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Chairman: Mr. Humberto LOPEZ VILLAMIL
(Honduras).

AGENDA ITEM 35

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued) (A/6688, A/6818 and Corr.1):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/6864 and Add.1);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/6825, A/6873 and Corr.1)

1. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland) said that there was a growing sense of frustration among all countries which were expecting the United Nations to contribute to the eradication of apartheid. In spite of exhortation and condemnations the system of apartheid was being reinforced. In the circumstances, it was no wonder that some representatives had expressed the view that the United Nations had reached the end of the road in the matter. But there had been a considerable shift in international opinion, and virtually all States Members of the United Nations were now prepared to apply to the question of apartheid the principle that States should be made responsible to the international community when their actions produced substantial international effects.

2. Apartheid was undoubtedly an international problem in the sense that it constituted a source of potential conflict endangering the stability of international relations. Accordingly, the General Assembly had adopted a number of resolutions designed to remedy the situation in South Africa. Now, it was for the Security Council to see that forceful measures were taken against that country. But there was no consensus among the Security Council's members in regard to the sanctions adopted. The Council had not even studied the report of the Group of Experts^{1/} appointed pursuant to Security Council resolution 191 (1964).

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2.

3. In any effort to deal with the problems of southern Africa, the most realistic course would be to apply more strictly the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and to find a new approach to the question of South West Africa, since in those matters there was a pattern of agreement between the principal Powers concerned. The United Nations policy of sanctions against Rhodesia and against the perpetrators of apartheid was not yet receiving enough support from public opinion in the countries whose participation was important if sanctions were to be effective. The idea that the policy of apartheid endangered the stability of international relations and world peace was not yet sufficiently widespread to serve as a valid guide for world opinion. But no collective enforcement action could work unless it was supported not only by the Governments of the major Powers but also by public opinion.

4. Accordingly, his delegation was glad to note that the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa had placed special emphasis in its report (A/6864 and Add.1) on the need for a more effective programme of information concerning the policy of apartheid. In that connexion, the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa held at Kitne, Zambia, in July and August 1967, at which Finland had been represented, had been extremely valuable. The United Nations needed a broad vision of the kind of society it wished to see in place of the present one in South Africa. He could not accept the contention that the struggle against apartheid was part of a world-wide war between the races. In his delegation's opinion, every effort should be made to gain the support of members of all races in South Africa itself and elsewhere, with a view to laying the foundations of a society in which everyone, regardless of his race, would be guaranteed equal enjoyment of human rights. In fact, Africa itself offered several examples of societies of that kind, in which the very diversity of cultural traditions was regarded as an asset.

5. Mr. KUDIWU (Democratic Republic of the Congo) said that the discriminatory laws now in force in South Africa and particularly the Group Areas Act, the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, violated the most elementary principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Good administration could not be based on injustice or tyranny and even less on racism. The United Nations must devise a means of putting an end to the situation in South Africa, because no people, however peaceful it might be, could tolerate a fascist and reactionary régime.

6. His delegation did not believe that discussion of apartheid, which was a threat to international peace and security, constituted interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa. As South Africa was obviously heading straight for disaster, the United Nations was obliged, as well as entitled, to deal with the problem. By the almost total passivity which it had displayed, the Organization had merely encouraged an expansion of the policies of apartheid in southern Africa, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, where a minority of white racists was still usurping power with the connivance of South Africa. The United Kingdom, as administering Power, could simplify the Organization's task and help it to oust Ian Smith's rebel clique.

7. The International Seminar in paragraph 45 of its report (A/6818 and Corr.1), had drawn attention to the expansionist tendencies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

8. He agreed with earlier speakers that the General Assembly should be urged to see to the implementation of its resolution 2202 (XXI). The intention had been that the Special Committee should be enlarged by the addition of six members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the basis of the following criteria: first, primary responsibility with regard to world trade; secondly, primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security; and thirdly, equitable geographical distribution. But, owing to the refusal of fifteen out of the nineteen Member States which the President of the General Assembly had approached during the twenty-first session, it had not been possible to enlarge the Special Committee.

