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(Somalia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued) (A/7254, A/7259, A/7270)

1. Mr. COOPER (United States of America) said that his Government was in agreement with the large majority of Member States of the United Nations in their condemnation of apartheid and had faithfully kept, and would continue to keep, its commitment to prohibit the sale and shipment to South Africa of all forms of military equipment. His Government's view had been that, by maintaining normal diplomatic and economic relationships with South Africa, it would be in a better position to urge upon its Government the reform of its policy. Thus, it had repeatedly urged South Africa to change its policies both at home and in South West Africa. Those efforts, however, had not produced the desired results.

2. There was a body of opinion in his country which questioned whether it was wise for a State, or even the United Nations, to intervene in the internal affairs of another country unless such intervention was justified under the conditions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. That body of opinion could not but be influenced by events elsewhere in the world, as some nations found special justification for forcible and coercive intervention.

3. The vast majority of his countrymen condemned the cruel policy of apartheid imposed on the non-white and in some cases the white people of that country, in violation of the principles of the Charter and human decency. Many countries had become independent since the Second World War and had enacted legislation to declare and enforce the equality of political, economic and social rights for all their citizens. In addition, many countries were seeking means, private as well as governmental, to secure those rights. Despite such progress and despite the condemnation of

apartheid by world public opinion, the Government of South Africa had determined to maintain its policies and further to entrench discrimination and racism by government authority.

4. The report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/7254) reviewed the measures which the Government of South Africa had taken and which had set apart the largest segment of the population as an inferior people, outside the political, economic and social life of the country. That Government had enacted measures in an attempt to hide the facts and to stifle the inevitable protests. The trend of such measures over the previous two decades had been to deprive all persons in South Africa of the protection of the courts in an increasingly widely defined area, in which Parliament had vested in the executive branch, particularly in the police, wide power over the individual. The Terrorism Act of 1967 was the most recent legislation of that kind. The trend had been documented by the International Commission of Jurists in its publication The Erosion of the Rule of Law in South Africa. The South African Government had presented its own views in a widely circulated pamphlet entitled The Rule of Law in South Africa, which had served only to illustrate its inflexible attitude and to draw attention to the deterioration of the rule of law in that country. Even the South African Law Journal had carried a critique of the claims made in that government publication, concluding that, by reason of a variety of legislative provisions, South African courts were in certain respects powerless to ensure that no one should be detained or punished without charge or trial.

5. There were many forms and practices of discrimination throughout the world: in some countries it was based on race, colour or perhaps religious or political beliefs and in others discrimination was practised against those holding opinions contrary to those held by the authorities. In other countries again, repression was directed by the authorities of a State against other States. Whatever form they took, such practices went against the trend of events and the principles of the Charter and ignored world opinion. They were practices against decency and the human spirit. The South African policy of apartheid was one of the most callous and inhuman forms of discrimination. A hopeful sign was that some elements in South Africa, particularly the religious community, were expressing increasing concern and disagreement with the inhumanity of the Government's policy. He did not suggest that there was any information that South Africa was about to reverse that policy, but even small signs were welcome and emphasized the necessity of showing the world and the people of South Africa the true portrait of apartheid.

6. There was growing concern among many elements in the United States at South Africa's refusal to correct its policy of apartheid. Although there had been no express calls for coercive measures against that Government, one current of opinion in the United States Congress, which he shared, held that his country should disengage itself from South Africa in trade and investment as long as South Africa continued its policy of apartheid. This view was expressed by Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts on the floor of the Senate on 12 April 1968. He could not predict the outcome of that current of opinion because there were diverse views as to the best way to deal with the problem and because a new administration would want to review the situation. The South African Government must, however, take account of the fact that his Government and people had not in the past ignored South Africa's continuing refusal to move with the rest of mankind towards equality and could not do so in future. Discrimination was the subjugation of human rights and the human spirit; whether directed by the governing authorities of a State against its own people or by one country against another it would not prevail and could not be supported.

7. Mr. BURKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said it was natural that, in the discussions of the question of apartheid, attention should be concentrated on the freedom and rights of man, on his material prosperity and spiritual welfare. It might therefore be asked why, in a century of overwhelming achievements testifying to the power of the human intellect, millions of people in southern Africa were still deprived of the most elementary human rights.

8. The United Nations had been discussing the question of apartheid for some twenty years, and its attitude to that policy had been defined in many resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. At the Seminar on Apartheid held at Brasilia in August and September 1966, it had been pointed out that apartheid violated the recognized concept of basic human rights as set out in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A small minority of European origin, basing itself on the false doctrine of white superiority, was applying in South Africa a policy designed to ensure that it retained full power by keeping approximately 15 million indigenous inhabitants in physical and moral subjugation and denying them normal human freedoms.

