

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 763rd
MEETING**



Tuesday, 2 November 1971,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Cornelius C. CREMIN (Ireland).

Request for a hearing

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a request for a hearing dated 1 November 1971 from Mr. Yusef Saloojee, Secretary of the Toronto Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa.

2. Mr. AHMAD (India) said that his delegation had twice raised the question of the torturing of prisoners in South African gaols. The seventeenth detainee, Mr. Ahmed Timol, had just died after torture, or, as the South African authorities maintained, had committed suicide by jumping out of a window. As the petitioner, Mr. Yusef Saloojee, was a representative of the South African Indian Congress as well as of the African National Congress of South Africa, and was a cousin of Mr. Suliman Saloojee, who had died in detention in South Africa some time before and had known Mr. Timol, his statement should provide most useful information on the conditions of prisoners and detainees in South Africa.

3. Mr. PEJIĆ (Yugoslavia), supported by Mr. TEYMOUR (Egypt), endorsed the request. The petitioner could supply important evidence which would help the Committee to take immediate action on the new events occurring in South Africa. He therefore suggested that Mr. Saloojee be heard as soon as possible.

4. The CHAIRMAN said that, in the absence of any objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to hear the petitioner at the following meeting.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 37 AND 12

The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*) (A/8403, A/8422 and Corr.1, A/8467, A/8468, A/SPC/145):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* (A/8422 and Corr.1);
- (b) Reports of the Secretary-General (A/8467, A/8468);
- (c) Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter XVII, (section C)) (A/8403)

5. Mr. BANGO BANGO (Zaire) requested the Chairman to ask the South African delegation to be present at at least one of the Committee's meetings during the discussion on *apartheid*, in order that it might provide some information which would help the Committee to understand the problem.

6. The CHAIRMAN undertook to convey that request to the South African delegation.

7. Mr. ARIF (India) said that India's association with the people of South Africa was long and historic. It was India that had first brought the question of *apartheid* to the attention of the United Nations and had introduced General Assembly resolution 44 (I) at the first session of the Assembly.

8. The history of South Africa was one of conflict, which involved physical separation of races, the assignment to each of a permanent political status and the restructuring of the economy to provide the white settlers with maximum benefits and security and to keep the African non-whites in a permanent state of under-development. *Apartheid* was an operative system with a rigid social, political and economic stratification. It combined racial discrimination and economic exploitation in a rigidly defined political culture whose mainspring was perpetual and pervasive conflict. The system would work only if the non-white African was made to act and feel inferior and the white man's humanity repressed so that he might oppress other men.

9. South Africa was the only country in the world that proclaimed the inequality of its citizens in its laws, and to enforce them its Governments had established a cruel and efficient machinery. The senior members of the Department of Justice, judges, juries and magistrates were always whites. The power of the police force had grown so much in recent years that it had become the most important organ of Government and played a preponderant role not only in the execution of policy but also in shaping and determining it. Although about half of its 30,000 members were non-white, there were no non-white commissioned officers. The average daily prison population was over 70,000, the majority of whom were Africans sentenced for contravention of *apartheid* regulations.

10. The net result of that inhuman policy over the past 10 years was a tale of unparalleled misery. It was estimated that 50 per cent of the Indian population in Natal lived below the poverty level, as did 68 per cent of the families in Soweto. The earnings of whites were 485 per cent higher than those of non-whites and the disproportion was increasing annually. One Coloured child and two African children died of malnutrition every 35 minutes. Half the children in a typical African "homeland" died before they were five years old and in the Transkei 40 per cent died before they reached the age of 10. In 1969 the State and provinces had spent R238 million on education for whites and only R14.5 million for non-whites. In 1968 there had been only one qualified non-white engineer and not one registered African apprentice in the whole of South Africa.

