



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 76: Budget estimates for the financial year 1972 Report of the Fifth Committee (part I)	1
Agenda item 36: Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation Report of the Special Political Committee	}
Agenda items 37 and 12 (concluded): The policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa: (a) Report of the Special Committee on <i>Apartheid</i> ; (b) Reports of the Secretary-General Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapter XVII, (section C)] Report of the Special Political Committee (part II)	

President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 76

Budget estimates for the financial year 1972

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(PART I) (A/8531)**

1. Mr. RAMBISSON (Trinidad and Tobago), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: For reasons which I am sure the General Assembly will readily understand, the Fifth Committee is presenting in document A/8531 that section of its report on agenda item 76, which deals with the salary and retirement allowance of the Secretary-General. I hasten to add that the Fifth Committee was conscious that it was considering the question as it relates to the post of Secretary-General, and not to any particular holder of that highly important post; however, the Committee did take the opportunity of paying personal tribute to U Thant for a decade of dedicated and loyal service on behalf of this august Organization. His calm persistence and loyalty to noble ideals is an example to people in all walks of life, and we wish him a speedy and complete recovery from his current ill health, so that he can return among us soon.

2. The Fifth Committee's decision on this item also makes provision for widows' and other dependants' benefits, and provides for retirement benefit in the event that the Secretary-General should retire before completion of the full five-year term. The draft resolution also approves an increase in the Secretary-General's annual salary with effect from 1 December, which should now take his earnings above the base emoluments that are currently paid to the executive heads of major specialized agencies.

3. The Fifth Committee, on whose behalf I am honoured to present this report, hopes that its decisions, and its

recommendation, contained in paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of document A/8531, will meet with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss part I of the report of the Fifth Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT: As no representatives wish to speak in explanation of vote, the General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 8 abstentions (resolution 2772 (XXVI)).

AGENDA ITEM 36

**Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations
Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation**

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/8484)**

AGENDA ITEMS 37 AND 12 (concluded)*

The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

**Report of the Economic and Social Council
[chapter XVII, (section C)]**

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(PART II) (A/8504/ADD.1)**

5. The PRESIDENT: I request the Rapporteur of the First Committee to present the two reports of the Special Political Committee in one intervention.

6. The MAHAJER (Iran): I have the honour to introduce, first, the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 36, contained in document A/8484.

7. During its consideration of the item at its 755th and 756th meetings the Special Political Committee had before it the draft resolution submitted by 17 countries, which were subsequently joined by two other countries. Brazil made an oral amendment, which was followed by suggestions from Lebanon; all were incorporated into the revised text. At its 776th meeting the Special Political Committee unanimously adopted the draft resolution recommended to

* Resumed from the 1981st meeting.

the General Assembly for adoption, which consists of nine operative paragraphs which *inter alia* commends the Scientific Committee for its contribution to the knowledge of the effects of atomic radiation, requests it to continue its work, welcomes the continuing collaboration between the Scientific Committee and the International Atomic Energy Agency and, finally, requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide assistance to the Committee. Bearing in mind the effective contribution of the Scientific Committee to global knowledge concerning the effects of atomic radiation, I earnestly hope that this draft resolution will command the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

8. I shall now proceed to the second report of the Special Political Committee, on agenda item 37, contained in document A/8504/Add.1. The General Assembly has already adopted a resolution on this item, which was submitted in the first report of the Committee as an interim measure and as a matter of urgency. In addition, however, the Special Political Committee, in continuation of its work on this subject, received nine other draft resolutions which are reproduced in paragraph 41 of the report now before the General Assembly.

9. It is a well-known fact that *apartheid*, as a diversified and multi-faceted philosophy, covers different aspects of economic life in South Africa. With its extensive ramifications, it is equally true that *apartheid* leaves but few areas unaffected in the social and political life of the coloured peoples in South Africa. The Special Political Committee considered these nine draft resolutions against that background, and it is in that context that they should be interpreted.

10. The Special Political Committee has endeavoured to be both objective and action-oriented. Substantial efforts have gone into making the draft resolutions more representative of various shades of ideas. At the same time great care has been taken to ensure that no principle is compromised.

11. It is in the light of those considerations that I submit the nine draft resolutions to the General Assembly for adoption.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Special Political Committee.

12. The PRESIDENT: We shall take up first the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 36, contained in document A/8484.

13. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 8 of its report.

14. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2773 (XXVI)).

15. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider part II of the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 37, contained in document A/8504/Add.1.

