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Chairman: Mr. Eugeniusz KULAGA (Poland).

Tribute to the memory of Dato' Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof, Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations, and Mr. Akili B. C. Danieli, Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations

On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute's silence in tribute to the memory of Dato' Mohamed Ismail bin Mohamed Yusof and Mr. Akili B. C. Danieli.

1. Mr. PRAWIRODIRDJO (Indonesia), on behalf of his own delegation and of the delegations of Japan and Thailand; Mr. MAITHA (Kenya), on his own behalf and on behalf of the African States; Mr. STRADOWSKI (Poland), on behalf of his delegation and the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and Mr. PETRIE (United Kingdom), on behalf of his delegation and the delegations of Australia, Austria and the United States of America, expressed their condolences to the representatives of Malaysia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

2. Mrs. GAVRILOVA (Bulgaria), Mr. PERRAULT (Canada), Mr. LAVANDEROS (Chile), Mr. KIKHIA (Libya), Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico), Mr. ALO (Nigeria), Mr. EL-YAFI (Syria), Mr. OGOLA (Uganda), Mr. ABDEL-WAHAB (United Arab Republic) and Mr. MANDA (Zambia) paid tributes to the memory of Dato' Mohamed Ismail and Mr. Akili Danieli and asked the representatives of Malaysia and the United Republic of Tanzania to convey their sincere condolences to their Governments, their people and the families of the deceased.

3. Mr. SYKES (United Republic of Tanzania) thanked the delegates who had expressed their sympathy at the untimely death of Mr. Akili Danieli. On behalf of his country,

he expressed his condolences to the Government and people of Malaysia, and to the family of Dato' Mohamed Ismail.

AGENDA ITEM 34

The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (*continued*) (A/7538 and Add.1 and 2, A/7625, A/7715)

4. Mr. KIKHIA (Libya) said that, as an ex-colony which had known racial segregation and colonialist tyranny, Libya supported the people of South Africa in their noble fight to achieve their legitimate goals and secure their inalienable right to self-determination. Libya had applied all relevant United Nations resolutions, had broken off trade relations with South Africa and was ready to apply any further measures called for to combat the policies of *apartheid*. It fully supported the views, conclusions and recommendations in the Special Committee's report (A/7625).

5. The United Nations since its inception had been dealing with the problem of the criminal *apartheid* system, which had been practised by the white minority in South Africa since the beginning of the century and had become an official State policy in 1948, when the Fascists and neo-Nazis of the Nationalist Party had taken power. The problem was one of the most long-standing unresolved questions in United Nations history. Despite the numerous resolutions and declarations condemning *apartheid*, the international community had failed to persuade the South African Government by peaceful means to abandon its neo-nazi policy. If the Organization continued to be challenged by the racist minority of South Africa and to be unable to impose respect for its Charter, it was in danger of becoming a mere platform for oratory. The repeated demonstrations of its powerlessness had encouraged the South African racist Government's contempt. In the present so-called enlightened and civilized era, it was regrettable to see the continued disregard of man for man because of race or colour. The enslavement of human beings which was being carried on in the *apartheid* policy showed the prevalence of belief in the law of force rather than the force of law.

6. *Apartheid* was not only a racial but a colonial problem, South Africa being a colonial country, and the problem must therefore be dealt with as part of the fight against colonialism and imperialism throughout the world. In South Africa the white European minority was oppressing and dominating the majority of the population in accordance with a philosophy which taught that the Whites, as the

chosen race, had the divine right to rule over the Africans, demand their service, exploit their manpower and resources and keep them in subjection. The whole theory of *apartheid* was that the African should be kept down and made a perpetual servant of the European masters. The attempts by racist leaders in South Africa to justify their hateful doctrine by distorted religious arguments or by absurd assertions that it was the duty of the white man to protect and defend Western civilization were an insult both to religion and civilization. The former South African Prime Minister, Mr. Verwoerd, had stated the basic aim of *apartheid* to be white domination, control and supremacy.

7. The régime was founded on the economic exploitation of the Africans as a source of cheap labour. Despite the condemnation by the General Assembly of the actions of South Africa's main trading partners and of the part played by foreign financial and other interests, international finance was continuing to support and encourage the European minority through heavy investment in industrial and commercial activities, and South Africa's foreign trade with certain Western countries was increasing. The situation could obviously not improve as long as those countries continued directly or indirectly to support the racist Government, and greater pressure on them was needed to secure full implementation of the arms embargo and economic sanctions and make those Powers aware of their responsibilities.