11. In response to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and in particular General Assembly resolutions 2671 A to F (XXV), the Government of India had taken the following action: it had extended assistance to the African National Congress, which maintained an office in New Delhi; it was undertaking appropriate information activities through publicity media in India; it was arranging for the observation in an appropriate manner of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; the Indian Council for Africa was organizing pictorial exhibitions in various Indian universities to depict life under *apartheid*; the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO was arranging an All-India Teachers' Seminar to discuss ways and means of combating racism and racial discrimination, a theme which would act as a focal point for the Commission's information activities; the Government was continuing to make contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, in spite of its own pressing demands; the High Commissioner for India in South Africa had been recalled in 1946 and the Mission itself withdrawn in 1954; action had been taken in 1963 to close Indian ports to South African ships and to prohibit Indian ships from calling at South African ports, and in the same year ICAO had been informed that the Government of India would not permit aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and to companies registered under South African laws to overfly India or operate scheduled international air services and to make non-scheduled flights to, through or over that country.

12. India had been the first country to sever trade relations with South Africa in protest against its racial policies. The decision to impose economic sanctions had been taken in principle in November 1944 and all exports to and imports from South Africa had been prohibited from July 1946 onward. Despite its favourable balance of trade with South Africa, India had taken that decision without regret, feeling that it owed it to humanity and to its African brothers in bondage. South Africa's main trading partners were however continuing to increase their trade with that country. Between 1960 and 1970 South African imports from its 10 major trading partners had increased from R828 million to almost R2,000 million and its exports to those countries from R462 million to over R1,000 million. In the financial year 1970-1971, new capital inflow to South Africa had reached a record level of over \$1,000 million.

13. Among the recommendations made by the Special Committee on *Apartheid* in its comprehensive report (A/8422 and Corr.1) was the adoption of two declarations: one on the elimination of *apartheid* and the other endorsing the Olympic principles on racial discrimination in sport. It was important that the Organization should reiterate its grave concern over the situation in South Africa and restate the essential elements of a solution in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The second declaration on racialism in sport must be viewed within the wide context of the whole oppressive mechanism of *apartheid*. The virtual absence of public parks and playgrounds in non-white areas and lack of leisure, low incomes and debilitating health standards had restricted the growth of sporting skills among non-white youths, physical development among children and the moral uplift brought by competitive sport.

14. The Special Committee had urged the Security Council to declare the arms embargo in South Africa mandatory. In order to maintain the white man's supremacy over South Africa by sheer force, the Pretoria racist régime had made preparations to strike against the independent countries to the north in terms of the doctrine of "anticipatory counter-attack". For that reason, it maintained a military presence in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. Its budget estimates for defence had increased from R40 million in 1960 to R271.6 million in 1970. It possessed military equipment worth over R2,000 million; its armed forces, when fully mobilized (including men who had completed Citizen Force training), totalled 85,500, and it had in addition about 58,000 commandos or part-time militia. That heavy defence expenditure was certainly not incurred to maintain law and order within its own boundaries but as a means of aggression against its neighbours. Only recently the Security Council had considered a complaint by Zambia against South Africa and had adopted a resolution on the subject (resolution 300 (1971) of 12 October 1971). In order to maintain peace within the region, it was therefore essential that the supply of arms to South Africa should be completely stopped.

15. The Special Committee had also called for contributions to the OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid*. His delegation had welcomed the establishment of that Fund, which it felt concerned the whole of southern Africa, as one of the means of implementing General Assembly resolution 2671 B (XXV). The Indian Government would shortly announce its contribution to the Fund and hoped that all Governments, organizations and individuals would do the same, in order to help the African people to carry on their own fight.

16. The Special Committee had also recommended that the United Nations should greatly increase its information activities on *apartheid*. South Africa was probably the only country among the smaller nations of the world which spent large sums on foreign propaganda in order to project the image of a generous, pious nation of white people, uncomplainingly struggling under the dual burden of non-white backwardness and world misunderstanding. It was estimated that in 1967, the South African Government had spent over \$7 million on propaganda, directed not only at prospective immigrants, investors, industrialists, journalists and political figures but also at the United Nations itself. His delegation wished to express its appreciation of the "Studies" and "Notes and Documents" published by the Unit on *Apartheid*, which provided an effective means of rebutting South African propaganda.

17. The conflict in South Africa was bound to manifest itself through violence and it was time that it was generally realized that the racist policies followed by the South African Government were a danger to world peace.