16. I shall call first on the representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on any of the nine draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 41 of the report. Thereafter, I shall put the draft resolutions to the vote one by one. Members will also have an opportunity to explain their vote after all the votes have been taken.

17. I call on the representative of Somalia, as Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*.

18. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The General Assembly is about to give its endorsement to a series of draft resolutions which were adopted by significant majorities in the Special Political Committee. These draft resolutions concern specific aspects of the international campaign against the policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa. The present time is perhaps the only one within human experience when there is almost universal agreement that racism is evil and must be eliminated and when the material capacity to support a campaign for its elimination exists. But our experience has shown that the road to the successful conclusion of our task is strewn with obstacles and that each obstacle is a challenge to the moral integrity of each Member State of this Organization.

19. Unfortunately, the record of several Member States in facing up to the challenges presented by the racial policies of South Africa has not been encouraging. Their pledges under the Charter and their expressions of indignation have not been matched by performance and their cynical indifference to injustice in South Africa creates a credibility gap between this Organization and the people of the world it serves.

20. No one doubts that the policies of *apartheid* are wicked, unjust and an affront to human dignity. No one doubts that there is an ever present threat of an explosive social confrontation that could endanger the peace and security of the region. Yet whenever this Organization is called upon to do the job it is supposed to do, it is opposed at every stage by those States which, because of economic interests, hope to squeeze the last cent of their profits from the country before they are compelled by circumstances to suspend their economic involvement. Those States can be identified by the record of the voting in the Special Political Committee on the various draft resolutions and by the subtle arguments advanced to rationalize indefensible positions.

21. At this session, perhaps more than at any other, the trend of international public opinion has shown how isolated those States are in the campaign against *apartheid* and how untenable their positions on the question as a whole. I should like to speak briefly on some of the draft resolutions that have been recommended by the Special Political Committee for adoption by this Assembly.

22. The first is draft resolution II, on the question of the arms embargo. It is difficult to understand how some Member States find no contradiction in arming a régime so that it can support and enforce policies which they themselves have condemned as being an offence against human dignity. Those States continue to rationalize their

position by maintaining, against all the facts of the question, that the Security Council's arms embargo allowed a distinction in the supply of arms to South Africa as between internal repression and external defence. The Special Political Committee declared in the clearest terms possible by a remarkable majority—87 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions—that no such distinction exists. It is the hope of my delegation that those arms merchants will now bow to international opinion and align their policies and attitudes to comply with their obligations under the Charter. If States do not consider themselves to be under an obligation to comply with resolutions of the United Nations that have the force of overwhelming support from two of its main organs, then perhaps we are all wasting our time here.

23. The vote in the Special Political Committee on South Africa's policy of creating Bantu homelands, or "Bantustans" as they are commonly called, does provide the international community with an idea of the degree of opposition that exists within the United Nations towards that policy. Those States which are prepared to think further than their pockets recognize that the Bantustan policy represents one of the biggest pillars of *apartheid*. It involves the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people because of their colour and race and their forceable removal to areas not of their choice, not capable of providing for their basic needs. That policy is calculated to remove them from the mainstream of the political, economic and social life of the country as a whole. The misery, the injustice and the suffering all combine to create for this deprived and disenfranchised majority of 17 million non-whites a future of despair.

24. Yet the magnitude of the injustice does not appear to have made an impression on a few Member States of this Organization, which either voted against or abstained from voting on the draft resolution in the Special Political Committee. They predicated their position on references in the preambular paragraphs to the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and affirmed by the General Assembly in resolution 95 (I) of 11 December 1946. According to that resolution crimes against humanity are committed when enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts are enforced against any civilian population on political, racial or religious grounds. That concept originated over the plight of the Jewish peoples of Europe during the Nazi era. It has been said that *apartheid* should not be regarded as a crime against humanity until it is adjudged as such by a legal tribunal.

25. In dealing with the evil philosophy of *apartheid* and the brutal and inhuman effects its implementation has had on the non-white peoples of South Africa, those of us who have developed a social conscience do not need a group of legal pundits to tell us that *apartheid* is or is not a crime against humanity. The same revulsion that was felt in the aftermath of the inhuman policies practised by the Nazis is being felt throughout the world towards the policies of *apartheid*. And yet States which have had a rich and proud history of racial and political tolerance and justice have combined their economic collaboration with political support of the South African régime at all levels. Those who took the lead during the last World War in protecting and promoting the human rights of the victims of racism in

Europe are now passive and cynical towards or actual abettors of the crimes against the non-white peoples of South Africa.