9. In its resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly had qualified the practice of apartheid as a crime against humanity. It had been pointed out at the Seminar at Brasilia that international law required the prosecution of persons committing such crimes, and that the policy of the South African Government had much in common with nazism, which no doubt explained the reception accorded by that Government to many former supporters of Hitler. It had also been pointed out at the seminar that there had been a tendency for the policy of apartheid to extend to other countries. The Government of South Africa had introduced the policy of apartheid into the administration of Namibia, ignoring United Nations decisions concerning the attainment of independence by the people of that country. In Rhodesia, the white minority had set up by force a régime which tyrannized most of the Africans in the

country, and the situation was similar in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The racists of the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and other colonial regions of Africa were intensifying their policy and entering into mutual agreements which threatened their neighbours and endangered international peace and security.

10. It was obvious that a mere handful of Whites could not defy humanity and fail to observe General Assembly resolutions unless they were backed by greater Powers. It had frequently been pointed out that apartheid would have collapsed, if the Member nations of NATO had observed General Assembly and Security Council resolutions calling for the severance of diplomatic and trade relations with countries practising apartheid and for the cessation of the supply of military equipment to them. It was obvious that such countries as the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and many others were openly violating those resolutions. For example, statistics showed that the NATO countries had approximately three quarters of the imports and three fifths of the exports of the Republic of South Africa. The racist régime was obtaining various kinds of financial and material assistance, in which the Federal Republic of Germany played an important part; its capital investments had doubled in the period from 1965 to 1967, while its trade with South Africa had trebled between 1960 and 1967.

11. The United States also played an important part in supporting the racist régime; recent published statements by a former United States representative to the United Nations, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, indicated the close economic, military, scientific and technical ties between the two countries. A particular feature of the trade between them was the export to South Africa of vehicles and aircraft which could be used for either military or civil purposes, while the ports of South Africa were visited by both merchant and naval American vessels. The Export-Import Bank was providing financial assistance to South Africa, while private firms and banks had large investments in the industrial and scientific achievements of South Africa and made loans to the Government. It was therefore obvious that the Western monopolies were continuing to support the racist régime of South Africa, and were thus themselves participants in the atrocities committed by the white population against the indigenous inhabitants of that country.

12. The Byelorussian delegation firmly condemned the hateful policy of the Republic of South Africa, and also the activities of those countries providing economic, political and military assistance to its Government. It demanded that an end be put to the secret and open support given by those countries to the racist régime, and considered it essential that that view should be reflected in the decisions to be adopted by the Committee. His delegation supported all those who were fighting against slavery and oppression in South Africa, since the Byelorussian people had itself borne the full weight of oppression and slavery. It was under socialism that the great achievements of Byelorussia in recent years had become possible, and his country's experience was available to all

those who were really interested in freedom for their countries.

13. Mankind had shown no mercy towards Hitlerite racists, and his delegation was convinced that all their successors who were at present committing atrocities in the world would soon be punished under international law, and that the oppressed people would attain a new life. It was to be hoped that the work of the United Nations and of the Special Committee would bring that time closer.

14. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan) said that, since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2307 (XXII), the last of a long list of unimplemented resolutions adopted on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, the Government of South Africa had consolidated its ruthless policy of racial separation, depriving the non-white population of their right to political, social and economic justice. The perpetrators of apartheid maintained that the United Nations was interfering in their domestic affairs by considering ways and means of eradicating that policy. In resorting to that outmoded tactic, the South African Government tried to create a screen to hide its further consolidation and cultivation of discriminatory practices.

15. Through the perseverance of the United Nations and the dedicated work of the Special Committee, South Africa's policy of racial discrimination had been fully exposed and had aroused the legitimate anxiety of the international community. The entire legal apparatus of that country was designed to consolidate the domination of a minority over the majority of the population. During 1968, two new laws—the General Laws Amendment Act and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act—had been added to those already restricting the activities of the non-white population and further curtailment of the peoples' right to free speech was envisaged in a new press law. The report of the Special Committee (A/7254) explained in an objective manner that the Government of South Africa continued vigorously to put its apartheid policies into operation, moving thousands of non-white families from their homeland under the Group Areas Act and forbidding them to build or own houses in urban "white areas".