18. Repressive régimes invoked Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, to prevent any outside interference with their violations of human rights. The argument that South African brutalities fell essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State had been effectively demolished by the report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa,

which stated that, under the Charter, the Assembly was empowered to undertake any investigations and make any recommendations to Member States that it deemed desirable concerning the application and enforcement of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, in particular the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that the exercise of the powers and functions devolving on the Assembly in such matters did not constitute an intervention within the meaning of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.¹ When people were uprooted from their homes, women and children died of starvation, education was restricted and economic exploitation became an established policy and when elements of genocide were clearly proved by impartial sources, the United Nations could not merely pass recommendatory resolutions but must consider mandatory steps to control a situation which any day might spark off unprecedented violence and destruction of life.

19. Mr. WYZNER (Poland) recalled that his delegation had repeatedly expressed the hope that the debate on the question of *apartheid* would not result merely in an increase in documents and resolutions, but in concerted efforts to find practical measures to breach the gap between words and deeds, and to translate noble ideas into reality. There, in fact, lay the crux of the matter.

20. Unfortunately the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session had been followed by nothing but stagnation and continued suffering of the black majority in South Africa. True, there were some encouraging elements such as the growing realization in the world of the evils of *apartheid*, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, and the intensified efforts made by United Nations organs. However, as the Committee's report (A/8422 and Corr.1) showed, there had been new discouraging developments which left little doubt that United Nations resolutions were remaining largely ineffective. The Pretoria régime was making frantic efforts to break through the barrier of sanctions and of international condemnation. The so-called "dialogue" offered by that régime to the African States was an example of its treacherous policy, and as such had been forcefully rejected by the Council of Ministers of the OAU.

21. Even more alarming was the fact that major Western countries were continuing to give economic and military assistance to South Africa, thus helping it to flout the United Nations and to increase its military might. The United Kingdom, for instance, had resumed its supply of arms to South Africa. A recent article in *The New York Times* had stated that South Africa's current defence budget was almost \$360 million and that it was planning to produce supersonic aircraft. No country was threatening South Africa's external security, and the recent violation of Zambian territory by South African forces indicated the real purpose of the growing arsenal—the threat and use of force against the independent countries of Africa.

22. United Nations studies had proved that the South African régime failed to comply with the basic norms and instruments of international law. The crimes committed under the so-called "native reserve" and "transit camp"

arrangements were reminiscent of those of the Nazis during the Second World War, which were punishable under the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity (General Assembly resolution 2391 (XXIII), annex). His delegation was prepared to support any necessary action to end such crimes, including the adoption of new instruments or decisions by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

23. *Apartheid* meant total discrimination against people, because of the colour of their skin, in the political, economic and social fields. The data made available by the South African régime itself were eloquent in that regard. The Africans, who made up 70 per cent of the population, were being forced into unproductive "homelands" covering less than 12 per cent of the area of the country and were doomed to gradual starvation while the best land and the richest natural resources were decreed "white areas". Moreover, Africans seeking work in industry were only taken on when employers, unions and the Government—all white groups—agreed. No black worker could be promoted to a position where he would compete with or be equal to white workers; black workers remained industrial helots with no rights to organize unions. There were still practically no African apprentices in any skilled trade. The Pretoria régime's refusal in January 1971 to allow non-whites to work as bus drivers in spite of a severe shortage of white bus drivers was a typical illustration of that situation.

24. The dangers of *apartheid* were now spreading beyond South Africa. *Apartheid* had gradually been imposed on the people of Namibia and had helped to consolidate the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, South Africa was assisting Portugal in the conduct of its colonial wars. Finally, the recent cases of South African aggression against independent African countries were convincing proof of what was really meant by "dialogue" with the African States.

25. As the President of the Assembly of Heads of State of the OAU, Mr. Mokbar Ould Daddah, had pointed out when addressing the General Assembly (1938th plenary meeting) on behalf of that Organization, slogans such as "defence of Western civilization" and "the fight against communism" uttered by the racist minorities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were increasingly shaping the action of many Western Governments which were continuing their help to régimes still practising colonialism and racism.

26. Poland had scrupulously observed all United Nations resolutions imposing a political, economic and cultural boycott of South Africa, since it condemned the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* as a crime against humanity.

27. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been celebrated in Poland with many events, such as a "Free Africa Day", a "Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of South Africa", discussions, meetings, seminars and lectures. Among the demands made by the participants in those events were: the immediate release of political prisoners in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia; an end to the persecution of opponents of *apartheid* and racial discrimination; and full

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Supplement No. 16*, para. 254, subpara. 2.

implementation of the United Nations resolutions on sanctions against South Africa, resulting in a complete political, economic and cultural boycott of that country.

28. The countries refusing to implement United Nations resolutions on sanctions bore full responsibility for the consequences of abetting *apartheid*. That was a crucial point. For years the major trading partners of South Africa had made declarations of moral condemnation of *apartheid* while continuing to expand their economic relations with that country. Ending *apartheid* was the collective responsibility of all nations, but above all it was the responsibility of those Western Powers which had supplied South Africa with the military, economic and political means of oppression. Moral disapproval and pious appeals no longer sufficed.

29. His delegation would play its part in ensuring that the International Year to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was a year of decision and change in the struggle against *apartheid*. It supported the sound recommendations of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* submitted by its Chairman (758th meeting), for it believed that effective measures, including wide mandatory sanctions, were needed to end the existing intolerable situation. His delegation would also support all United Nations decisions to assist the liberation movement in South Africa in its fight for national and racial freedom. The cancer of *apartheid* must be eradicated.

30. Mr. KUSUMASMORO (Indonesia) said that the Special Committee on *Apartheid* had the unenviable task of documenting the deteriorating situation in South Africa and the continued checkmate of the efforts of the United Nations. Its masterful report warranted thanks.

31. The previous year the General Assembly had adopted resolutions 2624 (XXV) and 2671 A to F (XXV), redefining the strategy of the United Nations against *apartheid*. Resolution 2671 F (XXV) had received fewer affirmative votes and more opposing votes and abstentions than any of the other resolutions of the twenty-fifth session relating to *apartheid*. Obviously that was because that resolution called very vigorously for an end to the sale of all categories of arms and to the cessation of any economic collaboration, either through trade or investment, with South Africa.

32. There were still countries that advanced casuistical arguments on the difference between arms that might be used against the African population of South Africa and those which were supposedly intended for legitimate external defence. Such rationalization was dishonest self-deception. It was time for all to realize that *apartheid* meant aggression against the people of Africa and that the independent nations of that continent would suffer from the weapons received by South Africa from certain Powers for the alleged purpose of defence.

33. The recent attacks upon Zambia by South Africa should cause those States which had voted against or abstained in the decision on the arms embargo to reflect soberly upon their previous position. In paragraph 266 of its report, the Special Committee had reiterated that it was essential that the Security Council should declare that the arms embargo was mandatory. Such a declaration would be a well-timed response to South Africa's latest move.

34. His delegation had noted with approval the intention of the Special Committee to concentrate during 1972 on identifying the major international corporations trading or investing in South Africa, and on persuading them to desist from those activities. Such corporations must realize that they owed their high profits to the deprivation of the African people of their basic human freedoms. More resolute action was needed than the half-hearted efforts made by one or two companies. Inestimable influence could be wielded by companies investing in South Africa if they so chose. His delegation urged all nations to accept that considerations of economic gain or world strategy must not be allowed to overshadow concern for the moral issues of the South African situation.

35. It would, of course, be unrealistic to believe that such companies would abruptly end their activities in South Africa. However, a gradual decrease of 10 to 20 per cent per annum in trade and investment in South Africa might be hoped for instead of the current yearly increase.

36. One of the most significant successes of the past year was perhaps the dissemination of information about *apartheid* to church groups, sporting conferences, trade unions and the like. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had received an enthusiastic response from many Governments, international organizations and private groups. It was regrettable, however, that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, alone of all the major international labour organizations, had decided not to take part in the trade union conference on *apartheid* to be held in 1972, and his delegation hoped that efforts could be made to make the Confederation change its stand. The proposed conference would certainly prove useful, and might be followed by regional conferences, particularly in Europe and on the American continent.