26. That is the conclusion, however unacceptable it might appear to them, that my delegation and others have reached after hearing their excuses for their inaction or for their refusal to condemn the policy of Bantustans and the ruthless measures which the South African Government has taken to implement it.

27. Must we conclude that those States which abstained or voted against the draft resolution believe that a crime against humanity occurs only when the victims are of European origin?

28. If a few States have shown the usual reluctance to support the international campaign against *apartheid*, it is satisfying to note that many others have thrown their weight behind several initiatives designed to increase the scope and intensity of the campaign. The draft resolution calling on all national and international trade union organizations to intensify action against *apartheid* received overwhelming support. Trade unions in particular are capable of playing a telling and practical role because they are independent and politically influential and because the issues at stake in South Africa, in so far as they affect the rights of labour, encompass all those that gave rise in the first place to the trade union movement.

29. In the field of international sports, the General Assembly will be able to express itself on the crucial question of whether it approves or disapproves the injection of racial discrimination in sports; and if it rejects the notion it can decide on the steps it should take to give substance to its belief. In this respect not only non-governmental organizations but even States have a prime responsibility for ensuring that sports should not be polluted with racism.

30. In dealing with sports within the context of *apartheid* we must not be misled by assertions that politics and sports should not be mixed. True, they should not be mixed in a context other than that of *apartheid*. But *apartheid* means politics, it involves politics. *Apartheid* as applied by South Africa to sports means that for political reasons the whites and the non-whites must be kept separate on the playing-fields and in sports clubs, as is the case in every other aspect of the country's social and political life. The General Assembly must not accept tokenism in this respect; neither must it compromise on the basic Olympic principle that racism has no place whatsoever in sports.

31. In the campaign of public enlightenment on the subject of *apartheid* my delegation is encouraged by the unanimous support that was given in the Special Political Committee to the proposals for the preparation of an educational kit on racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and to the acceptance of the idea of a more energetic approach to spreading the United Nations message. The United Nations information services must be geared to shape world opinion on questions involving *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It is not sufficient that we content ourselves with the adoption of resolutions and neglect the need to push and

promote the ideas that have been endorsed by the Assembly. On the question of *apartheid*, as in the case of colonialism and human rights, the United Nations information services must be geared to take an activist approach in spreading the United Nations message.

32. All the draft resolutions on *apartheid* that have been recommended to the General Assembly by the Special Political Committee have been formulated on or around proposals put forward in the report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* [A/8422 and Corr.1]. Their approval will inevitably entail a considerable programme of work for the Special Committee during 1972. I should like to assure the Assembly that the Special Committee will do its utmost to discharge these increased responsibilities with its customary prudence. Of course, success will depend to a great extent on the co-operation which the Special Committee receives from Governments, organizations, trade unions, religious bodies, the international press and educational institutions and last, but not least, the excellent co-operation of the Secretariat.

33. The Committee trusts that it can count on such co-operation as in the past and that for the future all will redouble their efforts to make some measurable progress in the year ahead.

34. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting.

35. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): When the draft resolution on the arms embargo came to the vote in the Special Political Committee the New Zealand delegation abstained. In an explanation of vote we reserved our position on operative paragraph 2, which in our view sought to interpret Security Council resolution 282 (1970). The New Zealand delegation maintains that reservation, but we now intend to support draft resolution II A on the arms embargo, to emphasize New Zealand's strict observance of the embargo against the sale of arms to South Africa.

36. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation found it necessary to abstain in Committee on draft resolution II H concerning trade unions, on which it had not received instructions in time to vote. We shall vote in favour of that draft resolution although, in our opinion, it falls within the competence of the International Labour Organisation rather than that of the United Nations.

37. While subscribing to the appeals made to trade union organizations in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution my Government intends to leave the Belgian trade unions complete freedom to appraise the goals of the campaign against *apartheid* and the appropriateness of associating themselves with it. In other words, the affirmative vote of my delegation on the draft resolution as a whole must not be interpreted as meaning that my Government will attempt to make the Belgian trade unions accept the appeal of the General Assembly, since it is for them to respond to it as sovereign bodies.

38. Speaking generally, my delegation regrets that the General Assembly should have abandoned its role by addressing recommendations to entities other than those

contemplated in Article 10 of the Charter, that is to say, States Members of the United Nations, the Security Council or to both simultaneously.