8. Far from showing any willingness to implement United Nations resolutions, the Pretoria régime had adopted new repressive legislation and administrative measures. Its continued and intensified application of *apartheid* had brought about a further deterioration in the situation and increased the danger of violent and widespread armed conflict. The South African Government was building a formidable war machine to suppress any internal uprising and intimidate independent neighbouring States: the continued build-up of military and police forces was being accelerated, production of arms and equipment was increasing and preparations for anti-guerrilla warfare were being intensified. South Africa was also consolidating its alliance with the Portuguese colonialists and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and extending its intervention all over southern Africa in an attempt to create a South African bloc under its leadership. In spreading its racial philosophy beyond its own frontiers and continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, the *apartheid* régime threatened the security and independence of all African States.

9. Concerted and co-ordinated international support—political, moral and material—was more than ever necessary to help to liberate the African majority. A complete and effective embargo on all trade and economic relations with South Africa was the only peaceful action open to the international community. Pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa's main trading partners to withdraw their economic and financial aid, thus discouraging any further repression of the African population. All Member States should also take effective steps to restrict the flow of immigrants to South Africa, to inform and educate world public opinion about the situation, to promote, encourage and co-ordinate the international struggle against *apartheid* and to encourage anti-*apartheid* movements at the national and international level.

10. In rejecting the many United Nations decisions and ignoring world opinion, South Africa had always maintained that its racial policies and practices were essentially within its own jurisdiction and that any examination of them by the United Nations was an unwarranted interference in its internal affairs. The false pretext by which that country made use of the principle of sovereignty embodied in the Charter had been refuted by the General Assembly because the principle of sovereignty could not be interpreted so as to prevent the implementation of other provisions of the Charter, such as those concerned with human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and the inalienable right to self-determination. Sovereignty was indissolubly linked with the ideals of peace, justice, social progress and human rights. Any colonialist exploitation, racist oppression or violation of human rights was incompatible with membership in the Organization.

11. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa must be direct, effective and all-embracing, to include support for any military action. While the Charter encouraged peaceful means of achieving legitimate goals, the use of force was compatible with international law if those means failed, and the General Assembly had recognized the right of colonial peoples to fight against colonial domination as a means of achieving their legal status and securing their right to self-determination. The unyielding racist régime of Pretoria had made an armed rising seem the only possible course.

12. *Apartheid* must be eradicated not only because it was unjust, a denial of human dignity, one of the ugliest manifestations of colonialism and a threat to world peace and security, but also because it was a spreading malignancy and a source of encouragement of neo-nazi doctrines and racist practices all over the world. There was every reason to fear a resurgence of world-wide racism which could explode into a catastrophic conflagration, aggravated by social crises resulting from uncontrolled technological development and population increase. There might indeed be hidden forces in the South African situation which would involve humanity in global racial conflict unless present policies were radically changed. The ideology of *apartheid* was a way of death, not of life.

13. The end of the century might witness the end of civilization and destruction of man not from environmental pollution but from pollution of mind and culture, not from contamination of waters, fields and food but from contamination of the soul and spirit.

14. Mr. EL-YAFI (Syria) said that his country, where hatred and racial and religious discrimination were unknown, had been in the forefront of the fight against discrimination, segregation and *apartheid*, which it categorically condemned. The discriminatory practices inherent in imperialism, aggression and violence were incompatible with the provisions of the Charter and the most elementary human rights. The Syrian Government had always implemented all pertinent decisions of the United Nations and would continue to do so. It recognized unreservedly the legitimacy of the African people's fight against the policy of *apartheid* and assured the liberation movement in South Africa and any other such movement fighting for dignity and freedom of moral and material support in their legitimate fight.

15. The countries which continued to maintain relations of all kinds with the South African Government bore a grave responsibility for the continuation of the policy of racial discrimination aimed at the elimination of a whole people because of its colour. Through its repercussions throughout the African continent and elsewhere, that policy was a threat to international peace and security. It was time to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter, human rights and the provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The effectiveness of those resolutions was dependent on the joint efforts of the whole international community and in particular on those of the States which continued to maintain close political, economic and military relations with the South African Government.

