations might have to protect the white minority.

19. During the general debate (1128th plenary meeting), the Foreign Minister of South Africa had once again invoked the argument of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter relating to domestic jurisdiction. The General Assembly had already refuted those arguments in a series of resolutions.

20. The claims of the Foreign Minister of South Africa regarding the progress of the Bantu population towards self-government were quite unfounded. The whole legislative apparatus of the Republic of South Africa was used to impose a rigid system of racial discrimination. The International Commission of Jurists, after studying the situation in South Africa, had stated that the Government had established a system of legislation that deprived the non-white majority, numbering some ten million, of the opportunities necessary for the realization of their legitimate human aspirations.

21. The Government of Afghanistan had joined other Asian and African Governments in denouncing the policy of apartheid at successive General Assemblies of the United Nations and at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung from 18-24 April 1955 and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade 5-12 June 1961. It wished to condemn it once again. It was eager to support any practical measures that might be taken at the current session to make the Government of the Republic of South Africa heed the world-wide indignation caused by its policy of racial discrimination.

22. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America) considered that no more important question faced the Assembly than the assurance to all men and women of their full rights and dignities as human beings. Since its birth as a nation, the United States had been committed to the belief that all men were created equal—a belief that was proclaimed as a self-evident truth in the Declaration of Independence. It was true that the problem of racial discrimination still existed in the United States, but the fight to establish equality—which had begun with the Civil War—was still being fought, and the United States Government was making determined efforts to bring discrimination to an end in the pockets where it still lingered. Similarly, the United States would use its influence to win acceptance for the principles of human equality elsewhere in the world. It was a matter of universal shame that several Member States, in complete disregard of their pledges under the Charter, continued to proscribe or penalize those whose race, religion or conscience was unacceptable to the ruling Government.

23. In view of its traditions, the United States was inevitably and irrevocably opposed to apartheid in all its aspects. In the firm belief that the continuation of such a policy could only lead to profound human tragedy for all races in South Africa, it would use its best efforts to encourage the South African Government to abandon it and to live up to its obligations

under the Charter. But above all, the United States—and the United Nations—could not but feel the deepest anxiety, for by the harsh policy of apartheid the lives of millions of people were thwarted.

24. The arguments used to justify apartheid were depressingly familiar. They had been used a century earlier in the United States to justify a system of human bondage. But they were refuted equally by advances in ethical teachings and in scientific knowledge. During the past year two leading scientific organizations in the United States had passed resolutions categorically repudiating claims concerning biological inequalities between different races, which were used as grounds for the denial of rights. The Government of the United States and the majority of its people supported those conclusions in the conviction that partnership and not separation of races was the key to a harmonious multi-racial society.

25. Regrettably, the situation in South Africa had not improved during the past year, and the passage of the Sabotage Act could only aggravate the prospects for progress. However, despite the large number of arrests under that Act, the voice of protest had not been stilled in South Africa and, in the end, it would be the South Africans themselves who would bring about the change that would allow all races to live together in amity. The United States offered its sympathy to those courageous persons who continued peacefully to affirm basic human rights in South Africa.

26. But more than sympathy was required, and all Members of the United Nations would have to consider how best to convince the South African Government that apartheid was both wrong and useless and must be abandoned for the good of all the peoples of South Africa. Indeed its abandonment would aid the continent as a whole, for apartheid not only separated the races within South Africa, but it separated that nation from the rest of Africa and denied it the opportunity to contribute to African progress.

27. The Assembly should begin by reaffirming its condemnation of apartheid and declaring that South Africa had a solemn duty to bring its racial policies into conformity with the Charter. Then it must once again urge the South African Government to meet its obligations with respect to the treatment of peoples of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin. Furthermore, any resolution to be adopted must call on individual States to exert the utmost influence on the South African Government to abandon its regressive policies, and Member States should be instructed to report back to the Assembly at its eighteenth session concerning the specific measures taken towards that end. Such reports would enable the Assembly to assess the effects of various means that might be used to hasten the end of apartheid. Finally, the Security Council might be requested to maintain a close and continuing watch on the situation, as one that might precipitate a serious threat to world peace and security.

28. The United States delegation feared that a resolution recommending the application of sanctions to South Africa would not achieve the practical results desired. The adoption of a draft resolution calling for measures that could easily be evaded, would only serve to cast doubt on the efficacy of the sanction process. Also, the sense of frustration that prompted such measures would only be heightened by their failure. Then again, dissension might arise between various Member States as to the extent of their com-

pliance with the resolution and, finally, the failure of such a resolution could seriously weaken the authority of the United Nations—a consequence which all Members, and particularly the smaller nations, would wish to avoid. It would be recalled that the decline of the League of Nations had been largely precipitated by that body's inability to enforce sanctions.

29. As for the suggestion that South Africa should be expelled from the United Nations, the practical result of such a course would be to remove the South African Government from the one place where the full weight of world opinion could be brought to bear on it. Apartheid could be ended not by diminishing South Africa's contacts with the rest of the world but by expanding them. The steady and repeated impact of the conscience of the world community would be of far more use than any dramatic action.

30. Recognizing its duty to mankind, and complying with resolution 1663 (XVI) adopted at the previous session, the United States was already forbidding the sale to the South African Government of arms, whether from Government or commercial sources, that might be used to enforce apartheid either in South Africa or in the administration of South West Africa. Moreover, it would continue to make official representations to the South African Government concerning all aspects of apartheid, urging the abandonment of that policy.