39. Lastly, my delegation will also vote in favour of draft resolution II E, concerning Bantustans, on which it abstained in the Committee. It is not that our reservations have disappeared. It seems to us that the General Assembly cannot contradict itself by adopting on 9 November resolution 2764 (XXVI), in which *apartheid* is described as a crime against the conscience and the dignity of man, and approve today another resolution which identifies Bantustans—which are but one of the manifestations of *apartheid*—with a crime against humanity. Nevertheless, since the vote in the Committee my delegation has satisfied itself that the concept of crime against humanity appears only in the preamble and that it is therefore without implications for the operative part of the draft resolution. Our approval, therefore, does not extend to the fourth, fifth and sixth paragraphs of the preamble; nor does it imply that we are prepared as of now to accept the draft convention on *apartheid* [A/8542, para. 32] which the Third Committee recently referred to the Commission on Human Rights.

40. Mr. MBEKEANI (Malawi): Our vote on the questions of racial discrimination and *apartheid* should not at this time require any explanation. It has been adequately, eloquently and openly explained to the world by my President's visit to the Republic of South Africa. If I stand here today, therefore, it is because there are some who tend to misread or even misconstrue the significance of that visit. Listening to some of the emotionally eloquent attacks on our stand in the Special Political Committee we could not help feeling rather amused. There were attempts by some representatives to convey the impression that we were working towards different goals; yet they know full well that we are all working towards the same goal, though we follow different paths. When one realizes that they know this, one wonders why there are such violent emotions. I am persuaded to believe that the reason is that they feel our stand may be the right one after all. No one likes to feel that he is wrong—least of all when he feels that there is someone who may say in the future, "But I told you so".

41. If such representatives honestly and sincerely believe that they are right, my advice to them is that they are going about things in the wrong way. They cannot expect to convince my delegation and myself, let alone my country, by emotional attacks here or elsewhere. If they are convinced by their logic and if they are not satisfied with our stand, my delegation is ready to discuss it with them in a calm atmosphere. We do not accept being talked down to, nor shall we accept being bullied. But if there is going to be real and calm discussion based on logic and reason, we are always ready to sit down and talk—not with the intention of scoring debating points but with the intention of learning from each other. It is to those delegations that my delegation wants to address itself. Those who fear that they may find themselves wrong are only to be pitied for running away from their own shadows.

42. Malawi's views on *apartheid* have been stated clearly here and elsewhere. We have stated them in London; we have stated them in Lagos; we have stated them in

Singapore. When I say London, I mean the Commonwealth leaders' conferences; when I say Lagos, I mean the Commonwealth leaders' conferences; when I say Singapore, I mean the Commonwealth leaders' conferences. We have also stated them clearly in Addis Ababa; and when I say Addis Ababa I mean the Organization of African Unity. We have stated them here in New York; and when I say New York I mean the General Assembly. Therefore it is to those delegations that my delegation wants to address itself—those delegations who feel that they may find themselves wrong and who are only to be pitied.

43. Of more significance, perhaps, is the fact that our views have been expressed with no less vigour where we feel they should be expressed—in South Africa itself, in Pretoria and Johannesburg. Our President did not just state on our behalf in Johannesburg and Pretoria that *apartheid* is unacceptable to the people of Malawi and Africa. He went ahead and showed the whites of South Africa, by physical contact with them, that *apartheid* does not even have a basis in what must be a civilized society. He told this to the whites in South Africa on the roads, in Johannesburg, in Pretoria, in Cape Town, in the hotels where he stayed and wherever he went. It can be said without any contradiction that at the time when my President was in South Africa there was far more physical contact between black and white wherever our President went, even as he was expressing his disapproval of *apartheid*. It was my President who shouted "*Uhuru*" in public for the first time, right in the heart-land of *apartheid* itself.

44. Why, then, are we abstaining on resolutions condemning *apartheid*, it may be asked. Our answer to that is simply that most of those resolutions are putting the cart before the horse. We have said here before, indeed many times before, that we believe *apartheid* as a philosophy is based on fear—indeed, it is a philosophy of fear. The fear is the fear of retaliation by and the loss of livelihood to a people who have been underprivileged over the years. My delegation does not believe that it is possible to uproot fear by threats, boycotts and sanctions. One cannot uproot it by guns either, because all those methods can only convert fear into hatred, and that will not solve our problems in southern Africa.

45. This Organization can only start achieving something in southern Africa when it feels called upon to build confidence and trust between the races. We sometimes seem to forget that we are dealing with a multiracial society, which, like a married couple, will have to live together for better or worse. Has the world not seen enough bloodshed caused by bigotry and hatred? Must we consciously lay a foundation for another bloodbath by passing resolutions that are at best ineffective and at worst can be said only to lay foundations for discord, distrust and possibly annihilation for thousands, if not millions, of southern Africans?

