

## Statements and Speeches

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POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Statement in the Special Political Committee of the Thirtieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly by Mr. Louis Duclos, Representative of Canada, October 23, 1975.

Over the last several years, the Canadian delegation has repeatedly spoken out in this and other forums in opposition to the racist policies and practices of the South African Government. In so doing, it has expressed the abhorrence of the Canadian people and its Government for the iniquitous and demeaning system of apartheid; a system which, because it denies basic human rights and civil liberties to the overwhelming majority of the people of that country, is self-destructive and ultimately doomed to failure.

As the Canadian Government firmly believes that self-determination for the majority of South Africa's inhabitants is inevitable, it, like other concerned governments, is determined that all reasonable means must be taken to encourage and advance this process. My Government's actions in this regard have been fully consistent with its declared policy of encouraging social justice both at home and abroad as spelt out in the Canadian foreign policy review of 1970. Its actions are similarly consistent with the belief that the maintenance of peace and security for all nations and peoples is a priority concern, not only for Canada but for all peace-loving states. For these reasons, the Canadian Government has supported positive and pragmatic measures in the search for a rapid and peaceful solution to the South African problem, while rejecting any inconsistent or impractical measures that would not effectively promote fundamental change and could serve to increase international tensions.

We have witnessed this year a profound evolution of the situation in Southern Africa, at a pace that, not too long ago, would have been considered most improbable. I refer, of course, to the welcome achievement of independence for the states of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and the imminent independence of Angola, as well as to the efforts by such respected leaders as Presidents Kaunda of Zambia, Nyerere of Tanzania, Machel of Mozambique and Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana to seek solutions to the problem of Rhodesia. While the results of the talks held this summer were disappointing, the very fact that they have been held at all was yet another source of encouragement for the belief that the log-jam blocking self-determination for the peoples of Southern

Africa is at last beginning to break up.

Yet it is evident that the bulwark of racial oppression, South Africa and its apartheid regime, is still basically unaffected by the course of events. Despite Prime Minister Vorster's role in facilitating the Rhodesian talks this summer, despite the removal of various forms of "petty" apartheid in South Africa, and despite the concerted efforts of the international community to impress upon that Government the universal condemnation of its racist policies, the vast and complex body of laws sustaining apartheid in South Africa remains virtually untouched. The situation of the non-white majority of South Africans remains oppressive, and the minority of South Africa and its Government continue to go along their shortsighted way.

In the face of the possibility of the situation in South Africa stagnating or, worse, deteriorating into racial violence or civil war, the Canadian Government, in co-operation with other member states of the United Nations, has sought to adopt policies and institute measures that would encourage and sustain the non-white majority in its hopes of achieving self-determination. Simultaneously, we have taken measures to persuade the South African minority and its Government that the only road to a peaceful resolution of South Africa's racial situation is through co-operation and an equal sharing of all South Africans in the political system. In pursuing these goals, my Government has held to the priority consideration that neither side of the dispute must be allowed to become so isolated and alienated as to endanger the ability to work together to achieve a harmonious solution to South Africa's racial problem and an equitable sharing in the fruits of that society.

In this spirit, the Canadian Government has adopted a number of concrete measures to demonstrate the depth and strength of its rejection of apartheid. Its action in the various fields to which I shall refer has been consistent and it will continue to be so. We believe it is important for the Government of South Africa and its electorate to realize that we shall never become complacent about a system that, by its very laws, denies the fundamental rights of individuals.

The Canadian Government contributes to a number of United Nations and other international funds designed to provide to non-white South Africans education and training opportunities that are denied them in their own country. These contributions amount in the present fiscal year to approximately \$800,000, and include contributions to such organizations as the UN Education and Training

Program for South Africa (for which the Canadian Ambassador serves as Advisory Committee Chairman), the International University Exchange Fund and, as well, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. (In a related field, the Canadian Government has announced today a contribution of \$100,000 to the Institute of Namibia.) Apart from participation in such international programs, the Canadian Government is able to provide direct assistance for projects carried out by Southern African groups in partnership with Canadian non-governmental and other international organizations in humanitarian areas such as medicine, education and agriculture.

Canada's bilateral-assistance program to the independent African nations of Southern Africa is substantial, totalling in loans and grants during 1975/76 over \$60 million. The main object of these programs is, of course, to co-operate and assist in the economic and social development of these countries; but we consider that our contribution to their development as stable, independent countries also serves as a rebuke to the racist ideology of apartheid.

