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Chairman: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 87

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

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

1. Mr. JANTUAH (Ghana) welcomed the logical decision to combine the related items of race conflict in South Africa and the treatment of people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin in the Republic of South Africa under the single heading of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. The separate discussion of the two topics at so many past sessions of the General Assembly, besides lessening the effectiveness of the Committee's efforts, had no doubt been a source of satisfaction to the South African Government as being a blow at African-Asian solidarity. The Committee now had an unprecedented opportunity to marshal all the forces at its disposal in a final onslaught on apartheid, thus compelling the Government of South Africa, if it wished to retain its membership of the world Organization, to respect the spirit and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The Ghanaian delegation was once again determined to cast its weight on the side of freedom and justice and to join all other delegations which believed in the equality of human beings in condemning the racial policy of the South African Government. It had been suggested in some quarters that it was a loss of valuable time to discuss the perennial question of apartheid at all, the South African Government's Herculean efforts to explain away its racial policies each year, in the vain hope of clearing its guilty conscience before the other nations of the world, showed that the time was, in fact, well spent. The importance and gravity of the matter had never been disputed, either inside or outside South Africa. As the policies of apartheid were more ruthlessly applied, threatening even to overflow the boundaries of South Africa, that importance increased.

3. The Foreign Minister of South Africa had told the General Assembly at its 1128th plenary meeting that within the past year there had been serious disturbances and internal unrest in no less than forty-five countries. The Republic of South Africa, he alleged, had been free from disturbances and unrest, except for a few sporadic anti-Government demonstrations which had received very little support from the mass of the Bantu people. To those who had followed events in South Africa during the past year that statement was as ridiculous as it was dishonest. The peace and quiet in South Africa of which the Foreign Minister was so proud was maintained only by the most ruthless suppression. In that respect, the Ghanaian delegation wished to draw the Committee's attention to the General Law Amendment Act of South Africa, popularly known as the Anti-Sabotage Act, which had been rushed through Parliament and approved on 27 June 1962. The Act affected all citizens of South Africa, but certain categories of persons would feel its impact especially. The act weighed particularly heavily on newspapers and newspaper proprietors, editors and journalists. In future, newspapers would have to deposit the sum of £10,000 with the Government, which would be forfeited if the paper was banned. It also became an offence to publish articles by proscribed persons and the Johannesburg Post had already announced that it would no longer be able to print articles by ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, the banished 1960 Nobel Prize winner. No doubt other critics of the Government would be silenced in that way, and the right to dissent would be completely eliminated. Under other provisions of the Act, lawyers could be denied access to their clients—a serious inroad on the rights of the accused. Also under the Act, workers striking for better pay or living conditions could be found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to death. There had always been curbs on the right to strike in South Africa, but in future a worker, particularly an African worker, would strike at his peril. The President had increased powers under the Act to ban trade unions, and proscribed persons could be prohibited from acting as trade union officials. Freedom of association, already a severely restricted right in South Africa, would become virtually non-existent. The provisions of the Act called to mind similar provisions introduced under the totalitarian régime of Nazi Germany. The Act gave the Government, and the Minister of Justice in particular, an almost unlimited right to restrict the personal freedom and civil liberty of the subject and the courts were powerless to overrule the Minister's decisions. Chief Luthuli had said of it that the new assault on civil liberties and democracy generally had rightly shocked its victims, the non-European citizens of South Africa, and the democratic world. Fortunately, the victims were not alone: the world, through the United Nations, was pledged to work actively to ensure respect for fundamental human rights as set forth in the Charter. Clearly, the vast majority of the oppressed people of South Africa had placed

their hopes in the United Nations and the Organization must not let them down. The whole prestige of the United Nations was now inevitably linked with the removal of the threat posed by the policies of apartheid.

4. The South African Foreign Minister had also referred at the same meeting in the General Assembly to the "Bantustan" policy of so-called independence for the African reserves which he had described as a New Frontier. That policy made a mockery of the idea of self-determination. The first instalment of "Bantustan Independence" had been the Transkei Constitution, already rejected as a sham by many of the people. The Paramount Chief of the Transkei himself was understood to be opposed to the South African Government's offer. Developments in the Transkei so far had merely consolidated it as a labour reserve for the African reserves which he had described as plan had been described as a policy of "divide and rule". Under the Transkei Constitution, for example, foreign affairs, defence and justice all remained in white South African hands and the South African Government obviously had no intention of surrendering those powers to the Transkei people. The United Nations could not be expected to endorse a fictitious constitutional experiment which had been rejected by the Bantu people themselves.