9. It was clear that the campaign against apartheid and the sanctions voted against South Africa could never achieve the desired results unless South Africa's main trading partners undertook to abandon all trade relations with it. In the meantime, the situation was deteriorating and the legitimate struggle of the South African liberation movements was increasing in scale. The General Assembly in resolution 2202 (XXI) had appealed to all States to give effective political, moral and material assistance to all those combating the policies of apartheid. His own country was making every effort to restore peace and security to southern Africa, as was clear from the meetings at Kinshasa of a committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in February 1966, of the Committee of Twenty-Four^{2/} in May and June 1967 and the fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in September 1967. At the end of the latter, the participants had adopted a number of resolutions condemning not only the administration of the Territories under Portuguese domination and the unlawful régime established in Rhodesia by the rebel Ian Smith, but also and above all the abhorrent policy of apartheid practised by South Africa. They had further condemned certain Powers which, by their political, economic and mili-

tary collaboration with the South African Government, were encouraging it to persist in its racist policies, and also the main trading partners of South Africa which, despite all appeals by the United Nations and OAU, had increased their trade with and capital investments in South Africa. Lastly, the Conference had once again warned South Africa's main trading partners that, by refusing to co-operate in the efforts being made to solve the problem of apartheid, they were increasing the danger of violent conflict.

10. His delegation would lend its support to any measures based on the following principles: first, condemnation of the policies of apartheid as a threat to world peace and security, and a new blockade of South Africa and its satellites; secondly, enlargement of the Special Committee; thirdly, mobilization of world public opinion against the evils of apartheid; and fourthly, increased assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa, and a resumption of discussions in the Security Council with a view to reaching agreement on specific and forceful measures. His delegation would also support any other proposal which might help to restore human rights in that part of the world. He was convinced that the only peaceful solution would be to ban all assistance to the Pretoria authorities. Failing that, a resort to force would unfortunately be the only alternative.

11. Mr. ECHARIA (Kenya) congratulated the Special Committee and reaffirmed his Government's strong opposition to the irrational policies of the South African régime. His Government had complied fully with the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on apartheid and would continue to do so, despite the bellicose pronouncements of the South African régime and the disheartening attitude of its major Western trading partners.

12. All the members of the Committee were agreed that apartheid was a scourge that must be done away with. The real problem was that posed by those countries whose actions belied their words—the major Western Powers which, despite their speeches, continued to trade with South Africa. Those countries, which were among the most powerful in the world, had betrayed the hopes of millions of Africans and were growing rich on the profits derived from the exploitation of peoples, whereby, incidentally, they were undermining the authority of the United Nations. They addressed appeals for a change of heart to South Africa, but it was their change of heart that was needed, for they were primarily responsible for the non-application of sanctions. Portugal's intransigent attitude derived from the assurance of military support from its Western allies. South Africa defied world opinion and the United Nations. It had gone even further, since its armed forces were operating against the freedom-fighters in Southern Rhodesia, a United Kingdom Territory. It had undermined the economy of Southern Rhodesia, it was undermining the independence of African States, and it had threatened the Republic of Zambia. It was on the warpath and it must be stopped immediately.

13. The great Powers would be responsible for the serious consequences of their present indifference to

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

the situation in southern Africa. Time was pressing, for apartheid was being extended to South West Africa, a United Nations Territory, and it already existed in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal were acting more and more in collusion. Immediate and effective action by the United Nations, supported by all Member States and especially by the permanent members of the Security Council, was necessary if Africans, and indeed the Whites in that part of Africa, were to be freed by peaceful means.

14. Mr. VINCI (Italy) regretted the rejection by the Pretoria Government of the appeals and proposals of the United Nations designed to put an end to the policy of racial discrimination. In a rapidly changing world, the white leaders at Pretoria were being guided by anachronistic psychological and political prejudices which closed their minds to present and future realities, and they were unaware of the dangers the future had in store for them unless there was a radical change in their attitude towards the citizens of African origin.