37. Since sport commanded the attention of a wide public, it was an excellent focal point for anti-*apartheid* activities. His delegation applauded the positions adopted by various sporting teams against *apartheid* in sport, and encouraged continued resistance to the philosophy of racialism, which was inimical to the very spirit of sport.

38. The Special Committee had not forgotten that the victims of *apartheid* were the foremost objects of its concern. United Nations support for the people of Namibia and the Trust Fund for South Africa would continue until racial segregation had been eliminated. Every year brought new signs that the South African Government was hardening in its resolve to maintain *apartheid* at all costs. It had deported foreign church workers in reprisal for donations by the World Council of Churches to African liberation movements. The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg had just been sentenced to five years' imprisonment under the infamous Terrorism Act. Dispossession, arrest, arbitrary detention, torture and other tactics continued to be used. A million Africans were displaced every year. The continuation of those policies brought the threat of open armed conflict closer, in view of which the conciliatory declaration of the Governments of East and Central Africa in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 (Manifesto on Southern Africa²)

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

commanded admiration. Those Governments were willing to talk to end *apartheid*, not to accommodate the South African régime, whereas South Africa's promise of a "dialogue" was merely a decoy to trap the independent African States into acquiescence to *apartheid*. Indonesia, one of the non-aligned nations, persisted in its concern for a solution to the problems of southern Africa.

39. The work of the Sub-Committee on Information of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* was invaluable. The Sub-Committee on Petitions also did useful work and his delegation hoped that its labours would prove successful. One or more additional sub-committees might be set up to share the burden of the Special Committee's work. The most important part of the Special Committee's work was probably its information activities, and his delegation therefore hoped that that Committee could issue its report at an earlier date in 1972 so that it might be given sufficient study. The background information published by the Unit on *Apartheid* was always well-researched and topical, though regrettably its publications seldom received the publicity they deserved from the press, especially in Europe and on the American continent. The Unit might command a wider audience if it issued briefer articles more suitable for newspapers.

40. The Special Committee would do well to take into account the view recently expressed in the First Committee that the success of deliberations on political items depended largely upon the work of other organs within the United Nations system. His delegation hoped that the Special Political Committee might adopt a draft resolution which, in conjunction with the action of other United Nations organs, would truly advance the cause of a peaceful settlement to the problems of *apartheid* in South Africa.

41. In the just fight for dignity and human rights, the Committee must persevere in confidence, so that justice might prevail.

42. Mr. PAMBOU (People's Republic of the Congo) recalled that the policies of *apartheid*, instituted by a white minority in South Africa, had been the subject of many debates in the United Nations. The Organization would undoubtedly have arrived at a just solution of the problem if it had not been for those Members who pretended to condemn South Africa whilst providing it with all the assistance it desired, thus enabling the Pretoria Government to defy the United Nations. The Governments of those countries had been manifestly whimsical in their respect for the provisions of the Charter and of the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations. It was even more outrageous that it should be the "civilized" Western Powers, together with a few pro-colonialist African States, which were playing the game of the racist minority Governments of Pretoria and Salisbury. Those countries had been cited by name in the progressive international press and in the documents before the Committee, particularly in connexion with the shipment of arms to South Africa and the economic embargo on Southern Rhodesia.

43. The problem was of such long standing that one might almost confuse the proceedings in the United Nations with delaying manoeuvres; perhaps, by re-examining the question so many times, the United Nations was playing into

the hands of those enemies of justice who hoped that the passage of time would lead to discouragement, despair and indifference.

44. Meanwhile, the racist régime of the sanguinary Vorster and his confederates was busily arming itself, consolidating its political system based on racial discrimination and *apartheid* and maintaining its casual attitude towards the international community. The white racists of Pretoria continued to flout every measure designed to better the lot of the indigenous population.

45. If the racist Vorster Government succeeded in imposing itself and its inhuman views on the conscience of mankind, it would be as a result of the bad faith of a number of Western countries which had met at the Conference of Berlin in 1884 and 1885 to organize an immense plot against the peoples of Africa, as well as that of those African leaders who had forgotten the origin of the balkanization of Africa. His delegation wished to stress those facts because *apartheid* had become unbearable for the millions of human beings it had reduced to the status of animals under an iniquitous, contemptible and absurd régime.

