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THE POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Report of the Special Political Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Lamech E. AKONG'O (Uganda)

1. The item entitled "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" was included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 1978 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963.
2. At its 180th meeting, on 17 September 1969, the General Committee decided to recommend the inclusion of the item in the agenda. At its 1758th plenary meeting, on 20 September, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of the General Committee and allocated the item to the Special Political Committee for consideration and report.
3. The Special Political Committee considered the question at its 645th to 664th meetings, between 21 October and 14 November 1969. The Committee had before it: (a) the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/7625); (b) a note by the Secretary-General on the replies received from Governments on the implementation of the provisions contained in General Assembly resolution 2396 (XXIII) (A/7538 and Add.1 and 2); and (c) the report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, to which was annexed a report by the Committee of Trustees of the Trust Fund (A/7715).

4. At its 645th meeting, on 21 October, the Special Political Committee began its consideration of the item with statements by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees for the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. At the 646th meeting, on 22 October, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid made a statement.
5. At its 655th meeting, on 4 November, the Committee decided, on the motion of the representative of Somalia, to grant a hearing to Mr. Robert Resha, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa. At the 656th meeting on 5 November, Mr. Resha made a statement and answered some questions put to him by members of the Committee.
6. At the 660th meeting, on 11 November, the representative of Somalia introduced a draft resolution (A/SPC/L.172) which was eventually sponsored by the following forty-six Member States: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.
7. In its operative part, the draft resolution provided that the General Assembly would: (1) condemn the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, calling for an end to the oppression and persecution of all persons opposing the policies of apartheid; (2) further condemn the Government of South Africa for its regressive acts against the liberation movement of the people of South Africa and, in particular, for its enactment of the Terrorism Act, 1967; (3) urge all States and organizations to exert every appropriate effort to secure the unconditional release of all political prisoners and persons subjected to restrictions for opposing apartheid; (4) reiterate that freedom fighters taken prisoner in the course of their legitimate struggle for liberation should be extended humane treatment in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, relative to prisoners of war; and (5) express solidarity with all those persecuted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid.
8. At the 661st meeting, on 12 November, the representative of Somalia introduced a revised text of the draft resolution (A/SPC/L.172/Rev.1) in which modifications were made in the third preambular paragraph, and in operative paragraph 4 the words
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"the humanitarian principles laid down in" were inserted after the words
"in accordance with".

9. At the 662nd meeting, on 13 November, the representative of Somalia introduced a second draft resolution (A/SPC/L.173) which was eventually sponsored by the following forty-two Member States: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

10. In its operative part, the draft resolution provided that the General Assembly would: (1) reaffirm its resolution 2396 (XXIII) and other resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of apartheid; (2) reiterate its condemnation of the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity; (3) reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination and the attainment of majority rule based on universal suffrage; (4) urge all States and organizations to provide increased assistance to the liberation movement of the oppressed people of South Africa in the light of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee; (5) invite all States, in recognition of their obligations under the United Nations Charter and in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, to: (a) desist from collaborating with the South African Government by taking steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their national jurisdiction from co-operating with the South African Government and companies registered in South Africa; (b) prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa; (c) refrain from extending loans, investments and technical assistance to the South African Government and companies registered in South Africa; (d) take appropriate measures to dissuade the main trading partners of South Africa and economic and financial interests from collaborating with the South African Government and companies registered in South Africa; (6) call upon all States to implement fully and scrupulously the provisions of the Security Council resolutions concerning the embargo on the

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supplying of arms and other military equipment to the South African Government;

(7) call upon all States to desist from providing the Government of South Africa with technical and other assistance for the manufacture of arms, ammunition and military vehicles; (8) call upon all organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations, to refrain from extending facilities to banks and other financial institutions which provide assistance to the South African Government and to companies registered in South Africa;

(9) draw the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and recommend to the Council to resume urgently the consideration of the question of apartheid with a view to adopting, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, effective measures to eliminate the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation;

(10) urge all specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations to withhold the benefits of international co-operation from the South African Government so long as it persisted in its policies of apartheid;

(11) invite all States and organizations to observe with appropriate ceremonies the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1970 - the tenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre - in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, and make special contributions on that day in support of the struggle against apartheid;

(12) request the Special Committee (a) to take additional steps to promote assistance to the liberation movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity; (b) to hold consultations with the representatives of the liberation movement on various aspects of the question; (c) to take further steps, including holding of joint meetings with other appropriate United Nations organs, to increase its co-operation and co-ordinate its efforts with such organs; (d) to continue its co-operation with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organs concerned with the problems of southern Africa;

(13) request the Secretary-General and Member States to intensify dissemination of information on the problems of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in the light of the recommendations in paragraphs 155-160 of the report of the Special Committee.

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11. At the 663rd meeting, on 14 November, a statement on the administrative and financial implications of the forty-two-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.173) was submitted to the Special Political Committee by the Secretary-General (A/SPC/L.174), in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure.

12. At the same meeting, the representative of Somalia, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the two draft resolutions, introduced the following oral amendments:

(a) Paragraph 2 of the forty-six-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.172/Rev.1) was revised to read as follows:

"2. Further condemns the Government of South Africa for its repressive acts against the political movement of the oppressed people of South Africa and in particular, for its enactment of the Terrorism Act, 1967;"

(b) Paragraphs 3, 4, 9 and 12 (a) and (b) of the forty-two-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.173) would read as follows:

"3. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination, and thus to attain majority rule based on universal suffrage;

"4. Urges all States and organizations to provide increased assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid in the light of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee;

"9. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and recommends to the Council to resume urgently the consideration of the question of apartheid with a view to adopting effective measures, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to eliminate the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation;

"12. Requests the Special Committee:

(a) To take additional steps to promote assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity;

(b) To hold consultations with representatives of this movement on various aspects of the question;"

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13. At the same meeting, the Secretary of the Committee made a statement with regard to the financial implications of paragraph 12 (b) of the forty-two-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.173/Rev.1).