46. Almost the whole of independent Africa bears the scars of recent colonialism. Africa, in fact, has the answer to the fear of the South African whites. And what is that answer? Despite those recent scars all over Africa it is only too true to say there are more Frenchmen and Englishmen in most of our countries today than there were before independence. What is more, they are happier because they are more secure. There is no carnage, no looting of the

property of our former masters, no bloodbaths and no hatred. It is the belief of my delegation that if the whites in South Africa could see that rubbing shoulders with blacks neither changes their colour nor detracts from their human qualities, if they could see that it is the normal wheels of government that grind in countries which do not like *apartheid* they would begin to see that their philosophy could safely consign itself beyond Cape Town and into the deep sea.

47. But how can that be brought about with sanctions and boycotts? A child may be beaten into submission, but the child does not change. We cannot aim a gun at a man's head, get his submission and congratulate ourselves that we have quelled the rebellion in his heart. We can only discuss it with him and prove to him that we have a better idea. That is why we shall have contacts and a dialogue with South Africa. The international community has passed many resolutions. These halls have heard many emotionally charged speeches on *apartheid* over the years. We have condemned and condemned again. Sometimes we have even "strongly condemned", as if the word "condemned" itself were not enough. There has been a profusion of attempts at boycotts, isolation and sanctions. Now what do we have today? A proliferation and an escalation in the number of resolutions on *apartheid*. The South African Government is still in Pretoria, and we cannot say that the lot of the people we have claimed to help has improved or will improve as a result of these escalated resolutions. My delegation declares that the time has come for a very serious rethinking of the whole strategy for ending *apartheid*. We are not preaching the introduction of international forces in the face of South African resistance. We are preaching a regrouping and a change of tactics, even if this may seem to some initially to be a retreat.

48. In view of all this, my delegation cannot support these draft resolutions. We shall abstain and do so with honour. If the world body persists in methods that have been tried and have failed, we shall have no choice but to try our own methods, and the results of the methods we have tried so far give us a good deal of encouragement. If you can have a black man walk down the street with a South African white woman, if you can have a black man sit at the same table with a South African white for dinner, if you can have a black child sit at a desk with a white child and if you can have a black man shout "Freedom" in the middle of *apartheid*, I think you ought to sit down and think that there is something in what the Malawi delegation is saying. We call upon you gentlemen to have a dialogue with South Africa. Perhaps it may be asking too much, but what is needed there is not an armed invasion but a black diplomatic invasion. We feel that that will bring results.

49. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Since this is the first time I have taken the floor since the representatives of the People's Republic of China have taken their seats in this Assembly, I should like to begin by saying how happy the delegation of Mauritius is to see them occupy their rightful places among us. Indeed, since its admission to the United Nations, Mauritius has always advocated and pleaded for the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its related agencies. Mauritius could do no less, since it has had very friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, which was the first country to

recognize Mauritius as an independent State in 1968. We are particularly happy to recall that Ambassador Huang Hua was his country's representative when Mauritius celebrated its independence. The delegation of Mauritius is looking forward to co-operating very closely with the delegation of the People's Republic of China in the interest of peace, justice and progress in the world.

50. My delegation has followed with particular attention the debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government in the Special Political Committee, although for reasons beyond its control it was not always present there and could not intervene in the debate.

51. Although, because of its geographical situation, Mauritius is bound to have some trade relations with the Republic of South Africa, it categorically rejects its policies of *apartheid*, because, as I said during the general debate on 13 October, such institutionalized forms of racism as *apartheid* are the worst kinds of racism. Mauritius has already associated itself with the grave indignation and concern over maltreatment and torture of opponents of *apartheid* expressed by the overwhelming majority of this Assembly when it adopted resolution 2764 (XXVI), calling on all States to do all in their power to promote the cause of justice for all the people of South Africa.

52. Today the General Assembly has before it the second part of the report of the Special Political Committee, containing a number of draft resolutions dealing with many other aspects of the policy of *apartheid*. My delegation supports them all, including the one on the arms embargo. Last year Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, in his address to the Assembly [1875th meeting], said, about the provision of arms to South Africa, that perhaps the United Kingdom could be allowed to sell to South Africa certain arms which would be used solely for external maritime defence. For that reason my delegation has some difficulty with operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution II A on the arms embargo, which would have the Assembly declare that the arms embargo against South Africa makes no distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression. However, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole in solidarity with the Afro-Asian and other delegations that have voted for it in the Special Political Committee.