15. His Government categorically rejected racial discrimination, which was alien to the Italian mentality and culture. It was prepared to do its best to induce South Africa to change its policy.

16. However, some of the specific measures suggested could not succeed without the honest and unconditional support of the great Powers and of all countries which, for geographical, political or economic reasons, had a special part to play in the matter.

17. His country had agreed to serve on the Special Committee if that Committee was enlarged in pursuance of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its twentieth session. That position remained unchanged. Italy had decided to renew its contribution to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the educational and training programme for South Africans. Those contributions were evidence of his country's sincere desire to help the victims of apartheid.

18. South Africa's main trading partners had repeatedly been invited to break off trade relations with that country. In that connexion he pointed out that a nation's trade with a given country could not be isolated from the over-all complex of its commercial activity. Any attempt to close a single channel of world trade, even assuming that it was feasible, would affect the economies of many countries outside the major trading countries. A setback in world trade would hurt other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. That was one of the reasons why his delegation had strong doubts about the effectiveness of economic sanctions against South Africa, especially since that country had a booming economy which could probably become self-sufficient. It was important to anticipate what the results might be before embarking on such a venture.

19. He was firmly convinced that right and justice would prevail despite all obstacles and that, thanks to the action of the United Nations and all Member States, it would be possible to obtain adequate conditions of life for all the groups living in South Africa. The United Nations should avoid any action

which might increase the justified resentment of the South African people and push them to open rebellion. His delegation was afraid that at present such a solution would run against their interests. Everything possible should be done to forestall tragic events and, for that purpose, the States Members of the United Nations should adopt reasonable and progressive measures which would bring about the desired changes. Since the results obtained so far had fallen short of expectations, it was necessary to reconsider the situation and see whether the methods used were satisfactory. Politics was the art of the possible; to change a method did not mean renouncing an objective. World opinion must be aroused and a world-wide condemnation of apartheid obtained; the United Nations must address the younger generation of South Africa, who were more open-minded and not so hard and embittered. The young would be more sensitive to moral and spiritual isolation and would understand that, in an increasingly interdependent world, their future lay in open and loyal co-operation with other nations and that that co-operation would be possible only after they had given up apartheid.

20. Mr. LUKUMBUZYA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that the Committee should now consider the role of the United Nations in the elimination of the scourge of apartheid, for if the United Nations was unable to take practical action, the world's confidence in it would be shaken. Everyone knew that South Africa's major trading partners had failed to implement the General Assembly resolutions and refused to apply the prescribed sanctions, in order to continue to profit from their trade with South Africa. They could be asked to prove that their trade with that country was essential to their national economy. They should co-operate with the Committee and other United Nations organs in seeking means of eliminating apartheid. As long as they refused to take part in the work of the Special Committee, their words would have to be regarded with suspicion. While it was right to condemn apartheid whenever the occasion arose, surely it was even more necessary to take positive measures, such as those suggested by the Scandinavian delegations, for example, by strengthening the economic and political power of the independent African countries in the immediate neighbourhood of the Republic of South Africa. There again, it had to be noted with regret that South Africa's major trading partners had not increased what little assistance they were giving to those African countries, so that some of the latter had found it impossible to sever economic relations with South Africa.

21. He expressed gratification at the organization of international seminars on apartheid and thanked the members of the Special Committee for their report (A/6864 and Add.1) which was very interesting. That report set out a number of regrettable facts and clearly identified who was opposed to the elimination of apartheid. Like earlier reports, it confirmed that the South African Government, far from renouncing apartheid, was more determined than ever to apply that policy. None of that was new, but some points warranted repetition.

22. It would appear, for example, that the South African Government welcomed rejection by civilized

society and imagined that the pressure brought to bear on it from the outside would strengthen the resolve of the white peoples of Africa. It wrongly believed that its persistent refusal to apply the United Nations resolutions would eventually lead Africans and other victims of apartheid to accept that policy. That was not the lesson of history, which showed that oppressed peoples always rid themselves of their persecutors in the end. The arrogance and the negative attitude of some Member States, particularly those which had the main responsibility for maintaining order and peace, had inflicted prolonged misery on a great many innocent people. His delegation was shocked at the nonchalant attitude of certain Member States referred to in the reports on apartheid, for those States knew perfectly well that the apartheid system was a sworn enemy of the cause of freedom and independence in Africa.