Another important question relates to the barring of South Africa from Canadian national sports competitions. In a recent letter, the Canadian Minister of Health and Welfare, whose department is responsible for providing funding to Canadian sporting organizations, drew to the attention of all such organizations the Canadian Government's attitude toward the racial policies of South Africa. The substance of the letter is as follows: "Apartheid is as rigorously enforced in athletic competition as in any other sphere of South African life. This situation is in direct opposition to the Olympian principle that forbids discrimination on racial, religious or political grounds, and for that reason the International Olympic Committee in 1970 suspended South Africa from participation in the Olympic movement. This position was given unqualified support by the United Nations and by the Canadian Government." The letter goes on to say: "You will also be aware that present Canadian Government policy denies funding to any Canadian athlete or group of athletes who intend to travel to South Africa for the purpose of participating in an athletic competition. While we fully recognize that the decision rests with the individual and/or sportgoverning body concerned, we have pointed out that competition in South Africa, under conditions of racial discrimination that are universally condemned, is a matter of considerable Canadian public concern. Although the Government of Canada does not support such visits, neither is it prepared to limit the freedom of Canadians to travel abroad wherever they wish. More recently, athletes from South Africa have been invited to participate in sporting events held in Canada. This letter will confirm the position taken by the Government in July of this year of not providing either moral or

financial support to any event in Canada to which South African athletes have been invited. This policy is being implemented in concert with many other nations in the hope that concern over increasing isolation will encourage the South African Government to take real and substantive steps to abandon the policy and practice of apartheid."

I should note that this most recent publicity given by my Government to this matter is particularly timely in view of the fact that the Olympic Games will be held in Canada in 1976. It demonstrates that the Canadian Government remains sceptical of South African manoeuvres intended to give an impression of racial non-discrimination in South African sports. It considers that the steps that have been taken thus far are primarily cosmetic and are not indicative of any fundamental changes in South Africa's racist sports policies.

Turning now to the question of the embargo on sales of military equipment to South Africa, I wish to point out that the Canadian Government, as early as 1963, placed an embargo on the sale of military equipment to the Government of South Africa. In 1970 we further banned the export of spare parts for such equipment, and we have thus scrupulously maintained the embargo in accordance with Security Council Resolution 282.

Returning to the central issue, the Canadian Government is unimpressed by the removal of various aspects of "petty" apartheid. Certainly we welcomed the repeal of the oppressive Masters and Servants Acts and the amendment of the Bantu Labour Act of 1923, but we are dismayed that, despite a great deal of verbiage from South African spokesmen on the subject, the enormous bulk of apartheid legislation remains virtually untouched. The shortsightedness of the white South African population regarding the crucial need for fundamental change is deplorable. Ever more reprehensible is the use by the South African Government of such repressive legislation as the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act to punish and indefinitely imprison persons whose only offence is their opposition to apartheid. The excessive delays by the South African Attorney-General in bringing cases to court and the dubious prosecution tactics employed against such persons (including the removal of charges found unacceptable by the courts and substitution of new charges) must be condemned in the strongest terms. As for the so-called "separate development" or "Bantustan" policy, my Government finds unacceptable a policy that allocates 13 per cent of the land, and often barren land at that, to 80 per cent of the population. Such a policy is a blatant denial of the right of the majority to an equitable distribution of the resources of South Africa.

In the light of considerations such as these, the Canadian Government is under no illusion as to the magnitude of the task of bringing about the eradication of apartheid. It must be recognized, however, that change in the South African racial situation must ultimately come from within South Africa itself. The question of how that change can be achieved is very much of concern to my Government. We shall never condone a situation in which the majority of the people of a country are denied fundamental rights of participation in the social, economic and political life of that country; equally, we cannot condone the encouragement of the use of violent means to achieve the required changes. We welcome the fact that the Organization of African Unity continues to advocate a peaceful resolution of the problems of Southern Africa, as we welcome the statements of many African leaders to the effect that peace in Southern Africa is of great importance to Africa and to the world. My Government feels that this self-evident fact cannot be stressed too forcefully.

The United Nations should resist extreme or counter-productive measures born of frustration and fatigue at South Africa's intransigence, and pursue activities aimed at making the minority regime and population recognize that it must effect fundamental change. In this sense the Canadian Government opposed the *de facto* suspension of South Africa from the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We regret their absence from the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, as we continue to believe that the greatest hope of effecting change in South Africa lies in the constant exposure of its people and government to the expression of international condemnation of their country's policies and practices.

In this connection I wish to note specifically the work of the Special Committee against apartheid and its efforts to expose the injustices of the apartheid system. Such pragmatic measures hold out greater promise for the eventual elimination of apartheid in South Africa than do those born of despair. For its part, my Government will continue to do everything feasible to encourage the positive evolution of the racial situation in South Africa and the end of the apartheid system.