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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. MUNYANSHONGORE (Rwanda) presented his delegation's condolences to the Tunisian and Yugoslav delegations on the disasters which had afflicted their countries.

2. With regard to the question under consideration, he observed that the principles and aims set forth in Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Charter were being flouted in southern Africa. Despite the fact that the South African Government's *apartheid* policy was examined every year by the Special Political Committee and the General Assembly in its resolutions called each year for an abandonment of that inhuman policy, the Pretoria authorities still responded each year by a refusal. Under the Terrorism Act, thousands of non-white citizens were still being herded into South African prisons and arbitrarily condemned for being African and demanding their rights. The South African Government was moreover strengthening its military arms and its police force to frighten the internal and external opponents of *apartheid*.

3. In their concern at the threat to peace in Africa, the African Heads of State had appealed to all Member States to intervene with the South African authorities and save Africa from the terrible consequences of racial war. Their appeal, which was in the Manifesto on Southern Africa¹ of the Organization of African Unity, submitted to the General Assembly on 6 October 1969 (1780th plenary meeting) deserved close and serious study.

4. Mr. KUFFUOR (Ghana) said that to those delegations whose countries were reaping considerable profits from

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

trade with South Africa, the debates on *apartheid* seemed a tedious routine. They considered the efforts of the United Nations to eliminate *apartheid* from South Africa to be unrealistic, unreasonable and inconvenient. That accounted for the mood of resignation and indifference currently prevailing among the international community. The popular belief that only in Utopia were politics and morality compatible was, however, mistaken. No other proof was needed than the creation of the United Nations which, with the forthcoming celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, should pay particular attention to the South African Government's *apartheid* policy when reappraising the Organization's role in the contemporary world and preparing to meet its challenges. As the Prime Minister of Ghana had recently stated in addressing the General Assembly on 17 October 1969 (1786th plenary meeting), the power at present available to man made the efforts to build a world community based on brotherhood—the hope and purpose of the United Nations—the only alternative to annihilation.

5. South Africa's policy had sown the seeds of discord, discredited the Organization, destroyed the spirit of co-operation and compromised peace. That policy, in complete defiance of the Organization, was being extended in southern Africa, as the Secretary-General had emphasized in paragraphs 148 and 149 of the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization². If the Organization was to fulfil its aims, right and justice must prevail over selfish interests. That was the principle understood by the African countries and followed by them in issuing the Manifesto on Southern Africa in which several possibilities of solving the problem were proposed. Through the Manifesto, which completed the Organization's historic declarations and proclamations, the African States had appealed to reason and morality for solving the problems of racism and colonialism in southern Africa, since those universal values were the foundations of the United Nations.

6. That appeal against colonialism and racism was, however, devoid of self-righteousness; it was based on the pursuit of the ideals of brotherhood, dignity and equality, not on any claim to achieved perfection, and it was in the name of those ideals that the African countries appealed for the support of the whole human race. The Africans rejected the idea of inequality; they were fighting for the right to self-determination of the populations of southern Africa, for a régime based on the will of the people and for acceptance of the principle of equality among citizens. He recalled certain passages from the Manifesto on Southern Africa:

“... the liberation of Africa . . . does not mean a reverse racialism. . . . We have always preferred, and we

² Ibid., Supplement No. 1A.

still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence. . . . But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those Territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors.”

While those were the options offered by the Africans, they were none the less prepared to explore all the possibilities of peaceful settlement of the conflict, and, if South Africa was ready to co-operate with the African States, let that country begin co-operating with the United Nations in restoring peace and stability in southern Africa; let it respond to the Manifesto on Southern Africa and respect the right to self-determination, and let those States that were the friends of South Africa show their willingness to solve the problem by helping to reduce its obduracy.

7. The next phase of the struggle would be determined by South Africa's reaction to the Manifesto and by the willingness of its trading partners to join forces with the African States. African reactions would also continue to be determined by what had been done in Europe, Asia and America in similar circumstances, for a people's struggle against oppression was legitimate everywhere, as the international community had shown in recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle by the South African people.

8. The ordeal facing the South African liberation movements was grave and their enemy formidable; their sufferings should arouse help and sympathy, and he appealed to all the specialized agencies and international organizations concerned, particularly the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to give assistance to all displaced persons from South Africa. He also appealed to States to contribute, or to increase their contributions, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. He paid a tribute to certain States, particularly the Scandinavian States, for their generous contributions to the Fund and the Programme, which once again showed their commitment to the cause of freedom and their concern for humanity. Ghana also appreciated the Economic and Social Council's recommendation for extending the assistance of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to the victims of the oppressive régimes in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

9. Pressure should continue to be exerted on South Africa to renounce its racial policy. There was unfortunately little hope of seeing the application of economic sanctions, for there were States which either openly violated the arms embargo or provided South Africa with the technical and financial means of producing the arms and material that it was unable to buy. The African States were nevertheless prepared to discuss new economic sanctions which would be approved by all, as well as any measures for exerting pressure on South Africa. In any event the sanctions provided for should be applied by 'all United Nations bodies.