16. The armaments build-up in South Africa had continued during the past year and the arms embargo ordered by the Security Council had been ineffective. Backed by its military might, South Africa had started to export the evil policies of apartheid beyond its national frontiers. The alliance between the Government of Portugal, the illegal régime of Salisbury and the Government of South Africa, all of which were trying to suppress national liberation movements, had strengthened South Africa's position in dealing with the foes of apartheid inside its borders. There had been a substantial increase in the volume of trade between South Africa and its major trading partners, and some other countries had recently started trading with that country.

17. History had proved that oppression could not silence the voice of a subjugated people and there was no doubt that the South African Government's apartheid policy would, in the long run, prove as harmful to the white minority as to the majority of the non-white population. If that Government continued stubbornly to ad-

here to that policy, there was grave danger that a fearful conflict of races might result.

18. In order to bring about the peaceful eradication of apartheid, the international community should intensify its action and adopt a new approach to the problem. The new developments in southern Africa made it essential that the Security Council should give its urgent attention to the situation in that region. Like most other countries, Afghanistan considered that the only means of achieving a peaceful solution of the problem was mandatory economic sanctions and action under Chapter VII of the Charter. Such action called for the co-operation and understanding of the permanent members of the Security Council, which were not only responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in the region, but had perhaps a greater obligation than the other Member States of the United Nations towards the millions of non-white men and women of South Africa. The General Assembly and the Security Council should request the main trading partners of South Africa to take immediate steps towards trade and economic disengagement from that country.

19. While moral and material support could be extended by other countries, only the great Powers could make meaningful efforts within and outside the framework of the United Nations towards a solution of apartheid based on equity and justice.

Mr. Ghaus (Afghanistan), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

20. Mr. MAIGA (Mali) observed that many previous speakers had fully described the sombre and painful developments in southern Africa during 1968—the International Year for Human Rights. Despite their universal condemnation, the cruel and inhuman policies of apartheid were pursued in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia; human dignity and the moral and spiritual values common to all civilized States were scorned and the will of the international community thwarted with impunity. The policies of apartheid were an ever-growing danger to international peace and security by virtue of the cruelty, injustice, suffering and summary executions which were the lot of the indigenous population. Violating the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the racist minority Government of Pretoria had intensified the shameful system of apartheid within South Africa and was now extending it to Southern Rhodesia and the international Territory of Namibia, with the blessing of its trading partners, among them certain NATO countries which were permanent members of the Security Council.

21. As the various reports submitted by the Secretary-General showed, the list of crimes committed under the inhuman system of separate development was a lengthy one. Africans were daily expropriated without mercy, driven from their lands, torn from their families, herded like beasts in concentration camps, imprisoned without trial and murdered in cold blood. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Security Council and the General Assembly had clearly defined the means to put an end to apartheid and had recommended economic sanctions. As yet, the problem was unsolved because certain Powers were encouraging the white minorities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia by giving them economic and military sup-

port. In other cases, those Powers had not hesitated to intervene forcibly where they had felt their sordid interests to be threatened. If they now displayed bad faith in implementing the resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU, it was because their interests were served by the Fascist and racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. The continued existence of such a situation unquestionably endangered international peace and all countries should work together to end it while there was still time.

22. The freedom fighters in southern Africa would not lay down their arms until the policy of apartheid was eradicated and fundamental democratic freedom restored together with the principles of self-determination and majority rule. The African States would give them all necessary assistance. In that connexion, the President of Mali had said that it would be delusive for the African States to attempt to play the role to which they aspired so long as their brothers were reduced to slavery at the mere will of backward colonialists who had learned nothing from history and of the racists in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

23. Whatever steps those fascist régimes took to preserve themselves, and whatever the support they received from their friends, the speedy liberation of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination was inevitable. His delegation maintained its view that only a resort to force would oblige South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to liberate the peoples under their yoke. Confronted with unpunished crimes and the bad faith of certain Powers, mankind was beginning to lose faith in the effectiveness of the moral values and high principles of the Charter. It was time to eradicate apartheid, to make the racists in southern Africa see reason and to secure a durable peace for the world. Mali would always be in the van of liberty, justice and brotherhood.

24. Mr. DORR (Ireland) said that in view of the fact that in one form or another the racial policies of South Africa had been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1946, it was disheartening that the efforts to bring about a change in those policies appeared to have met with little success. In the past year, the situation within South Africa had continued to deteriorate; the danger of wider conflict had increased, repressive measures against opponents of apartheid had continued, and the Government had consolidated its military strength. Those developments had set the whole of southern Africa on a collision course.

25. However, it was important that the international community should not become discouraged; while there was still time, every effort must be made to persuade the Government of South Africa to change its dangerous and short-sighted course, and it was to that end that the present debate was primarily directed.