23. After twenty-one years of deliberations on the policies of apartheid in South Africa, it was clearly no longer a question of deciding whether that policy was good or bad or whether it could still be justified. The United Nations had long since given a clear decision on that point. In 1961, at its sixteenth session (1067th plenary meeting), the General Assembly, by 97 votes to 2 with one abstention, had resolved that the system of apartheid should be eliminated from South Africa. The fate of non-Whites in South Africa and of Whites who had the courage to fight against apartheid, was common knowledge and the unforgivable slaughter of unarmed Africans at Sharpeville had not been forgotten. Nevertheless, certain States members of the Security Council, although they had first-hand knowledge of the nefarious practices of the racist régime in South Africa, continued to support it after having prevented the Security Council, in 1964, from using the only effective means available to the United Nations to secure the elimination of apartheid.

24. Everyone knew what to think of statements that apartheid was essentially a domestic affair concerning only South Africa and of the argument that the African population in South Africa would suffer most if the rest of the world were to boycott that country. The real facts were quite different. Apartheid was a very grave threat to all the peoples of Africa. The white supremacists of South Africa had sent armed gangsters as far as the borders of the Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and the Congo and had joined hands with armed soldiers of fortune from other countries who were operating in Africa. Apartheid represented a colonial design on Africa and as such it had been the official policy of the United Kingdom Government in its colonies of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and in South Africa. The South Africa Act of 1909, while providing for continued United Kingdom sovereignty over the Territories of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, contained a clause on the eventual transfer of those Territories to South Africa. The United Kingdom had also followed that policy in some Territories in East and Central Africa, although, happily, it had been thwarted by the emergence of nationalist forces. His delegation felt that the Committee should not waste its time in considering useless, meaningless propositions about apartheid but

should search for ways and means to eliminate it. There had been too much praise of the merits of patience and inaction in that connexion. The proposed sanctions against South Africa had been ineffective; its trade had even expanded.

25. In the Committee itself, all delegations had blamed South Africa's major trading partners and had given warning of the beginnings of a violent conflict between the supporters of apartheid and the forces of freedom and justice. In resolution 2202 A (XXI) the General Assembly itself had solemnly warned such trading partners, including three permanent members of the Security Council, that their collaboration with the racist régime had aggravated the danger of a racial conflict. That appeal, like those preceding it, had been ignored; nor had resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa been implemented any more than had earlier resolutions. Again, it appeared that the support given to South Africa by certain Western Powers was not due solely to the financial profits which they reaped from their involvement with that country. The example of the United Kingdom, which made pious statements on racial problems but did nothing whatever to solve such problems in countries where it was in a position to act, was particularly disgraceful. For its part, the United States, which had taken a positive stand against the South African Government on the issue of South West Africa the previous year was now opposed to any action which would implement the General Assembly's resolution on that Territory. United States investments in South Africa had continued to increase. A third major Power had taken its stand on the side of the South African régime and, in April 1967, had offered to sell it three submarines which would help it to oppose the enforcement of the United Nations decision on South West Africa. Following that example, other countries, such as the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium, were trying in their turn to establish themselves in the South African market. South Africa's collusion with Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia was also notorious, as was its armed intervention in Southern Rhodesia. The supporters of apartheid were now going over to the offensive throughout southern Africa. The members of the Committee must remain on their guard for South Africa's friends were exploiting every opportunity to deceive the international community as to the actions and intentions of the South African racists.

26. The United Nations Charter provided for the peaceful settlement of disputes; those who impeded the implementation of peaceful solutions must therefore bear the responsibility of opting for violence. His Government, like many others, had never ceased to warn that the consequences for world peace of such recourse to violence were as serious as they were unpredictable. The South African Government, in its blindness, had already spent incredible amounts of money on the purchase of arms, in the foolish belief that guns would prevail over the will of oppressed populations.