14. At the 664th meeting, on the same day, in response to certain inquiries, a representative of the Secretariat gave a further explanation of the financial implications of paragraph 12 (b) of the forty-two-Power draft resolution.

15. At the same meeting, the Committee proceeded to vote on the two draft resolutions (A/SPC/L.172/Rev.2 and A/SPC/L.173/Rev.1).

16. The voting on the forty-six-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.172/Rev.2) was as follows:

(a) In a separate vote requested by the representatives of Argentina and the United States, paragraph 2 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 101 to 1, with 5 abstentions;

(b) In a separate vote also requested by the representatives of Argentina and the United States, paragraph 4 was adopted by a roll-call vote of 93 to 1, with 12 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, France, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

(c) The revised forty-six-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.172/Rev.2) as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 101 to 1, with 4 abstentions (see paragraph 18 below, draft resolution A). The voting was as follows:

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In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Australia, Malawi, New Zealand, Peru.

17. The revised forty-two-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.173/Rev.1) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 83 to 4, with 20 abstentions (see paragraph 18 below, draft resolution B). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria,^{1/} Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

^{1/} The representative of Austria announced that his delegation had been instructed to abstain on the draft resolution. He therefore wished to record that his affirmative vote had been cast in error.

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

Abstaining: Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

18. The Special Political Committee therefore recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

The policies of apartheid of the Government
of South Africa

A

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa^{2/} and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa,^{3/}

Bearing in mind its resolutions calling on the South African Government to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for their opposition to apartheid,

Noting with grave concern that the Government of South Africa has continued to persecute the opponents of apartheid, that detainees are subjected to brutal treatment and that several such persons have died following this inhuman treatment,

Convinced that such actions further aggravate the deteriorating situation in South Africa,

1. Condemns the Government of South Africa for its refusal to comply with the resolution of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for an end to the oppression and persecution of all persons opposing the policies of apartheid;

2. Further condemns the Government of South Africa for its repressive acts against the political movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, and in particular for its enactment of the Terrorism Act, 1967;

^{2/} A/7625.

^{3/} A/7715.

3. Urges all States and organizations to exert every appropriate effort to secure the unconditional release of all political prisoners and persons subjected to restrictions for opposing apartheid;

4. Reiterates that freedom-fighters who are taken prisoner in the course of their legitimate struggle for liberation should be extended humane treatment in accordance with the humanitarian principles laid down in the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to prisoners of war;

5. Expresses solidarity with all those persecuted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions and those of the Security Council on the question of apartheid,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa,^{4/}

Noting with concern that the Government of South Africa continues to intensify and extend beyond the borders of South Africa its inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid and that these policies have resulted in violent conflict,

Noting further that the Government of South Africa, in collaboration with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and the Government of Portugal, continues to defy the United Nations and denies the peoples of southern Africa their inalienable right to self-determination, equality and independence,

Convinced that the policies and actions of the Government of South Africa are contrary to the obligations of a Member State and constitute a grave threat to international peace and security,

Noting with regret that the collaboration between the Government of South Africa and its main trading partners and certain financial and economic interests had encouraged that Government to pursue its policies of apartheid, thereby nullifying all United Nations efforts, so far, to solve the problems,

Recognizing the obligations of the United Nations to take urgent and effective measures to resolve the situation in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting with interest the Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted at the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity,

Noting that the Security Council has not considered the problem of apartheid since 1964,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 2396 (XXIII) of 2 December 1968 and other resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of apartheid;

2. Reiterates its condemnation of the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity;

3. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination, and thus to attain majority rule based on universal suffrage;

4. Urges all States and organizations to provide increased assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid in the light of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee;

5. Invites all States, in recognition of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa:

(a) To desist from collaborating with the Government of South Africa by taking steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their national jurisdiction from co-operating with the South African Government and companies registered in South Africa;

(b) To prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa;

(c) To refrain from extending loans, investments and technical assistance to the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa;

(d) To take appropriate measures to dissuade the main trading partners of South Africa and economic and financial interests from collaborating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa;

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6. Calls upon all States to implement fully and scrupulously the provisions of the Security Council resolutions concerning the embargo on the supplying of arms and other military equipment to the Government of South Africa;

7. Calls upon all States to desist from providing the Government of South Africa with technical and other assistance for the manufacture of arms, ammunition and military vehicles;

8. Calls upon all organs of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations, to refrain from extending facilities to banks and other financial institutions which provide assistance to the Government of South Africa and to companies registered in South Africa;

9. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and recommends to the Council to resume urgently the consideration of the question of apartheid with a view to adopting effective measures, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter, to eliminate the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation;

10. Urges all specialized agencies and other international organizations to withhold the benefits of international co-operation from the Government of South Africa so long as it persists in its policies of apartheid;

11. Invites all States and organizations to observe with appropriate ceremonies the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1970 -- the tenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre -- in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, and make special contributions on that day in support of the struggle against apartheid;

12. Requests the Special Committee:

(a) To take additional steps to promote assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity;

(b) To hold consultations with representatives of this movement on various aspects of the question;

(c) To take further steps, including the holding of joint meetings with other appropriate United Nations organs, to increase its co-operation and co-ordinate its efforts with such organs;

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(d) To continue its co-operation with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with the problems of southern Africa;

13. Requests the Secretary-General and Member States to intensify dissemination of information on the problems of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in the light of the recommendations set forth in paragraphs 155-160 of the report of the Special Committee.