26. The views of the Government and people of Ireland on the issue had been made known many times in the past, and Ireland had been glad to show its position in a practical way by contributing to the humanitarian programmes established to help the victims of apartheid and by voting for General Assembly resolutions on the subject. It was to be regretted that such resolutions had

gone largely unheeded by the Government of South Africa, but that fact did not constitute grounds for asserting that the debate of the Committee was futile. Apart from recommending effective action on the issue of apartheid, the debate should be a source of encouragement to those in South Africa who were suffering from apartheid and attempting to bring about a change. It also gave the world community an opportunity of expressing its rejection of a philosophy of government based on racial difference, and ensured that the evils of that policy were the subject of world attention.

27. The latter point was of great importance, since although human rights were denied or curtailed elsewhere in the world, in no case was there so clear a denial of the basis of all human rights. The efforts made over the years to establish respect for human rights depended ultimately on a belief in the dignity and worth of the individual, and the particular evil of apartheid was that it denied that principle, asserting, in the name of a policy of separate development imposed on three quarters of the population without their consent, that the status and rank of an individual depended not on his humanity but on his race.

28. In its practical implementation that policy was grossly inequitable; in comparison with the white minority, the African majority suffered from extreme disabilities in education, in employment and in living standards, and it was deprived of elementary civil and political rights. The International Labour Organisation had described the status of African workers as scarcely distinguishable from one of servile labour. Other organizations too, in particular the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, performed valuable work in bringing the facts about apartheid to world attention.

29. His delegation had taken the floor again in the current debate, although its attitude to apartheid was well known, because of its belief in the importance of stressing and repeating that the world community unequivocally rejected the principle upon which the policy of apartheid was based. It shared the view of the Chairman of the Special Committee who stated:

"This struggle in South Africa is not a struggle of the African people alone. It is a struggle which affects all humanity.

"For South Africa is a microcosm of the world with people of diverse racial origins ... and diverse religions. Whether they can live together in South Africa in dignity and peace is a test for the world at large."^{1/}

It was to be hoped that the world would pass that test.

30. Mr. DUMA (Romania) said that his country had never ceased to condemn the policy of apartheid, which had been a perennial issue on the agenda since the first session of the General Assembly. The policy of apartheid, which the South African Government continued to intensify, not only obliged 14 million Africans to live in the most inhuman material and spiritual conditions,

^{1/} See The United Nations and Apartheid, United Nations Office of Public Information, Publications Feature No. 7, July 1968, pp. 10-11.

but also endangered the cause of international peace and security. One in three of those Africans no longer had the right to live where he chose. Over 6 million had been forcibly uprooted and transferred to a different area or sent from the town to the stagnant native reserves where there was no work. Not since the Nazi régime had there been such a calculated effort to transport populations solely to serve the interests of the ruling oligarchy. In the reserves or labour camps the Africans were told where and for whom they might work, and when they lost that work, they had to leave their place of residence until other work was found for them.

31. The South African Government had disregarded all the recommendations and provisions of the United Nations and had refused to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee's report (A/7254) constituted an act of accusation against the inhuman policy of apartheid and emphasized the need for the United Nations to take new effective measures against it. The spread of that policy to other territories through South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, its relations with the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia and its support for Portugal's oppressive colonialist policy in Angola and Mozambique was a danger to the entire African continent.

32. Like many others, his delegation considered that South Africa's defiance of United Nations decisions was strengthened by the unilateral interests of some Western Powers in that country. Military co-operation with and the investment of capital in the Republic of South Africa, which strengthened its police and military forces, might have serious consequences. It had

recently been confirmed that the South African military budget increased every year and that, despite the arms embargo, the armed forces of that country had become the best prepared and equipped in Africa. It was the African country in which the largest amount of foreign capital had been invested and the high interest rates offered an incentive not only to the large monopolies but also to many Western Governments.

33. The liberation of the Africans in South Africa was impossible without the liquidation of the present economic system. Those who opposed apartheid without acknowledging the need for a radical transformation of South African society committed a serious error for nowhere was it so clear that capitalism depended on the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses.

34. Discussions in the Committee had shown that the only peaceful way of forcing the South African Government to renounce its apartheid policy was a complete embargo on all commercial and economic relations with that country. His delegation therefore supported the idea that the issue should once more be called to the attention of the Security Council. It also supported the recommendations made by the Special Committee and agreed with the need for decided action, as the apartheid policy affected the whole international community and could not be considered an internal problem of a single State.

35. As it had in the past, his delegation would support any action in accordance with the Charter which led to the elimination of that policy because the United Nations failure to do so discredited its authority and prestige and endangered international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.