27. It was high time for the Western Powers supporting South Africa to take the steps necessary to avoid a conflict and for the General Assembly to take a clear-cut decision in the matter during its

present session. The 14 million Africans in South Africa merely wished to see the democratic principles of equality, freedom and justice for all applied in their country. His country asked those refusing to support the Organization whether they felt that that was too much to ask.

28. Mr. S. B. SINGH (India) said that never in modern history, until apartheid, had so few oppressed so many for so long. There was now hardly any aspect of South Africa's political, social and economic life which had not been legislated upon to reinforce the malignant philosophy of racial segregation. The situation in South Africa and the neighbouring Territories was a grave danger to peace in Africa and, indeed, to the security of the whole world. His country was proud to have been the first to oppose the policies of apartheid. It had been Mahatma Gandhi who, some sixty years ago, had first raised the banner of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Even before becoming independent, his country had taken political and economic measures against apartheid. It had no diplomatic, commercial or economic contacts with South Africa and had persistently opposed the extension of any loans or assistance by the international Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the South African Government or South African companies.

29. Considering that the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations in connexion with South Africa remained unimplemented, it was not surprising that the South African Government should have intensified its policies and adopted an attitude of contempt towards the organization. Thus, South Africa had not implemented the provisions of resolution 2145 (XXI) and continued to administer South West Africa, even though the United Nations was now directly responsible for that Territory. In South Africa itself, new legislation had been brought into force to widen further the scope of the policies of apartheid, and the South African Government was engaged in a massive build-up of its military and police forces. All those developments pointed to the danger of a violent racial conflict. His delegation believed that it was the responsibility of the United Nations to help the people of South Africa to free themselves from the yoke of apartheid; to that end, the universal economic sanctions decided upon must be applied. His delegation therefore attached paramount importance to the responsibility of South Africa's major trading partners which had so far completely disregarded those sanctions and had even increased their trade with South Africa. The Powers in question must realize that by pursuing their policies they were directly encouraging South Africa to persist in its hateful policies of apartheid. His delegation once again urged them to reconsider their decision in the interests of justice and of the United Nations. It agreed with those who maintained that the Security Council should apply mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

30. His delegation commended the Special Committee on its report (A/6864 and Add.1) and was in general agreement with the views expressed therein. It also welcomed the assistance rendered by the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to the vic-

tims of apartheid. It also wished to pay a tribute to the Government of Zambia which had been host to the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa. In that connexion, he thought that the suggestion by the representative of Cyprus (556th meeting) to establish national committees on apartheid in Member States deserved sympathetic consideration. His delegation had been gratified to note the decision by the Commission on Human Rights to encourage world public opinion to exert its influence to stop the constant violation of human rights in South Africa.

31. His delegation believed that the time had come for the United Nations and the world at large to act in a concerted manner to remove apartheid from the soil of southern Africa in the interests of all peoples and all nations.

32. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) warmly congratulated the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. That Revolution had marked a turning point in contemporary history, for it had eliminated all forms of exploitation and established international relations based on the principles of peace and peaceful co-operation among nations. The Soviet Union had been the first to solve the problem of nationalities on the basis of equality for all, regardless of race and colour, and had thereby become an example to the peoples struggling for racial or national equality. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, proposed by the Soviet Union in the United Nations, had been a logical consequence of that policy.

33. In the spirit of the humanitarian ideas born of the October Socialist Revolution, the Czechoslovak delegation would combat the forces of racial supremacy and in particular the South African Government's policy of apartheid. A number of documents existed—the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination—which spoke of the will of the peoples to prevent a recurrence of the miseries inflicted by fascism and by the Second World War. Those documents also made it clear why the elimination of the policy of apartheid was one of the primary tasks of the United Nations.

34. Unfortunately, in all the time it had dealt with that question, the United Nations had been unable to induce the South African Government to abandon its system of racial legislation and discharge its obligations as a State Member of the United Nations. Instead, South Africa had strengthened its policy of apartheid. The sources of apartheid were to be found in the theories and practices of Hitler's Germany. It was therefore not surprising that even before the Second World War, there should have been close ties between the Nazis and the South African racists.

