



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 34: The policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of <i>Apartheid</i> of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued)	43

Chairman: Mr. Eugeniusz KULAGA (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 34

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

1. Mr. AKATANI (Japan) deplored the fact that, despite the constant appeals of the United Nations, South Africa was not abandoning its policy of *apartheid* and was even adopting new measures of racial discrimination. The various studies carried out by different bodies, particularly the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Commission on Human Rights, revealed in all its horror the real meaning of such expressions as "separate development" or "racial discrimination". His delegation, profoundly shocked by those flagrant violations of human rights, deeply sympathized with the South African people in their sufferings.

2. Considering that the Member States had undertaken to ensure the universal and effective observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Japan joined with the African nations in appealing once again to South Africa to abandon a policy which ran counter to the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. While remaining firmly and resolutely opposed to any form of racial discrimination, his delegation was convinced of the need to adopt a realistic approach to the problem and to seek a peaceful solution. In that connexion, he praised the Manifesto on Southern Africa;¹ Japan was glad to see that in that instrument the leaders of the African States had expressed their preference for a dialogue and had counselled non-violence to the resistance movements, even if that meant a certain degree of compromise.

4. His delegation considered that any measure aimed at finding a satisfactory solution to the problem of *apartheid*

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

should have the widest possible support of the international community. For its part, while strictly observing the arms embargo, Japan was extending no military or economic assistance to the Republic of South Africa, nor did it have investments in any part of southern Africa. It had also refrained from entering into diplomatic relations with South Africa. Furthermore, in its desire to take part in the international effort made to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*, Japan had, since 1966, made an annual contribution of \$20,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; in addition, in the current year his country had already contributed \$10,000 to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

5. It was to be hoped that the international community would persist in its concerted efforts to induce South Africa to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and to find a just and peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible.

6. Mr. ARORA (India) said that *apartheid* was deeply rooted in South Africa at all levels of the economic, political and social life of the country, despite the fact that the United Nations had been concerned with the matter for nearly a quarter of a century. Far from relaxing its policy, the South African Government was applying measures of racial discrimination with ever-increasing vigour and zeal. For example, it had passed new legislative measures which restricted even further the fundamental rights of the individual. To combat any form of opposition to the régime, the South African Government had at its disposal one of the most powerful instruments of repression in the whole of Africa. Not content with strengthening *apartheid* inside the country, the Pretoria régime was attempting to extend its influence beyond its borders, particularly in Southern Rhodesia and other regions of Africa.

7. Every year, the representatives of the Member States of the United Nations raised their voices in protest and indignation at that state of affairs, while the resolutions which they adopted remained a dead letter and the economic sanctions upon which they decided were not applied by those who were best placed to affect the economy and trade of South Africa. The United Nations had called for an arms embargo and the breaking off of economic and political relations with South Africa. Some countries had complied with those decisions. For its part, India had long ago ceased all diplomatic, trade and economic relations with South Africa.

8. Remembering that it had been in South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi had launched his struggle for justice and the freedom and equality of peoples, India was providing facilities for a permanent mission of the African National

Congress at New Delhi. However, his delegation could only express its regret and disappointment at the fact that the main trading partners of South Africa had not so far seen fit to implement the resolutions of the United Nations. To justify their attitude, they claimed that the maintenance of economic relations could serve as a means of persuasion. India was not convinced by that argument; it therefore appealed to the countries concerned to reconsider their position in the interests of peace and justice.

9. The main responsibility for the elimination of *apartheid*, of course, rested with the people of South Africa, but it was the duty of the United Nations to encourage and facilitate a peaceful solution of the problem. The Security Council, which had the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security, should resume its consideration of that question and take effective steps under Chapter VII of the Charter.

10. His delegation wished to thank the Special Committee for its report (A/7625), which his delegation found excellent, the conclusions and recommendations of which it endorsed. It also wished to record its appreciation of the humanitarian assistance provided to the victims of *apartheid* by the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

11. The debates of the Special Political Committee had once again underlined the universal abhorrence aroused by the racist policy of the South African Government. The United Nations should now act in a concerted, determined and meaningful fashion to help the South African people to regain their freedom.

12. He offered his delegation's sincere condolences to the Yugoslav delegation in connexion with the earthquake which had just occurred in Yugoslavia.