53. On the other hand, we are unreservedly in favour of all the other draft resolutions and should like to commend them for unanimous adoption, particularly draft resolutions II E and II F, on Bantustans and on the situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid*.

54. Indeed Mauritius, as a multiracial country, condemns the establishment of Bantustans, or the so-called Bantu nations, for the policy of Bantustans means that the Africans, who constitute over two thirds of the South African population, are entitled to only 13 per cent of the total land surface of South Africa and in reality even this small portion of land is only a number of poverty-stricken and barren reservations. The Bantustan policy means that tens of thousands of Africans are forcibly removed every year from urban and farm areas. It means that the white population of South Africa, although it is composed of people of Dutch ancestry and of English descent and other

Europeans, can form a "nation", while the Africans cannot, because they are members of different ethnic groups. It is obvious that such a policy is designed only to divide the non-white population of South Africa in order to enforce the obnoxious doctrine of white supremacy. The experience of Mauritius shows that different ethnic groups from Asia, Europe and Africa can live and develop in harmony. That is why we in Mauritius cannot understand such laws as the Group Areas Act, which determines where the various South African groups will live, and the racial classification that obtains in South Africa.

55. Mauritius believes that such laws and inhuman practices should be repealed and abandoned before it can have any meaningful dialogue with the South African Government. Commenting on the idea of dialogue, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam is reported to have stated: "How can masters and slaves hold conversations? Dialogue can take place only between people of the same status." I believe that any dialogue should start between the representatives of the Government of Pretoria and the leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa. It is in the light of this policy of my Government that the delegation of Mauritius supports draft resolution II F, on the situation resulting from the policies of *apartheid*.

56. Mr. JAISEY (Ghana): My delegation has joined in sponsoring most of the draft resolutions on various aspects of *apartheid* before the Assembly. We have done so first, because we believe that *apartheid* is evil and must be eradicated and secondly, because we see in the United Nations an effective forum for exposing the evils of *apartheid* and for eventually eliminating them. As such, my delegation is going to vote in favour of all of the draft resolutions before us and we would ask all representatives to do the same.

57. As I have remarked from this rostrum before, we human beings are social animals and we do not like feeling ostracized. So are the States, which are made up of human beings. If the South African Government will be made to realize that the whole world is against *apartheid* and surely would like it to do away with this evil practice, we are convinced that the Government of South Africa will have second thoughts on the matter.

58. The representative of Malawi has rightly said that we cannot hope to compel the Government of South Africa to do away with *apartheid* merely by passing resolutions. That is quite right. But it is because the provisions of our resolutions are not being implemented by all countries. If the provisions of our resolutions are implemented by all countries, my delegation is convinced that South Africa will be forced to face facts.

59. The present position is as follows. There is not a single country, except naturally South Africa—not even Portugal, its strongest ally—which supports or admits the *apartheid* is good in itself. But while, on the one hand, we are denouncing *apartheid*, on the other hand we are extending a hand of welcome to the South African Government. How do you expect it, in that case, to take our resolutions seriously? Again, the representative of Malawi made quite a valid point when he said that we stand a greater chance of influencing South Africa in the direction that we want

them to move as regards the question of *apartheid* by talking with them. My delegation also believes that, but there is this difference. So far, the South African Government has not given any indication that even if African Governments were to engage in a dialogue with it over *apartheid*, it would be prepared to do away with this evil.

60. Again the point has been very rightly made that *apartheid* is based on fear and prejudice. That is quite true. My delegation believes that one way of bringing *apartheid* to an end or persuading the South African Government to do away with *apartheid* is for us, the African Governments, to try to prove to the South African Government that the so-called *swarte gevaar*—that is, black peril—which is so prevalent among the Boer population in South Africa, is meaningless. And we can only do so by showing them that there is nothing to fear from a black majority or from a black Government.

61. It is to that end that my delegation would recommend that our contact with South Africa, whatever our differences, should be as correct as diplomatically possible.

62. In view of all those points I have made, I commend to Members all the draft resolutions before the Assembly and I ask them to give those draft resolutions a very massive vote so that South Africa may once again be reminded that it is alone in this wilderness of *apartheid*.

63. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the various draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 41 of its report [A/8504/Add.1].