10. His delegation considered that one of the most modern means of pressure was the mobilization of public opinion. The campaign against *apartheid* and its evils should draw on the great sources of information media for making

known and enlisting support for the measures taken against South Africa. Drawing attention to paragraph 6 of the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization, he said that his delegation welcomed the steps taken to complement United Nations action. In addition, every State should use its own information media to make known the crimes of *apartheid*. Lastly, encouraged by the approach of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and by the idea that 1971 had been proclaimed as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, all delegations should give favourable consideration to the Economic and Social Council's proposals for setting up a United Nations radio network to disseminate information on the situation in southern Africa. No expense could be too great for freeing the world entirely from racism.

11. In conclusion, he said that the new world civilization called for dedication in creating friendship among peoples. It was thus necessary to increase contacts within the Organization and harmonize views and interests. The United Nations must not allow South Africa to divide them.

12. Mr. ABDULLA (Southern Yemen) said that the statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee (646th meeting) and the report of that Committee (A/7625) left no doubt about the ineffectiveness of the United Nations action to end racial discrimination. It was therefore time to contemplate other measures. His delegation considered that the present Government in Pretoria, which did not represent the true owners of South Africa, should be expelled from the Organization.

13. The policy of the Pretoria régime infringed the principles of the Charter as well as those laid down at the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968. That régime could not, however, be considered separately from the Western Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany—which were its main trading partners and suppliers of arms and capital, in defiance of the Security Council's call for economic sanctions and an arms embargo. If the United Nations wished to convince or force the South African Government to desist from its *apartheid* policy, it should first of all address itself to those imperialist States and obtain their effective co-operation.

14. His delegation supported the liberation movement in South Africa and recognized its right to fight against the racist colonial régime in Pretoria. It also wished to reaffirm the United Nations responsibility to provide the liberation movements in that region with material aid and moral support, in accordance with its various resolutions.

15. Mrs. MYRDAL (Sweden) said that the present discussion on *apartheid* was taking place on the eve of three significant anniversaries—the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the tenth anniversary of the massacre of black workers at Sharpeville—which emphasized the absurdity of the continued existence of the system of *apartheid* in South Africa. Those anniversaries made it possible to view the question in a broader perspective than in previous years; the

recent publication of the Manifesto on Southern Africa also encouraged efforts to that end.

16. The results of past action by the United Nations should not be underestimated. The Organization and its specialized agencies had undoubtedly through their efforts brought about world-wide refutation of the myth of racial superiority. By continuing to defend that myth, the South African Government was deliberately deceiving its people and adopting an unscientific attitude.

17. The *apartheid* régime, had however, retained all its barbarity. Some examples of legislation would illustrate the institutionalization of racism in South Africa: in the Suppression of Communism Act, communism was defined in such broad terms that the mildest criticism of the régime could be severely punished—in particular by banning orders for a period of two to five years, often renewed; special provisions gave the police the right to detain not only suspects but also witnesses for 180 days without allowing them contact with their lawyers or family; the Terrorism Act provided for periods of indefinite detention, during which the detainees were allowed no contact with their lawyers, doctors or families. Many detainees were never brought to trial and the public never heard about them; it had also been proved that detainees had been tortured. During the past year at least five detainees had died in prison in suspicious circumstances.

18. Among steps which the United Nations could take to curb the evils of *apartheid*, the first task should be to make more effective use of the instrument of information. The Organization had already performed great services in that connexion and had largely contributed to directing world public opinion against racial oppression. It was satisfactory to note that, in a single generation, racial prejudices had become noticeably less strong in many countries, including Sweden. In the field of information, the countries which had the closest ties with South Africa—predominantly the rich Western countries—bore a special responsibility. The South African people must also learn about reactions in world opinion and about the activities of the freedom movements in Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. In its report (A/7625), the Special Committee had examined the problem of information in detail, and she wished to draw attention to two particular aspects: firstly, more effective information campaigns might be launched by voluntary organizations and particularly churches, with the co-operation of the United Nations; secondly, the organization of broadcasts to South Africa, in particular through the establishment of a United Nations radio station.