16. Another year had gone by without any improvement in the situation; in fact the practice of *apartheid* was being intensified and the colonialists in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Palestine, Angola and elsewhere were still refusing to recognize the inalienable right of the inhabitants to freedom and human dignity. It was therefore legitimate to despair of finding a solution to those problems through peaceful means and to ask the United Nations to change its strategy. Problems based on human suffering were being drowned in rhetoric and the chasm between intentions and actions was becoming increasingly deep. The ineffectiveness of United Nations action had become a weapon in the hands of those whose interest it was to maintain the unjust and illegal *status quo*.

17. *Apartheid* was another instance of the invasion of colonialism into southern Africa and elsewhere, in order to deprive the African majority of its inalienable rights and convert South Africa into an exclusively white community, which accumulated capital to consolidate its authority by exploiting the indigenous inhabitants. His delegation had always resisted any attempt to remove the problem from its true colonial context.

18. The report of the Special Committee (A/7625), in addition to providing many useful details and conclusions, listed several disturbing new developments. One of them, referred to in paragraph 39, was the strengthening of the South African military potential with the help and encouragement of some great Powers, in particular some States members of NATO. That was yet another proof of the Pretoria régime's determination to strengthen and extend its policies not only of *apartheid*, but also of continued aggression inside and outside its borders, so that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia would become the arsenal of the Atlantic alliance in Africa.

19. The military alliance between Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal, the illegal military occupation of Namibia, South Africa's armed support of the racist, minority régime in Southern Rhodesia belied the contention propounded by the very States which encouraged South Africa's aggressive colonialist policy, that the situation in South Africa was an internal problem and that the policy of its Government was not a serious threat to international peace and security.

20. Paragraph 52 of the report mentioned an even more disturbing development—the total ineffectiveness of the

sanctions, boycotts and embargoes because of the non-compliance of many of South Africa's major trading partners.

21. The information given in paragraph 59 about the building of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric dam in Mozambique, was particularly important, because that dam would provide South Africa with important sources of energy and nuclear possibilities which would be a grave threat to the African and Asian countries.

22. It was known that South Africa was not only capable of producing nuclear weapons but was also co-operating with Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany, two of the bastions of imperialism, nazism and aggression, in the field of nuclear weapons. The Special Committee's mandate should therefore be extended to enable it to investigate that matter and to discover the names of South Africa's partners and other facts about that very serious development.

23. His delegation appreciated the conclusions and recommendations in the report, but noted that they reflected understandable disappointment at the flagrant violation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning economic sanctions and the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. The Special Committee had therefore rightly recommended in paragraph 142 of its report that utmost priority should be given to promoting assistance to the South African liberation movement in its legitimate struggle. That recommendation was particularly important and encouraging because it proposed that international action should move forward from futile rhetorical discussions to practical action. In its article on the recommendations of the Special Committee, *The New York Times* had stressed what it called that fundamental change in United Nations strategy on *apartheid*. That change in attitude had led to the recent expulsion of South Africa from the Universal Postal Union. His delegation warmly welcomed the change and would support all practical measures to put it into effect.

24. During the debate on the question the previous year, his delegation had suggested that the Special Committee should study the effects of the Israel aggression against the Arab nations, one of the aims and consequences of which had been the closing of the Suez Canal and the resultant benefit to the South African economy and the increase of its strategic importance to the Atlantic alliance. His delegation reiterated its proposal that the Special Committee should submit a detailed study of the question to the General Assembly. South Africa had now more ambitious and aggressive plans for a new type of alliance with NATO to cover the south Atlantic and Indian Ocean, despite the opposition of certain States. It had also been suggested that South Africa in the south of the African continent and Israel in the north should prevent passage of progressive ideologies to the so-called strategic oceans.

25. A detailed study should be made of all the obstacles to the implementation of sanctions and the arms embargo. No practical steps had been taken against Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon; no consulate had been closed and trade and investment activities were continuing. The bastions of imperialism and racism were consolidating their hold and threatening other countries, but the imperialists of South

Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Israel and Portugal would be powerless without the support of NATO.

26. Peaceful solutions to the question would have been preferable, but the United Nations could not continue to wait until South Africa deigned to change its policy. Practical help should be given to the liberation movements and the free world should support them in their fight for justice. Sanctions against South Africa should begin within that country. The African people should refuse all co-operation with the Whites; they should tear up their passes and declare a general strike and all communications with that illegal régime should be cut.