13. Mr. LAVANDEROS (Chile) recalled that virtually since its establishment the United Nations had been concerned with the racist policy of South Africa; however, not only had the action of the United Nations produced no results, but South Africa had been able to extend its system to the whole of southern Africa with impunity. Far from implementing the decisions of the United Nations, South Africa was adopting new laws which aggravated the situation of the majority of the population of that country, where 14 million people were condemned to live in inhuman conditions, under-nourished and under-paid, and lacking medical care, education and hope itself. Moreover, the maintenance of South African control in Namibia was an affront to all the countries represented in the United Nations.

14. The situation created by South Africa had now become so dangerous that it constituted a threat to peace throughout the continent. Attention was drawn to that danger by the Manifesto on Southern Africa, which showed that an effective solution should urgently be sought if the worst was to be avoided. The segregationist minority of South Africa should be made aware of that situation, since it was running the risk of a revolt on the part of the oppressed majority of a scale and violence which were easy to predict.

15. The fact that the measures adopted by the United Nations to put an end to the *apartheid* régime had remained

unproductive had been due largely to the attitude of certain countries, signatories of the Charter, which had voted for resolutions condemning racial discrimination but which were nevertheless increasing their trade with South Africa. Those countries went so far as to supplant others which had applied in good faith the sanctions adopted by the United Nations. That situation added an artificial and absurd element to the problem, and it should be sharply condemned. The partners of South Africa could argue that they had long-standing investments in that country, but their attention should be drawn to the example of Zambia, which had made tremendous efforts to implement the decisions of the United Nations.

16. As Mr. David L. Niddrie had pointed out in his book *South Africa, Nation or Nations?*,² various African and Asian countries had increased their imports of South African products over the past five years; those products were often imported after being re-labelled to conceal their origin. He appealed to those countries to ascertain the precise origin of their imports to avoid being duped by such a subterfuge.

17. Mr. OTEMA ALLIMADI (Uganda) expressed his country's sympathy to the Yugoslav representative in connexion with the Banja Luka disaster.

18. The problems created by *apartheid* were today more serious than ever. The *apartheid* régime had recently been strengthened by a number of regrettable events indicated in the report of the Special Committee (A/7625). The South African Minister of Finance had visited France and the Federal Republic of Germany to discuss the floating of a public loan. Three years after South African sovereignty over Namibia had been terminated, the Republic of South Africa continued to exercise absolute control in that Territory and to impose *apartheid* there. South African armed forces, with the connivance of the United Kingdom, were operating in Southern Rhodesia against the freedom fighters. With the help of States Members of the United Nations, particularly France, South Africa had enormously increased its military capability; France was supplying war materials to South Africa and co-operating with it in the development of ground-to-air missiles, and the first of three Daphné-type submarines intended for South Africa had just been launched at Nantes. Furthermore, between 1962 and 1968 a number of countries had considerably increased their exports to and imports from South Africa: the increases were 47 per cent and 97 per cent respectively for the United Kingdom, 98 per cent and 33 per cent for the United States, 149 per cent and 40 per cent for the Federal Republic of Germany, 195 per cent and 181 per cent for Japan and 191 per cent and 20 per cent for France. Three of those countries were permanent members of the Security Council.

19. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations, the Organization and South Africa's major trading partners had been advocating the method of persuasion, but everyone could see that that method had thus far failed. Some people found *apartheid* too profitable to give up in response to mere persuasion. The Members of the United Nations must therefore make South Africa realize that its interests as a nation were being threatened by *apartheid*.

² Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand, 1968.

Such action was quite feasible, for South Africa could not prosper without the co-operation of Member States such as France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan and it could not do without the investments of United Kingdom, United States and French companies.

20. During the current session some representatives had spoken of dialogue, referring to the Manifesto on Southern Africa. However, the Manifesto did not unconditionally recommend dialogue with South Africa but simply stated that such dialogue was possible on condition that South Africa recognized the rights of the majority of its population and began to secure those rights for them. Moreover, the Manifesto reaffirmed the commitment of the Organization of African Unity to the liberation of all inhabitants of Africa, black and white alike. It reaffirmed the conviction that that liberation could still be achieved by peaceful means if such countries as the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Japan were willing to co-operate. His delegation therefore believed that in order to put an end to *apartheid*, a systematic effort must be made to win the active support of those countries.