19. Another very important form of action was assistance to the victims of *apartheid*, especially the provision of legal and material aid, education and training. The world at large should contribute more generously to such programmes.

20. It was deplorable that the sanctions against South Africa decided on by the Security Council had been applied only to such a limited extent. The Secretary-General might consider drafting a report on deliveries of arms to that country. Definite information on that question would then be available at the next session of the General Assembly and the Security Council could subsequently consider tightening the embargo if necessary.

21. Mr. TARCICI (Yemen) proposed that the statement by the Swedish representative should be reproduced verbatim.

22. The CHAIRMAN said that in the absence of any objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to have the statement by the Swedish representative reproduced verbatim in the Committee's records in accordance with the procedure he had outlined at the beginning of the session.

*It was so decided.*³

Hearing of Mr. Robert Resha, member of the African National Congress

23. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had previously agreed to grant a hearing to Mr. Robert Resha, a member of the African National Congress, and invited Mr. Resha to take a place at the Committee table.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Resha, representative of the African National Congress, took a place at the Committee table.

24. Mr. RESHA (African National Congress) speaking on behalf of his organization, first of all expressed his gratitude to the Special Committee for its constant support to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*, and to the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa for its humanitarian work for the victims of *apartheid*. He also thanked the Governments which had supported the liberation movement in South Africa, contributed to the humanitarian programmes for the victims of *apartheid* and implemented United Nations decisions against the racist régime of South Africa. Lastly, he reaffirmed the great regard which the African National Congress (ANC) had for Secretary-General U Thant, and its appreciation of the work of the Secretariat staff.

25. Summarizing the history of the African National Congress, he said that in order to defend the Africans against the unjust activities of the Union of South Africa—established in 1910 by the British after the latter had been helped by the Africans in their war against the Boers, and in particular after the Natives Land Act of 1913, which allocated 87 per cent of the land to the white minority—African delegates from all corners of the country had, in 1912, formed a national organization, later called the African National Congress.

26. For fifty years ANC had defended the rights of the African people by non-violent methods: deputations to London, petitions to the South African authorities, mass demonstrations against repressive measures, civil disobedience, the stoppage of work by both urban and farm workers, and the boycott of goods manufactured by strong supporters of the Nationalist Party and the South African Government. In 1948, however, with the access to power of the Nationalist Party, which had supported Hitler during the Second World War, the situation had become even more serious in South Africa, the policy of *apartheid* had been

³ The verbatim record of this meeting was circulated as document A/SPC/PV.656.

implemented and South Africa had progressively become a fascist police State. It was to the credit of the United Nations that it had immediately recognized the danger; unfortunately the South African régime had treated its resolutions with utter contempt. Inside the country, repression was increasing; thousands of leaders had been imprisoned, political meetings had been forbidden and non-violent protests were regarded as acts of sabotage. Faced with that situation, ANC, as the spokesman of the oppressed people, had decided in 1961 to add to its forms of struggle that of armed combat. To meet Government violence it had sent young South Africans abroad for military training. The armed fight had begun; since August 1967, ANC and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) had been fighting the forces of Vorster and Ian Smith in Zimbabwe and soon ANC would take the armed struggle to South Africa.

27. The policy and programme of action of ANC were accepted by the overwhelming majority of the African people, by the coloured and Indian communities, as well as by a very small minority of progressive Whites. The aims of the liberation movement had been defined in a Freedom Charter adopted at a national convention which had met at Johannesburg on 26 June 1955 on the initiative of the ANC and had been attended by three thousand delegates representing all the racial groups in South Africa. The Freedom Charter stated, *inter alia*, that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it, whether black or white; that the government should be based on the will of all the people; that every man and woman should have the right to vote and to stand for election; that all national groups should be protected by law and that all *apartheid* laws should be repealed. The ANC had always accepted the fact that South Africa was a multi-racial country: 12.5 million Africans lived side by side with 3.5 million Whites, 2.5 million coloured persons and 500,000 Indians. The goal of ANC was therefore to transform South Africa into a non-racial democratic State.

28. What did the liberation movement expect of the United Nations? The Organization was in duty bound to support the South African population's struggle, on the one hand because that would be consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter and, on the other, because the action of the forces that were supporting the oppressors should be counteracted. Nevertheless, the movement did not ask for pity or paternalism, for the South Africans were capable of fighting for their own freedom.

29. The liberation movement was disappointed at the ineffectiveness of United Nations measures, for which the attitude of certain Powers could be blamed. In that connexion, he rejected the argument that sanctions were unpracticable. For sanctions to be applied, the United Nations must discipline those States that were providing South Africa with military equipment and financial assistance in violation of Chapter VII of the Charter.