64. We shall vote first on draft resolution I, entitled "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Portugal.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 110 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 2774 (XXVI)).¹

65. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution II A, entitled "Arms embargo".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, France, Malawi, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 107 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions (resolution 2775 A (XXVI)).²

66: The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution II B, entitled "Educational material on *apartheid*".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya,

¹ The delegations of Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Iceland, Liberia, Pakistan, Yemen and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

² The delegations of Iceland, Liberia, Pakistan, Yemen and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Malawi, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II B was adopted by 112 votes to 1 with 3 abstentions (resolution 2775 B (XXVI)).²

67. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II C is entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are contained in document A/8534.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: France, Malawi, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution II C was adopted by 108 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions (resolution 2775 C (XXVI)).²

68. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with resolution 2775 C (XXVI) just adopted, the Fifth Committee, in its report contained in document A/8534, has informed the General Assembly that its specific authorization is required for the Secretary-General to incur the expenditures related

to the costs of travel to Headquarters of the representatives of liberation movements and anti-*apartheid* organizations, as called for under the terms of draft resolution II C.

69. May I assume that in adopting that resolution the General Assembly has so granted its authorization?

It was so decided.

70. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II D, entitled "*Apartheid* in sports".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Malawi, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Central African Republic, Greece, Madagascar, New Zealand, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II D was adopted by 106 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions (resolution 2775 D (XXVI)).³

71. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote now on draft resolution II E, entitled "Establishment of Bantustans".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana,

³ The delegations of Iceland, Liberia, Yemen and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution, and the delegation of France as having abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II E was adopted by 110 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2775 E (XXVI)).⁴

72. The PRESIDENT: We shall vote now on draft resolution II F, entitled "Situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid*".

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

Draft resolution II F was adopted by 86 votes to 6, with 22 abstentions (resolution 2775 F (XXVI)).⁴

⁴ The delegations of Iceland, Liberia, Yemen and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

73. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II G deals with "Dissemination of information on *apartheid*", and I shall now put it to the vote.

74. The administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution are to be found in document A/8534.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Canada, France, Malawi, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution II G was adopted by 108 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions (resolution 2775 G (XXVI)).⁴

75. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II H, which relates to "Trade union activities against *apartheid*".

76. The administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appear in document A/8534.

A recorded votes was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peo-

ple's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Greece, Malawi, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution II H was adopted by 104 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions (resolution 2775 H (XXVI)).⁴

77. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, Mr. Olof Rydbeck of Sweden, who wishes to make a brief statement in connexion with resolution 2774 (XXVI), just adopted by the General Assembly.

78. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Together with Chile, Morocco, Nigeria and Pakistan, Sweden is one of the trustees of the United Nations Fund for South Africa, and it has been my privilege to be the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees this year.

79. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to express the satisfaction of the Committee at the overwhelming support given to this resolution on the Trust Fund and its gratitude to the delegations which have commended the work of the Committee of Trustees in the Special Political Committee.

80. I should also like to express our great appreciation to the Governments which have pledged new or increased contributions to the Trust Fund. I need hardly remind this Assembly that the humanitarian needs in South Africa, within the terms of reference of the Trust Fund, have greatly increased. Not only have many persons and families suffered continuous persecution and hardships over many years but the net of repression is encompassing new segments of the population, including religious leaders, as is emphasized in resolution 2764 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 9 November.

81. Several political trials are proceeding at this time under the Terrorism Act and other repressive legislation. A large number of persons are known to be in detention under the Terrorism Act, although the Government has declined to disclose the names or even the number of those detained. The voluntary organizations engaged in providing for legal defence of or humanitarian aid to the families are facing not only serious practical problems resulting from the hostility of the South African Government but also a severe shortage of resources. In Namibia too developments give cause for serious concern.

82. The Committee of Trustees is therefore obliged to launch an urgent and pressing appeal for greater contributions to the Trust Fund, so that it can provide adequate grounds to supplement the resources of voluntary organiza-

tions engaged in humanitarian assistance to victims of repressive legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. We hope that all present contributors will consider more generous contributions in 1972. We appeal to all other States to give serious consideration to making contributions now, even if such contributions in some cases may have to be of a symbolic nature.

83. The Committee of Trustees has always emphasized that the Trust Fund is intended only to meet a clear and urgent humanitarian need. It is in no way an alternative to the efforts of the United Nations to seek a new solution to the political and social problems with which other United Nations organs are concerned.

84. At the same time, it is the deep conviction of the Committee of Trustees that this humanitarian assistance is worth-while and useful. It not only helps to alleviate suffering but, in a concrete as well as a symbolic manner, expresses world solidarity on a problem of great concern to all humanity.