27. A previous speaker had noted the absence of South Africa from the discussions on *apartheid*. His own delegation would welcome its absence from all discussions in the United Nations. It should be expelled from the Organization and sanctions should be taken against States which continued to communicate with it. Power should be transferred to the peoples of southern Africa, their Governments should be recognized by the United Nations and free nations throughout the world and they should become Members of the Organization. They at least would respect the Charter and all human rights, the prestige of the Organization would be strengthened, colonialism overthrown and the peoples of Africa would be able to live in peace and progress, as they deserved.

28. Mrs. GAVRILOVA (Bulgaria) said that it was deplorable that the international community had been unable to make any progress in the efforts it had been making for more than twenty years to deal with the question of *apartheid*. As evidence accumulated year by year of South Africa's crimes against the indigenous population, in flagrant violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, the United Nations found itself ever more impotent to compel the *apartheid* régime to comply with its resolutions. During the past few years, South Africa had taken steps to intensify and expand the application of its policy and to prepare for military aggression against neighbouring countries.

29. That country's refusal to comply with some forty United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* had rightly been described as one of the Organization's greatest political failures in its first twenty-five years of existence. The seat of the South African delegation in the Committee was significantly empty, as it had been at all previous sessions when a question which was of direct concern to its Government had been under discussion. The behaviour of the racist régime in Pretoria compromised the prestige of the whole Organization.

30. In the face of South Africa's expanding policy of *apartheid*, there was a growing danger of war in the whole of southern Africa, where a large number of the population were slaves on their own soil. The eradication of *apartheid* was essential to the decolonization of Africa, and United Nations failure to achieve any results in that respect might lead to a crisis for the whole Organization.

31. To solve the problem by peaceful means would require the total isolation of South Africa by the international community through the unconditional application by all

Member States of economic sanctions and observation of the arms embargo. A criminal would hardly stay his hand as a result of appeals alone and would respond only to pressure. It was because international action was not being forcefully applied that South Africa knew itself to be strong enough to oppose it.

32. The co-operation of the major capitalist countries with South Africa was increasing and vast and growing profits were being made by the imperialist monopolies as a result of the inhuman exploitation of the indigenous population. *Apartheid* had rightly been described as one of the most monstrous manifestations of colonialism. The imperialist Western countries and large monopolies thus bore their share of the blame side by side with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. A decision by them to break all relations with South Africa would be one of the most decisive means of bringing pressure to bear on that country to abandon its racial policy and thus averting racial war in southern Africa. The African population at present had to contend not only with its immediate oppressors in South Africa but with the colossus of international imperialism. Faced with the collapse of world colonialism, the imperialist monopolies had resorted to political plots and similar means under the guise of economic, cultural and other assistance: the invidious activities of the so-called Peace Corps, for example, were well known in that connexion.

33. The imperialists looked upon southern Africa not only as a source of wealth but also as a military bastion for the restoration of colonialism in the whole of Africa. The struggle of the national liberation movement in South Africa was thus important for the whole of Africa and the world. Her delegation was convinced that, however long or hard their struggle, the African peoples would win their freedom provided they acted in unity and with the moral and material support of all freedom-loving and anti-colonialist peoples of the world.

34. Her delegation welcomed the Manifesto on Southern Africa¹ and supported the conclusions and recommendations in the Special Committee's report, particularly recommendations D, E and F (A/7625, paras. 151-163). Her Government was strictly complying with the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and maintained no relations whatsoever—political, economic, military or other—with South Africa. It would continue to provide moral and material assistance to the freedom fighters and all the other victims of *apartheid*.

35. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that the persistence of *apartheid* as the national policy of a large country presented a formidable problem which was becoming increasingly serious. His delegation had carefully followed the internal and external policies of the Republic of South Africa and had likewise studied the extensive reports submitted by the Special Committee and the documents of other United Nations organs. The present debate seemed to provide the opportunity to determine whether the Organization might not be scattering its efforts and rendering its work ineffective.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

36. The Commission on Human Rights had presented to the Economic and Social Council a recommendation² for the establishment by the General Assembly of an *ad hoc* committee made up of individuals to be appointed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The suggestion was worth considering, in view of the ineffectiveness of the separate committees. The new *ad hoc* committee could present concrete recommendations to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, whereby better and more effective co-ordination could be achieved.

37. Such an *ad hoc* committee might even be necessary. For throughout the Organization's long struggle against *apartheid* two irrefutable facts had become apparent: first that the Government of South Africa had never heeded the recommendations of the United Nations and secondly that South Africa had always assumed that a defeated mankind would capitulate and accept international coexistence with *apartheid*.