35. The situation in South Africa had been clearly depicted in the various reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee. For

example, in its report of 18 October 1967 (A/6864 and Add.1), the Special Committee drew attention to the extremely dangerous evolution of the situation in South Africa and to the need for rapid and forceful measures to arrest it. However, no progress had been made in that direction, as South Africa had refused to comply with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and as those resolutions had been violated, in particular with regard to the embargo on shipments of arms to South Africa and the breaking off of political and economic relations with it. The South African Government had never intimated that it was ready to seek a peaceful solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. On the contrary, it had increased its military and police forces and was sending troops to the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. That policy, aimed at strengthening the reactionary bloc in southern Africa, was aggravating the threat of a conflict in the region.

36. According to the Special Committee's report, the main reason why South Africa was able to pursue its apartheid policy was that it was receiving assistance from the Western Powers and from some of its other trading partners among the capitalist States. The General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted resolutions inviting States to apply various sanctions against South Africa. The purpose of the economic and other sanctions was to create a situation compelling the South African Government to give up its inhuman policy of apartheid. The failure of those resolutions was due to the fact that South Africa's main trading partners were disregarding United Nations decisions and expanding their trade with South Africa. That was the heart of the problem, and that was where its solution lay. The responsibility for the ineffectiveness of United Nations actions lay with certain Western Powers, in particular the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, which, in disregard of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, were continuing to give economic, military, technical and financial assistance to the Republic of South Africa. The Western monopolies also played a crucial role with regard to the policy of apartheid. They were encouraging the exploitation of the African population and investing large sums in South Africa. South Africa was able to flout and violate United Nations decisions with impunity because it enjoyed the support of the Western Powers and their economic and military circles. That support also enabled it to strengthen the system of apartheid, to extend it to South West Africa and to collaborate openly with Southern Rhodesian racists and Portuguese colonialists.

37. The peace-loving peoples, including his own nation, gave their full support to the South African population's struggle against the inhuman policy of apartheid. His delegation repeated that the best way to eradicate apartheid in South Africa was to apply strictly the sanctions decided upon against that country. To have any effect, those sanctions must be universal; they must be applied by all countries and, above all, by those which had the closest relations with the Republic of South Africa. Despite the arguments of some Western Powers which were South Africa's trading partners, any State resolved to apply those

sanctions could always find the means of doing so. Consequently, the protestations of the United States that it was opposed to apartheid and desirous of compelling the South African Government to change its policy were just words, whose only purpose was to reply to criticism and to appease public opinion at home.

38. The Czechoslovak people, which had had intimate knowledge of the consequences of racist and fascist policies during the Second World War, categorically condemned racism in all its forms and expressed its entire sympathy with those who fought apartheid in South Africa. Czechoslovakia was participating in campaigns to support that struggle. It continued to provide five fellowships for South African nationals who were fighting against apartheid. It had sent an observer to the International Seminar on Apartheid held at Kitwe, Zambia and felt that the Seminar's report (A/6818 and Corr.1) was extremely valuable.

39. As in the past, his delegation would support the recommendations of the Special Committee on Apartheid (A/6864, paras. 119-167) and the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions aimed at eliminating apartheid in southern Africa. It was gratified at the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of the item entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa". It was ready to support any measures the United Nations might take to speed the disappearance of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

40. Mr. ZORRILLA (Mexico) thought that the United Nations was taking a greater and more unified interest in the struggle against apartheid and that it was now recognized that the practice of that policy was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and that it was unnatural and detrimental to a country's well-being and, in the long run, injurious to its economy. Any discrimination whatsoever was unthinkable in the present day and age. The mind boggled at the idea of discrimination imposed by law with an attention to detail which was a clear indication of retrogression, and which affected the great majority of a country's nationals, when modern States were concerned with ensuring their people's well-being.