21. Mr. STRADOWSKI (Poland) said that in spite of resolutions and condemnations by United Nations bodies, the situation in South Africa had not changed and the situation in southern Africa as a whole had even grown worse. Reviewing the basic facts of the situation, he said that the Pretoria régime was defying General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, continuing to occupy Namibia, building up its military forces, strengthening its police force, and endangering peace in southern Africa; the responsibility for that state of affairs lay with the NATO countries, particularly the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, since they were giving South Africa economic and military assistance.

22. It would be unjust to charge the United Nations with sole responsibility for the failure to solve the problem. On the one hand, the great majority of Member States were implementing United Nations resolutions in sincerity and good faith, but, on the other hand, there were some Powers which supported the resolutions in words but did not implement them. The United Nations should not, however, resign itself to failure. A number of measures had been suggested, and he emphasized in particular the mobilization of world public opinion to condemn racism and colonialism in South Africa and all Governments and organizations which collaborated with the Pretoria régime.

23. The nations of southern Africa which had rejected colonialism, *apartheid* and racism were seeking to establish a harmonious society in which peace prevailed, while the South African Government was perpetuating anti-humanitarian principles and entrenching its racial policies by various military means. Some countries, by defying the resolutions on the arms embargo, were confronting the United Nations with a serious situation and strengthening colonialist domination. Nevertheless, millions of Africans were expecting the United Nations to take steps to re-establish human rights, human dignity and equality in South Africa. Therefore the South African Government must be isolated; such isolation would benefit the peoples of South Africa and improve international relations.

24. Although the South African Government could win international confidence by abrogating discriminatory laws, eliminating oppression and persecution and reaffirming equal political, economic, social and cultural rights for all, it refused to do so. It responded with hypocritical and cynical arguments to the recommendations made in good faith by the United Nations. It rejected peaceful proposals for the implementation of resolutions. The efforts of the United Nations were proving futile because of the economic and military assistance given to South Africa by the NATO countries and by more than 200 international industrial corporations, including the Consolidated Diamond Mines Corporation, financed by the *Deutsche Bank Gesellschaft* of Frankfurt, West Germany. So long as the interests of international corporations were not threatened and certain Powers remained in control of the situation, the humanitarian spirit would not prevail and the conciliatory proposals of the United Nations and OAU would be disregarded.

25. He hoped that in the course of the debate the Committee would be able to draft and approve a resolution to submit to the General Assembly, for the measures that might be so proposed could contribute to a solution of the problem. The peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia had been forced to take up arms against their oppressors, and the United Nations had recognized the legitimacy of their struggle. The liberation movements expected further assistance from the United Nations.

26. Poland felt complete solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa; it sympathized with their aspirations and their suffering, for it had undergone the full horror of nazi occupation. Convinced that the revival of facism anywhere in the world was a threat to every country, his delegation would support any resolution that might bring the problem of *apartheid* closer to solution.

27. He expressed his delegation's sympathy to the Yugoslav delegation in connexion with the recent disastrous earthquake in Yugoslavia.

28. Mr. FUENTES (Bolivia) expressed the Bolivian people's sympathy with the Yugoslav people in their ordeal at Banja Luka.

29. Turning to the item under consideration, he observed that the report of the Special Committee (A/7625) made it clear that the system of racial discrimination established in South Africa was one of the most demeaning forms of domination in the world, for it built the prosperity of some on oppression of the majority. The facts and evidence contained in the report were so eloquent that it seemed pointless for any country to participate in the debate if all it could offer the oppressed was solidarity and moral support. For more than ten years the United Nations had done everything it could; unfortunately the opinion of the majority was sometimes ineffectual against the wishes of those who held power.

30. The United Nations was preparing to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, but that celebration would be tarnished if the Organization failed to accomplish part of its mission, through the fault of some of its Members, whose

attitude not only violated the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council but also undermined the prestige of the United Nations and perpetrated a fraud upon millions of people who looked to the United Nations to guarantee peace and equality. The Organization must make every effort to see to it that the States offending international opinion bowed to the will of the majority, so that the celebration of its twenty-fifth

anniversary would not be dimmed by some Member States' violations of United Nations principles.

31. Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia) thanked the representatives who had expressed their sympathy and solidarity with the Yugoslav people in connexion with the Banja Luka disaster. He would convey their messages to the inhabitants of Banja Luka and to the Yugoslav Government and people.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.