38. The Government of the Republic of South Africa had no intention of changing its evil policy; even the present division between the two branches of the ruling Nationalist Party seemed to be a terrible competition in which each branch of the party was trying to prove to the white electorate that it was more capable of consolidating *apartheid*.

39. Despite the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, nothing had been accomplished as yet. It was necessary to face up to the urgent problem of the subsistence of *apartheid*. It was one thing to study the past history of abnormal forms of human coexistence, but it was a very different matter to watch their continued existence in defiance of the principles set forth in the Charter, which expressed the universal conscience of the contemporary world. Let it not be said that the United Nations was interfering in the domestic affairs of a State Member, for South Africa, like every other Member of the Organization, had undertaken to respect human rights without any distinction as to race.

40. The international community was, therefore, faced with a highly political problem in which it must not admit defeat. The very existence of the Organization depended upon its refusal to coexist with *apartheid* and the survival of the United Nations implied the disappearance of *apartheid*.

41. The report of the Special Committee (A/7625) was a well thought-out document, but its conclusions were meagre. That was inevitable, for during twenty-three years many measures had been attempted and almost all had failed. While he understood the need for economic sanctions, he felt that they could not be implemented. None of

the great Powers was willing to put them into effect and one of them, a permanent member of the Security Council, had indicated that it would not permit them. The arms embargo had also been ineffective. It was not realistic to think that a policy of trade sanctions, with its far-reaching implications for all the civilized world, was within the scope of the United Nations at present.

42. As for the provision of assistance to the majority of the peoples of South Africa, certain distinctions must be made: humanitarian assistance should in no way be limited and the work of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa was commendable. Political and material assistance presented difficulties of another order. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee that had been set up to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, his delegation had proposed the recognition of an independent Namibia; that proposal, however, had not been supported even by the African countries.

43. There was a new element, however, which should be taken into account and which could provide a new direction to the efforts of the United Nations to eliminate *apartheid*. That was the Manifesto on Southern Africa, which the African delegations had inscribed as agenda item 106 on the agenda for the plenary session. His delegation felt that at the end of its general debate on *apartheid*, the Special Political Committee should suspend consideration of the item until the plenary sessions on the Manifesto had been concluded. Such a procedure would make it possible to unify and strengthen the Organization's efforts against *apartheid*.

44. Mr. ABDEL-WAHAB (United Arab Republic) said that the two World Wars and the recent wars in the Middle East had erupted because certain Powers, basing their policies on the friction of racial supremacy and aiming at expansion, had thought that they could impose their will on other people and take over their land by the force of arms. But history had shown that no people worthy of the name would accept foreign domination and the usurpation of their homes and land.

45. In the age of the United Nations, the people of the world were entitled to expect the international community to live up to its responsibilities in saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war and in preserving the dignity and worth of the human person. However, because of the inertia of the United Nations, they were always facing the danger of another racial war. Because of the reticence of certain States to set in motion the powers of the United Nations, the item of *apartheid* continued to be on its agenda.

46. Many committees and organs of the United Nations were discussing the policies of South Africa. All those organs and committees had each year condemned its policies in various fields. The specialized agencies had adopted a similar attitude. Yet no meaningful and effective action had actually been taken by the United Nations to force a change in the policies it had condemned. Consequently the situation in southern Africa continued to deteriorate rapidly, and a racial war was imminent in that part of the world. The South African "*reich*" was rising rapidly, intensifying its racial policy as well as its military

² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-sixth Session*, document E/4621, chap. XIX, draft resolution I.

aggression. It was threatening the security of the independent African States by extending its military aggressiveness to Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, in a desperate attempt to destroy the liberation movement in southern Africa in order to perpetuate the colonial situation.

47. Why had it then not been possible for the United Nations to take any effective action to force a change in the policies it condemned? The Charter had provided the United Nations with a complete system of enforcement measures. But certain Powers, either permanent members of the Security Council or trading partners of South Africa, were preventing effective action by the United Nations. Article 50 of the Charter specifically provided for cases in which States might confront special economic problems arising from the carrying out of enforcement measures. It had been the intention of the authors of the Charter that Chapter VII, Article 5 and Article 6 should be utilized if necessary to force Member States to respect their Charter obligations.