41. Mexico's attitude towards the problem stemmed from the lessons of its own history, for Mexico was a true mosaic of races. It wished to preserve that patrimony and to make full use of its various cultures, since it was aware of the fact that every individual and every group had a precious contribution to make to the community. His delegation unreservedly condemned apartheid, a practice which was repugnant to the very essence of a Mexican's being.

42. The United Nations had been unable to solve the problems of southern Africa because they were vast and intricate. There was no point in reviewing

its failures and successes or repeating accusations, as that would do nothing to promote a peaceful solution. The United Nations must persevere in its endeavours to resolve the crisis by peaceful means.

43. Again, and perhaps because of the optimism which a just cause always aroused, the United Nations had shown a certain tendency to group together the problems of southern Africa as if they were a single question, as was shown for example by the report of the Secretary-General (A/6825), which referred not only to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa but also to the problem of Territories under Portuguese administration. That had helped to make those problems appear to constitute a monolithic whole which would have to be settled en masse or would remain a challenge to United Nations directives and resolutions.

44. In spite of the universal belief that apartheid was unjust and evil, and of its categorical condemnation by the United Nations, economic and financial considerations, political decisions and the de facto situation had prevented co-ordinated and effective action to abolish it. Conditions were not very likely to change in the near future and the United Nations must cast off its lethargy and propose that the study suggested by the Kitwe Seminar and endorsed by the Special Committee (see A/6864, para. 142), should deal primarily with the practical and human aspects of the problems of southern Africa, for the situation existing in that region had now been thoroughly studied. The approach used so far had made it possible to gather all the facts on the problem but had not led to practical proposals. For example, it should be determined whether or not it would be useful, practically speaking, to identify and define each of the problems in southern Africa and to deal with them in turn. There would be some advantage in proceeding in that manner, for when one confronted a difficulty, it was more logical not to combine it with others but rather to get to the root of the problem and eliminate it. It was therefore advisable to set attainable goals and then decide which difficulty to tackle first, bearing in mind their urgency and importance, and legal, ideological or humanitarian considerations.

45. All the Members of the United Nations supported its efforts to eliminate once and for all the evils besetting southern Africa. Such efforts must be accompanied by a realistic study to show whether it was best to supplement them with goals which were perhaps more limited but could be attained within a short period of time and would help to break the vicious circle. Such a course of action should not be hastily rejected.

46. If the study led to the conclusion that apartheid was the most serious and pressing problem and it was decided to devote the full energies of the United

Nations to it, the other problems would be taken up one by one in due course. Furthermore, the problem of apartheid itself might be divided up, for that would produce quicker results; for example, the first objective might be securing political rights for the entire population or equal compensation for equal work.

47. The study could go even further and re-examine the policy of threats and sanctions which, although it had not been applied, had produced exactly what an attempt had been made to avoid, namely, organized resistance on the part of South Africa and its stubborn refusal to change its attitude. The Mexican delegation was convinced that the door to negotiations should not be closed; their success would depend on the atmosphere in which they were held, for that was the only way to begin discussions with a State. It was necessary to calm the fears of the South African Government and to convince it of the mistake it was making, for the solution of that serious problem would be of benefit to South Africa and would restore its domestic peace and stability while opening up to it opportunities for co-operation on the African continent which would be of undeniable value to South Africa and the rest of the world.

48. The determination and perseverance of the United Nations were praiseworthy, but still more had to be done and any means which might help to eliminate the aberrant policy of apartheid should be tried; if such means were pursued with the same determination and persistence, all its efforts would one day be crowned with success.

49. On the motion of Mr. FARAH (Somalia), the CHAIRMAN suggested that a verbatim record of the meeting should be circulated.

It was so decided.

Fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution

50. Mr. KUTAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, wished to convey his warmest and most sincere thanks to the delegations which had extended their congratulations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

51. As a result of that Revolution, the Soviet Union had overcome many obstacles and become one of the world's most powerful countries, ensuring the well-being of its people in all spheres. Following the Revolution, the Soviet Union, in its foreign policy, had also adopted the principles of friendly co-operation and peaceful relations with all States and of support for peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.