30. While the liberation movement was disappointed, it was not frustrated, for it was convinced that the United Nations and friendly States could provide meaningful support. In order to do so, the United Nations should not think constantly in terms of "new approaches" and new studies. The basic aim of its resolutions remained valid, and

all that was required was the implementation of those resolutions and of the recommendations made by the Special Committee. The United Nations could achieve that goal by taking the following steps: first, it could expose those who collaborated with South Africa and apply diplomatic and other pressure to dissuade them; secondly, it could request all States to assist the liberation movement in its legitimate struggle—so far, only certain Afro-Asian and socialist States had done so, for which he thanked them—and, thirdly, it could increase the humanitarian assistance made available to the victims of *apartheid*, particularly through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and through non-governmental organizations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund.

31. Furthermore, the situation of political prisoners in South Africa should command the particular attention of the United Nations, for they were leaders and activists who defended the very ideals of the United Nations. The Organization had already adopted resolutions calling for their release. He would merely point out that in spite of resolution 1881 (XVIII) adopted by the General Assembly in 1963 in connexion with the Rivonia Trial, Mr. Mandela was still in prison. In fact, the number of political prisoners was constantly increasing. In his view, there could be no peaceful solution in South Africa without an amnesty.

32. Finally, he said that, although ANC relied on United Nations assistance, it was convinced that the struggle for the emancipation of the South African people would be fought and won by the African people themselves. The political, moral and material support they might receive from the United Nations and from Member States would no doubt bring the day of victory nearer.

33. The CHAIRMAN asked whether members of the Committee had any questions to put to Mr. Resha.

34. Mr. BEN KACI (Algeria) thanked Mr. Resha for his contribution to the Committee's work. He assured him of Algeria's support and solidarity in the South African people's struggle for freedom and justice.

35. In view of the importance of Mr. Resha's statement, he requested that it be reproduced verbatim and distributed as an official Committee document.

36. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Pakistan) supported the proposal. He said that all the statements made at the present meeting were of major importance and asked that they all be reproduced verbatim.

37. After an exchange of views in which Mr. JOHNSON (United States of America), Mr. LAVANDEROS (Chile), Mr. DE MEL (Ivory Coast), Mr. ALO (Nigeria), Mr. PETRIE (United Kingdom) and Mr. HERNDL (Deputy Secretary of the Committee) took part, the CHAIRMAN suggested that all the statements made at the meeting should be reproduced verbatim.

*It was so decided.*⁴

38. The CHAIRMAN asked members of the Committee whether they had any questions to put to Mr. Resha.

⁴ See foot-note 3.

39. Mr. HASAN (Pakistan) thanked Mr. Resha for his interesting statement. However, he wished to point out that the 500,000 "Indians" living in South Africa, included a great many Pakistanis who, like the Indians, were victims of discrimination under the *apartheid* policy.

40. Mr. RESHA (African National Congress) said that he had advisedly spoken of South Africans of Indian origin. They were individuals whom the British Government had sent to work in South Africa at a time when India and Pakistan had formed a single political entity. Whether of Indian or Pakistani ancestry, they were all discriminated against, as were other coloured persons. In the eyes of the Pretoria régime, only the Japanese had been "whitened" by reason of their trade relations with South Africa.

41. Mr. GARCIA PIÑEIRO (Argentina), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the representative of Cuba had expressed certain views at the previous meeting regarding the Government of Argentina. His delegation would not refer to the allegations of a rhetorical nature. However, on the specific question of the Argentine Republic's alleged participation in a politico-military South Atlantic pact, he insisted that none of the Argentine authorities had considered the possibility of concluding any such pact. The Permanent Mission of the Argentine

Republic had already categorically refuted that charge in a letter dated 2 June 1969 addressed to the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.258). The allegation that Argentina was linked with United States imperialism was entirely unfounded.

42. Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said he did not propose to dwell on the charges levelled by the representative of Cuba. However, he wished to draw attention to a letter dated 8 July 1969 (A/AC.115/L.262), in which the Permanent Representative of Brazil had categorically stated that at no time had the Government of Brazil considered the conclusion of a military pact or arrangement with the Republic of South Africa. The Brazilian Government's position on *apartheid* had been clearly set forth by Mr. Araujo Castro in his statement at the 647th meeting of the Committee.

43. Mr. VIERA (Cuba) replied that he had called the régimes of Argentina and Brazil "military dictatorships" because he considered that to be the most appropriate term. The Governments concerned supported the policy of *apartheid* in practice and could not deny having received the visit of high South African officials.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.