48. When enforcement measures were mentioned, certain Powers always said that peaceful ways and means should first be explored. However, they themselves, as allies of South Africa, had failed to persuade it to change its policy. Those Powers, in turn, had contributed nothing to the efforts of the United Nations to solve the problem peacefully. Their actions in rendering political, economic and military assistance to South Africa were not consistent with the undertaking to fulfil in good faith their obligations under the Charter. Their assistance was a main factor in disturbing, not preserving, peace in southern Africa.

49. The Special Committee had drawn the attention of the Special Political Committee to two disturbing developments in southern Africa.

50. The first was the continued build-up of the South African military and police forces and the plans of South Africa for the massive expansion of its military power. Such a massive military build-up had enabled South Africa to intervene militarily against the forces of the liberation movement in Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. Such military intervention was in fact a menace and a threat to the security of independent African States, as well as to the rights of the dependent people in Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

51. The second was the continued implementation of the Bantustan plan. The implementation of that plan would lead to the dismemberment of the territory of South Africa, a territory which belonged to the indigenous inhabitants, the African people. In the Middle East, another racist régime, the Zionist settlers had copied the same model, calling it the Alon plan or home rule.

52. The conflict in southern Africa today was between people who believed that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it—black and white—and a racist régime which believed that the white race must wage a determined struggle to preserve its purity. The conflict in southern Africa was between people who had been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace and a régime founded on injustice, inequality and racial supremacy. The Charter said that the United Nations should develop friendly

relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The African liberation movement was struggling to achieve those goals and the United Nations and its Members, collectively and individually, had the obligation to help the liberation movement.

53. His delegation fully supported the recommendation made in the report of the Special Committee that the United Nations and its Member States should provide effective material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the movement for liberation (A/7625, paras. 146-150).

54. His delegation also wished to emphasize the urgent need for the Security Council to call upon South Africa to withdraw its forces from Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique.

55. The Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Special Committee were to be commended for their untiring efforts and for producing a report with a new approach to the problem, which had put it in its right perspective.

56. It had taken a world war and the loss of 30 million lives to dispose of the nazi menace. It was to be hoped that the Organization, as well as the trading partners of South Africa, would act effectively and in time, so that the cost of putting an end to the tragic situation in southern Africa would not be so great. It was to be hoped that the international community would learn from history and avoid the repetition of its mistakes.

57. Mr. ALO (Nigeria) said that, although he welcomed the careful consideration given by the Mexican representative to the Manifesto on Southern Africa and in no way wished to detract from its importance, he thought that it was possible to submit proposals to the Committee which would be in accordance with the spirit of that document, without awaiting the outcome of the debate on the question in the General Assembly. African delegations were already considering a draft resolution to be submitted to the Committee and would welcome the ideas of other delegations on the subject.

58. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that he had no desire to interrupt the work of his African colleagues and would in due course put forward some ideas which they might wish to include in their draft resolution.

59. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the Syrian representative had ostensibly spoken in favour of highly desirable principles and objectives, which did not perhaps exactly reflect the policy of his Government—that of destroying another State Member of the United Nations. It was not surprising therefore that that Government had rejected Security Council resolution 242 (1967) calling for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and had refused to meet Mr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It was difficult to see how Syria could reconcile its action with its membership of the United Nations.

60. The allegation that Israel was co-operating with the Government of South Africa in the manufacture of nuclear

weapons was completely unfounded. His country was not manufacturing such weapons either alone or in co-operation with others.

61. It was not his own but another Government which had blocked the Suez Canal. His Government would welcome its reopening immediately to the ships of all countries.

62. His delegation was sure that other members of the Committee would not take seriously the insinuations of the representative of the United Arab Republic, especially since they came from the representative of a country which supplied its soldiers with copies of *Mein Kampf*.

63. Since the representative of the United Arab Republic referred so often to the United Nations principles and recommendations, he hoped that after reflection that country would come, as the overwhelming majority of Member States had already done, to recognize the existence of the State of Israel which had been established by General

Assembly resolution 181 (II) and seriously to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) calling for the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

64. The CHAIRMAN appealed to representatives to confine their remarks to the subject under discussion, namely *apartheid*.

65. Mr. ABDEL-WAHAB (United Arab Republic) said that since the subject under discussion was racial superiority and the usurpation of other people's land, there was a close connexion between it and the situation in Palestine. He would exercise his right of reply to the representative of the Tel Aviv régime at the next meeting. He suggested, however, that the Israel representative should advise his Government to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967), as the Government of the United Arab Republic had already done.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.