5. In February of 1962, it had been reported that shortly after South Africa had signed a contract to supply Japan with £90 million worth of pig iron, the Government had directed that Japanese in South Africa were to be regarded as white, although Chinese and other orientals were to remain classified as non-white. It would be interesting to learn the official Japanese reaction to that unsavoury concession. It had also been rumoured for some time that the Government of another Asian State was contemplating negotiations with the Republic of South Africa for a similar concession. It was to be hoped that there was no foundation for the rumour since such an act would give the official sanction of that country's Government to apartheid. People of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin in South Africa were treated differently from the Africans, in a deliberate attempt by the South African Government to break up the solidarity of the African-Asian group on the question of apartheid. The South African Government should be made to understand that the segregation of Africans from persons of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin was as abhorrent as the discrimination of white against black.

6. A particularly alarming feature of the present South African Government's policy was its concentration on rearmament out of all proportion to its defence needs. The 1962-63 budget allocated some £60 million to so-called defence. The South African Minister of Defence had revealed that just as world Powers were continually preparing for war, so South Africa intended to be ready for internal trouble. In expectation of such internal trouble, the white population were being trained in the use of pistols and automatic weapons. Even women and young people were being armed. The police had been armed with sub-machine guns and automatic rifles and the civilian forces and the police were closely co-ordinated with the standing army, which had itself been increased from 20,000 to 60,000 men.

7. The South African Foreign Minister was clearly proud of an armaments policy which enabled 2 million white South Africans to terrorize 12 million Africans

and people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin. Only a fascist Government could be proud of such an achievement. Ruthless suppression of a majority by a minority could never make for stability. The present war of nerves in South Africa was mounting to an inevitable climax, and unless immediate action was taken to halt the mechanized barbarism of the Republic of South Africa it would explode and engulf the entire world. It was no secret that certain North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) Powers were assisting South Africa in its wanton violation of human freedoms and democratic practice. Britain, France and Belgium were all reported to be supplying South Africa with the military equipment needed to maintain the minority government in power. It was difficult for the Ghanaian delegation to reconcile the preaching of those countries with their practice.

8. South Africa had violated the principles of the Charter by erecting racial discrimination into a system of government, and it was time for the United Nations to decide whether any country or group of countries which helped South Africa to maintain that form of government was not itself an accomplice in the violation of the Charter. There was a startling contradiction between the public professions of those NATO Powers in regard to South Africa's racial policies, and their surreptitious supply of arms and equipment to assist it in maintaining its defiance of the Charter. That duplicity seriously impaired the favourable impression which the leading NATO Powers, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, had been making in their stand against racial bigotry and persecution. The comparatively creditable record of achievement of the United Kingdom and France with regard to decolonization was being spoilt by their assistance to South Africa. The other Members of the United Nations had a right and a duty to warn those countries of the danger of their activities and to demand that they should refrain forthwith from actions which sabotaged the efforts and the determination of the Organization.

9. South Africa's military ambitions were not confined within its borders. The Minister of Defence had spoken of developing rockets to carry bombs, and a member of the South African Atomic Energy Board had announced that South Africa might soon begin the manufacture of atomic bombs as a weapon against "loud-mouthed African-Asian States". Munitions factories were being built with technical assistance from Belgium, Britain and France, and a French armament firm producing rocket missile components for NATO had established a factory in the Rand. The evidence of South Africa's aggressive intentions was overwhelming and the United Nations must act quickly and decisively to prevent it from starting an atomic holocaust.

10. The military build-up of South Africa had reached a stage at which it was a threat to the peace of the whole African continent, and those countries which were lending it military assistance would share the responsibility for the consequences. An unholy alliance was being formed to perpetuate and expand the rule of white racist minority governments in Africa. The Governments of South Africa, Portugal and the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland were now in league to perpetuate racial discrimination throughout the whole of the southern part of the African continent. There were reports that a secret defence agreement had been signed, and Southern Rhodesian army units had taken part in training exercises in

South Africa while military missions from both South Africa and the Federation had visited the Portuguese colony of Lourenço Marques and taken part in training exercises there. The South African authorities had been pressed to assist the Portuguese in Angola, and there were reports that the airstrip at Caprivi had been used by both the South African and the Portuguese air forces against the Angolan people. The Territory of South West Africa was being administered by South Africa in violation of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI) had noted the progressive deterioration of the situation there, which would, if allowed to continue, endanger international peace and security.