31. His delegation hoped that all nations would join in condemning apartheid and share its concern for the disastrous consequences that its continuation could lead to.

32. Mr. LICHTVELD (Netherlands) recalled that his delegation had consistently condemned both the policy and practice of racial discrimination. Without denying the complexity of the problems facing the white minority in South Africa, the Netherlands considered that apartheid not only failed to afford any solution to those problems, but must inevitably lead to disastrous consequences.

33. As the situation in South Africa had deteriorated, the Netherlands had become even louder in its condemnation of the racial policies carried out by the South African Government. Now it could hardly find words strong enough to express its abhorrence of apartheid. Such an attitude should be readily understandable in South Africa itself since, from early times—even before the first Dutch settlers had gone to South Africa—the European part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been a haven for dissident minorities in search of freedom. In two of the three component parts of the Kingdom—Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles—the population was a composite of different races who lived together in peace and equality and completely rejected the notion of racial discrimination.

34. It was a painful paradox for the Dutch people to find themselves forced openly to condemn apartheid. For apartheid was the special credo and policy of many South Africans of Dutch origin, and it was sad to see the descendants of settlers who had sought in Africa a place for the free enjoyment of their spiritual heritage now choose, cruelly and irresponsibly, to suppress the free development of a large majority. Although the Afrikaners spoke a variant of the Dutch language, the word "apartheid" was unknown in Dutch, denoting as it did a notion that was completely alien.

35. It was also paradoxical that the almost universal condemnation of apartheid had led to no other result than a deeper separation of the races in South Africa and to a deterioration of the prospects of the non-white population of that country. To attempt to safeguard economic privileges by forcing economic and social backwardness upon a large majority group was surely the height of paradoxical folly.

36. The imposition of sanctions or the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations would, however, only add a number of further—and very serious—paradoxes to those already existing. If expelled, South Africa would be forced into a position of apartheid as a nation; and the Netherlands could not agree to "use Beelzebub to drive out the devil" in that way, for it rejected apartheid in all its possible guises. Collective sanctions—if applied for the purpose of penalizing and ostracizing South Africa—would be equally useless, as they would not help to bring about the new insight that could induce a change of policy. Nor would they alleviate the fate of the non-white population of South Africa.

37. The only useful course would consist in continued and outspoken condemnation of apartheid which should not, however, preclude exchanges of ideas between South Africa and other nations which could exert a beneficial influence. It should be made quite clear that a self-segregating group could never further its true interests by trampling on elementary human rights and by subjugating millions of fellow human beings on the grounds of such an accidental biological phenomenon as the pigmentation of their skin. The mere fact of being in power imposed an obligation of charity, brotherhood and justice on the white ruling group. They had the same duty to practise equality as all men who were called upon to respect the high principles of humanity accepted by Christians—as in the case of South Africa—and non-Christians alike.

38. The Netherlands would continue to condemn apartheid and would support all endeavours designed to induce South Africa to change its racial policies. It would not, however, support sanctions because it believed that the aim of the United Nations should be to convince, rather than to constrain. The Netherlands would continue its efforts to persuade South Africa to renounce its apartheid policy.

39. Mr. BECK (Hungary) said that the lengthy debates devoted over the years to the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa reflected a justifiable concern on the part of world public opinion. Indeed, it was the very struggle against racial discrimination, as practised by nazi and fascist régimes, that had led to the establishment of the United Nations. Now the situation had been rendered even more serious by new discriminatory laws enacted by the South African Government and by intensive rearmament in that country. Millions of people throughout the world—and par-

ticularly the non-white population of South Africa—looked for, and indeed demanded, a solution to the problem. And awareness of that demand was becoming increasingly apparent in the positions adopted by various delegations concerning the question.

40. The Hungarian delegation was convinced that the problem was not an insoluble one. It also believed that its conviction was widely shared. The fact remained that South Africa, far from being isolated, enjoyed the backing of powerful economic interests. In addition to trade, it benefited from large-scale loans and investments, and was furnished with arms from abroad. It had been alleged that those investments and loans were used exclusively to improve the living standards of the entire population, and that the weapons were by no means used to subjugate the non-white inhabitants. But such allegations, if sincere, could be no more than wishful thinking, for the facts presented an entirely different picture of the situation.

41. If they had served no other purpose, the resolutions adopted on the subject of apartheid at previous sessions had at least shown that the policy could not be openly defended. A number of representatives had pointed out that those resolutions lacked the necessary elements for a solution of the problem. Certainly there could be no doubt as to which forces had prevented the adoption of more decisive measures; countries with colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist interests to defend had openly expressed their satisfaction with the ineffectual texts adopted. The debate at the present session had shown that a growing number of delegations were anxious to seek positive means for achieving a solution and that was a most important development, for it should enable Governments which, in the past, had been unable to reconcile practice with principle, to make up their minds.

42. Having for four centuries been a semi-colony, and having suffered under a fascist régime, Hungary and its people felt the keenest sympathy for all those who were struggling against racial discrimination. Indeed, as long as oppression and discrimination existed in any part of the world, freedom elsewhere was endangered. The Hungarian delegation was sure that the final liquidation of the colonial system, and its odious manifestations in South Africa, could not long be delayed. The South African Minister for Foreign Affairs had recently spoken (1128th plenary meeting) of the peace and order that reigned in his country; his words had brought to mind earlier descriptions of Mussolini's Italy, which had been similarly muzzled into silence, and one could not help recalling the fate that had befallen that régime.

43. The Hungarian delegation would support any proposal that would facilitate a final solution to the problem.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.