85. As the Special Committee on *Apartheid*—which proposed the establishment of the Trust Fund—declared in 1965, assistance rendered by States and peoples from all regions of the world to persons subjected to repressive measures in South Africa would be a clear and effective expression of international concern and would help counteract the growth of racial bitterness and hatred.

86. It is in that spirit that we appeal for greater support for the Trust Fund.

87. I should like, finally, to express the deep gratitude of all members of the Committee of Trustees to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for his unfailing encouragement and support since the inception of the Trust Fund.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

89. Mr. ARNAUD (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation, repeating what it has already said during the course of the voting on these resolutions, would like to state for the record that Argentina always has been and continues to be opposed to—and condemns—all policies of racial discrimination and, in particular, that of racial segregation or *apartheid*. On this basis we should like to make the following explanation of vote in connexion with the 10 resolutions adopted during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly as a result of the consideration of agenda item 37 in the Special Political Committee.

90. Of the draft resolutions, my delegation voted in favour of eight and abstained on two. Not only did we vote in favour, but we contributed, with the collaboration and goodwill of the representative of Somalia, Mr. Farah, and the sponsors of the original draft resolution, to the almost unanimous adoption of resolution 2764 (XXVI). We voted in favour of draft resolution I, concerning the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; we also voted in favour of draft resolutions II A, on an arms embargo; II B, concerning educational material on *apartheid*; II C, on the programme of work; II D, on sports; II E, concerning the Bantustans and II G, concerning the dissemination of information on *apartheid*.

91. We were compelled to abstain, as we did last year, from voting on draft resolution II F. We could have voted in favour of some of its paragraphs but, to our great regret, we had to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole because of the existence of other paragraphs which evoked certain reservations in our minds, such as operative paragraph 13, which refers to a matter which is within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

92. Moreover, as also occurred at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, we abstained from voting on draft resolution II H, on a matter of principle, because we considered that contacts with representatives of trade unions at an international conference should be effected through the intermediary of governments.

93. We hope that the adoption of these new resolutions will mark a further decisive step towards putting an end to the objectionable policy of *apartheid* which is contrary to human dignity and represents a serious and continuing violation of the universal principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter.

94. Mr. DE SOUZA E SILVA (Brazil): As my delegation has stated more than once in the Special Political Committee, the Brazilian Government does not recognize any form of racial discrimination, and wishes particularly to express its most formal rejection of the policy of *apartheid* of the Republic of South Africa. It is in this context that my delegation cast an affirmative vote on all the draft resolutions we had before us. I wish, however, to put on record the following reservations on those documents.

95. The United Nations is a system of States legally bound by the principles and provisions of the Charter. Thus the Brazilian Government regards with a certain preoccupation the increasing tendency in the praiseworthy pursuit of the struggle against *apartheid* to seek solutions through non-Governmental movements and organizations, going sometimes beyond the constitutional limits of the United Nations. Such tendencies not only reveal a lack of confidence on the part of governments in their own capacity to act: they seem to us of doubtful practical efficiency.

96. Another point on which my delegation has reservations is the tendency, manifest for instance in draft resolution II F, to combine various questions which, although geographically concentrated in southern Africa, are of an essentially different nature. This connexion, in our opinion, may contribute to an undesirable link between politically heterogeneous elements which will tend to aggravate in all their aspects the very problems we seek to solve.

97. Furthermore, we consider that the scrupulous observance of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations as regards the field of competence of its different organs is a guarantee to all of its Members. Resolutions of the General Assembly should thus not recommend measures of the exclusive competence of the Security Council, for those undue incorporations of the attributions of one organ by another risk weakening the whole set of resolutions, making them vulnerable to accusations of partiality and illegality. These remarks refer to draft resolution II A.

98. As regards draft resolution II D, on *apartheid* in sports, my delegation feels that in certain cases competitions with racially integrated teams might constitute a positive propaganda factor in the very struggle against *apartheid*. A total prohibition of sports activities with South Africa does not seem advisable whenever discrimination is not applied.

99. Draft resolution II G, on the dissemination of information on *apartheid*, contained the idea of the establishment of national committees. The usefulness of that initiative seems doubtful to my delegation, at least in the vague form in which it is presented.

100. These same doubts assail us about the practical results of some of the measures suggested, particularly as regards the UNESCO educational kit, which was considered in draft resolution II B.

101. Finally, the Brazilian Government cannot agree with the provisions of operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution II F, because the restrictions envisaged therein collide with the constitutional freedom of movement guaranteed to all citizens, although emigration from Brazil to South Africa is practically non-existent.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