11. Apart from the threat to international peace and security, the Ghanaian delegation also believed that the arming of a minority racial group against a majority of African, Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin constituted a serious tendency leading to genocide in South Africa. Article II (c) of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (General Assembly resolution 260 III) said that one form of genocide was "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part". It was no coincidence that the Republic of South Africa was not a signatory to that Convention.

12. It was obvious that the South African Government had no intention of mending its ways. Its policy of racial discrimination, masquerading as separate development for the various races in South Africa, had been intensified and it had turned a deaf ear to the pleas of world opinion. Clearly, therefore, the issue could not be solved by appeasement or entreaties. The time had come for blunt political, diplomatic and economic action against South Africa, on a world-wide scale. It had become apparent at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly that there were a number of countries which, though prepared to condemn the actions of the South African Government, were not prepared to support any positive measures to force the ending of apartheid. There was no point in merely deploring apartheid, year after year, when the Charter gave a mandate for positive action. Even though the Republic of South Africa was violating the Charter, it had neither the will nor the courage to leave the Organization. Obviously, however, any member of an organization that refused to comply with that organization's rules automatically forfeited its right to membership. The United Nations would be condoning the violation of its own Charter if it did not consider expelling the Republic of South Africa. The Ghanaian delegation once again called upon the Committee to consider whether the Security Council should not be invited to consider the expulsion of South Africa from the Organization.

13. There were some Members of the Organization which did not wish to see South Africa expelled and South Africa itself did not wish to be expelled. That, no doubt, was why the South African Foreign Minister came every year in person to the General Assembly to plead the cause of his country, though it was riddled with policies which the United Nations condemned.

14. The Ghanaian delegation also wished to recommend the establishment of a small committee of Member States to keep the South African situation permanently in view while the General Assembly was not in session. Such a committee should be empowered to visit South Africa and to report either to the Gen-

eral Assembly or to the Security Council as appropriate from time to time.

15. The General Assembly had already called upon Member States in its resolution 1663 (XVI) to take individual or collective measures against South Africa, and the Ghanaian delegation would like to know what individual Member States had done in the past year. The President of Ghana had said in a speech to the National Assembly that the application of economic sanctions would seem to be the most direct method of bringing South Africa to heel. He proposed, therefore, that the following sanctions should be imposed: all diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa should be broken off; the ports of the world should be closed to all vessels flying the South African flag; legislation should be enacted prohibiting the ships of Member States from entering South African ports; all South African goods should be boycotted; landing and passage facilities should be refused to aircraft belonging to the Government and to companies registered under the laws of the Republic of South Africa; air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication with the Republic of South Africa should be interrupted.

16. The United Nations had already adopted many resolutions on the South African problem but they had not achieved their purpose because they lacked the required bite. The South African Government had found it safe to ignore them. The prestige of the Organization was at stake, and the time had now come to take decisive action. Many African delegations had come to the current session with an uncompromising mandate from their Governments to vote for the sternest measures against South Africa. The African States were now more than ever determined to demonstrate their solidarity and singleness of purpose. It was to be hoped that a great majority of Members would be able to support the determination of the African States. It was also to be hoped that no attempt would be made to impair that solidarity and unity of purpose through the introduction of tame and spurious resolutions as had happened in the past. The situation in South Africa today was too explosive for diplomatic legerdemain.

17. Mr. WEN (China) said that, like some other items on the Committee's agenda, the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa had been discussed many times but was no nearer solution. Each time it had been dealt with, strong feelings and angry passions had been evoked. Such an atmosphere was not conducive to mutual understanding, without which no human problem could be solved.

18. It was regrettable that, when the twentieth century was already sixty-two years old, racial discrimination should still exist. It existed not only in South Africa but in many other countries as well, in various forms and under different labels. In any form and in any country it was bad. All men had a common origin, and, as a man, he deplored any racial discrimination which sought to prove one race inherently superior to another. Racial discrimination was particularly abhorrent to the Chinese people. Their attitude was based on the teachings of Confucius, but all great world religions preached the brotherhood of man. As professing Christians, those who advocated the policies of apartheid were acting against one of the principal tenets of their own religion.

19. As a Member of the United Nations, the Republic of South Africa had undertaken certain obligations, one of the most important of which was respect for fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women. Apartheid was incompatible with that obligation. The South African Government had undoubtedly done a good deal to improve the living conditions and material well-being of the Bantu people. There had

been improvements in housing, education, social and medical services, and industrial development and agricultural modernization had been carried out on a scale never before attempted. Nevertheless, without respect for their fundamental human rights, it was a hollow victory.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.