46. In the view of his delegation, the time had come for the United Nations to adopt practical, effective measures against *apartheid* and to call upon Member States to apply them immediately and straightforwardly. The achievement of that goal would provide the peoples of Africa and of the world with an opportunity to appreciate the true value of the historic mission of the United Nations.

47. The constant flow of news on the fate of the non-white peoples of southern Africa gave proof of the cruelty of *apartheid*. The testimony and documents available to international public opinion were sufficient to dispel the doubts which the Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr. Muller, and his colleagues had so carefully constructed to conceal the dramatic reality of the racial problem in southern Africa and to camouflage their infamous policies directed against the indigenous population. The film "Dumping Grounds", which Members had had an opportunity to view on 22 October, had provided a picture of the reserves which, in the view of his delegation, were nothing other than vast concentration camps like the Buchenwald of Hitler's Germany. The film, which had called to mind the days of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa, had offered a view of social and health conditions in South Africa which naturally reflected the political situation. The reserves were lifeless, windswept, desert lands, where black people were abandoned to huddle in ghettos. The lot of the children, the aged and the women of the reserves was a miserable one, and infant mortality due to kwashiorkor and other endemic diseases reached unimaginable levels. Health facilities were woefully inadequate.

48. His country had chosen the path of honour and real independence through non-capitalist development based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism in order to educate the exploited masses and engage them in the struggle against imperialism with a view to their total emancipation. That was a long and difficult path, but it was the only one which could guarantee the achievement of the ideals of social progress. The people of his country were

convinced that imperialism, in its search for markets, was the source of the tension and of the breaches of the peace in certain parts of the world. His delegation denounced the support provided to South Africa in the pursuit of its policies of *apartheid* by its allies, and particularly its main trading partners, like Portugal, which, in the territories under its domination, practised those same policies in more insidious ways. It considered that the time had come for the United Nations to call upon the Governments of the countries in question to terminate all assistance to the Pretoria régime and all collaboration with it.

49. His country was prepared to give its full support to the United Nations in the application of any measures it adopted with regard to the grave situation in South Africa. He noted, however, that every time the Security Council was on the point of taking effective measures, the imperialist Powers threatened to use their veto. Far from destroying the will of the non-white population of South Africa, that attitude had on the contrary assisted in mobilizing their energies. The racist minority régime of South Africa must know that it could not maintain its supremacy forever and that there could be no lasting peace in the area so long as millions of human beings were deprived of their dignity and the exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination, for, as an illustrious African patriot had said, there was no compromise between slavery and freedom.

50. Mr. FARAH (Somalia), speaking as Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, said that the Special Committee had met the day before to discuss the case of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend G. A. ffrench-Beytagh, and read out the communiqué (see Office of Public Information, press release No. GA/AP/255) it had issued.

51. He also read out the text of two telegrams addressed to the Secretary-General, which had been received on 30 October. The first one, sent from Tanzania by the Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, urged the United Nations to join the Congress in vehement condemnation of the calculated murder of political prisoners by the South African racist régime and demanded stern and immediate action against the Vorster régime in connexion with the recent death in detention of Mr. Ahmed Timol and the barbaric torture of Mr. Mohammed Essop (Seedat) and others. The second telegram, sent by "South African Youth" in London, drew attention to the continued arrests in South Africa and the many reports of torture, stating that urgent United Nations action was imperative to ensure the safety of detainees.

52. Mr. BERNSTROM (Sweden) said that his delegation had been deeply disturbed at the tragic news of the conviction and sentencing of the Dean of Johannesburg, an event which was in keeping with the ruthless persecution of all opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa. In that connexion, he read out part of an editorial article entitled " 'Subversion' in South Africa" from *The New York Times* of 2 November 1971.

53. Mr. CALENDIA (Italy) wished to express his delegation's warmest tribute to Dean ffrench-Beytagh, who had been arrested and sentenced on charges which had not been substantiated and which would not even constitute grounds for criminal prosecution under the laws of civilized countries.

54. Mr. BACKES (Austria) expressed his delegation's profound regret at the conviction of Dean ffrench-Beytagh.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.