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**President:** Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR  
(Federal Republic of Germany).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Saffar  
(Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 28

**Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:  
(continued)\***

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of  
an International Convention against *Apartheid* in  
sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that the General Assembly decided at its 3rd plenary meeting, held on 19 September 1980, that organizations having a special interest in the question of *apartheid* should be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. In this connexion, I have to inform the Assembly that the following organizations have requested to be heard in connexion with agenda item 28: the American Committee on Africa, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, the World Peace Council, the Lutheran World Ministries and the National Black United Front.

2. I suggest that the General Assembly invite the Special Political Committee to meet on Thursday, 13 November, for the purpose of hearing those organizations. May I consider that the Assembly agrees to that suggestion?

*It was so decided.*

3. Mr. KOH (Singapore): One of the fundamental tenets of the Organization is racial equality. The

*apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa is, without doubt, a systematic and blatant assault on that principle. It is for that reason that the whole world supports the struggle of the black and Coloured peoples of South Africa against *apartheid* and for racial equality.

4. I should like to review briefly the progress in the past year in our struggle against *apartheid*. I turn first to the domestic front. During the past year the struggle against *apartheid* has intensified inside South Africa. The level of national resistance has increased, as evidenced by the following facts.

5. First, there was a nation-wide uprising by black students against racial discrimination in education. Secondly, there was an unprecedented wave of strikes by black workers. Thirdly, there were bus boycotts and rent strikes. Fourthly, there was resistance against the forcible removal of African communities. Fifthly, there was a nation-wide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Sixthly, the national liberation movements intensified their underground and armed struggle against such targets as police stations and a major industrial installation for converting coal to oil.

6. During the past year the Government of South Africa has attempted to eliminate some of the superficial features of the *apartheid* system. It has loudly proclaimed its intention to undertake reforms. One South African Minister, speaking during an overseas tour, went so far as to say:

"We will not rest until racial discrimination has disappeared from our statute books and everyday life in South Africa. These are beliefs shared by my Government."

The world should not, however, be deceived by the rhetoric of reform. The truth of the matter is that on such fundamental pillars of the *apartheid* system as residential segregation, educational segregation and autonomous governing bodies for the different racial groups the attitude of the Government of South Africa is that these are non-negotiable matters.

7. During the past year the Government of South Africa has announced plans to establish constitutional frameworks within which the Coloured people and Indians would be granted a semblance of power-sharing, with the African majority deprived of all rights. Fortunately, those plans have been rejected by the Coloured and Indian communities, which have espoused and continue to espouse racial equality.

8. Turning to the struggle on the international plane, I shall begin by recalling the historic decision of the Security Council, in its resolution 418 (1977), imposing an arms embargo against South Africa. In my state-

\* Resumed from the 56th meeting.

ment last year<sup>1</sup> I called for the scrupulous implementation of the arms embargo. What evidence has the past year produced concerning the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa? According to the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22/Add.1], and as the distinguished and able Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria indicated in his statement [56th meeting, paras. 3-17], the military budget of the Government of South Africa has increased tremendously during the past year and, in spite of the arms embargo, South Africa has been able to secure large quantities of arms and other materials. We see from this that there are obviously leaks which must be plugged. We therefore support Ambassador Clark's proposal to strengthen the machinery for the supervision of the arms embargo.

9. I should like to reiterate my support for the proposal of the Scandinavian countries that the Security Council should take appropriate action in order to achieve at an early date the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

10. One other matter which I should like to touch upon concerns the controversial question of nuclear co-operation between certain Western countries and South Africa. The simple point which I should like to make is that as long as South Africa is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and as long as the full-scope safeguards are not applied to its nuclear programme, there is no effective way in which we can prevent South Africa from developing nuclear weapons. For this reason, the Western countries which supply South Africa with nuclear technology and equipment should seriously reconsider whether they should continue their nuclear co-operation with South Africa. At the least, those Western countries should insist that South Africa adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or accept the application of full-scope safeguards to its entire nuclear programme.

11. On both the domestic and the international plans the past year should be viewed as a period of progress rather than regression. For one thing, the Government of South Africa has become even more isolated than it was a year ago. Secondly, the international community has decisively rejected the bantustan policy of South Africa. Not a single State Member of the United Nations has granted recognition to the Transkei, to Bophuthatswana or to Venda. Thirdly, the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and that country's policy of racial equality are positive factors which are bound to have an impact on developments within South Africa. Internally, the struggle has intensified, leading one to expect, to quote Ambassador Clark, "that a fundamental change will take place in South Africa, restoring the dignity of man to all, perhaps within the next five years" [56th meeting, para 5].

12. Although the time is late, it may not be too late to avert a bloody catastrophe in South Africa. Therefore, while the international community must continue to intensify its pressure on the Government of South Africa, we must continue to hope that the white leaders

of that country will come to their senses and agree to dismantle the evil system of *apartheid* while there is still time to avert a catastrophe.

13. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Although the decolonization process has entered its final stage and the national liberation movements, enjoying the support of the progressive forces of the world, have made successful advances, I regret to point out this year again that an outpost of the colonial system and of racial oppression still exists in South Africa.

14. The United Nations is making ever greater efforts to enforce a total boycott of the *apartheid* régime and to wipe it off the face of the earth once and for all. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Government is deeply concerned at the fact that, while the United Nations is doing its best for the sake of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, the full rage of terror still continues there.

15. The racist régime of Pretoria is in effect waging a race war against millions of people, continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, threatening neighbouring peace-loving sovereign States, and creating a serious and increasingly explosive situation in that part of the African continent.

16. A careful study of the reports submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in recent years reveals that the racist régime of South Africa is daily increasing its armaments. Its arms expenditure has risen dramatically in these years thanks to financial assistance from imperialist countries and from the international institutions under their influence. It is no secret that the largest military and industrial complex on the African continent capable of producing modern nuclear weapons did not come into being in South Africa without the assistance of those countries and their monopolies.

17. According to the statistical data, for each white civilian in South Africa there are more than two firearms, and it is not difficult to guess against whom those weapons are aimed. Furthermore, the régime has created the strongest army of mercenaries on the continent, trained against its own citizens who do not wish to reconcile themselves to oppression and exploitation, against the people of occupied Namibia and against its peaceful neighbours who have concentrated their efforts on creating for their peoples a life worthy of human beings.

18. The very existence of free Angola is seen by Pretoria as a threat to its régime. Therefore, the racists have made several attempts to orient the development of that former Portuguese colony to their own liking by force. They have not succeeded, however, and now they are arming for further aggressions. That is the reason why the United Nations has had to state time and again that the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is a threat to peace and international security.

19. It is our duty, a task of the General Assembly and other forums of the United Nations, to put an end to that threat. Acting in accordance with Hungary's consistent policy of principle, my delegation is doing all it can to promote the fulfilment of this task. The Hungarian People's Republic has manifested its contribution to the international fight against *apartheid* and its support of the oppressed South African people

<sup>1</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 57th meeting, paras. 152-159.

in several forums and of different levels. We have done so here in the United Nations, as a founding member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and in all other international forums, by taking part in the programmes of international actions such as the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, and we have done so on the bilateral level as well by lending firm and effective support to the liberation movement of South Africa and to its oppressed people in its cultural, social and political development.

20. Furthermore, the Hungarian People's Republic has acceded to all major international conventions and covenants that have been concluded to give effect to the equality of civil and human rights, and to eliminate discrimination against citizens on grounds of race, nationality and so on.

21. In keeping with my Government's and my people's policy of principle and their firm stand against *apartheid*, my delegation is ready to co-operate with those who are trying to take the most effective steps towards the final elimination of the *apartheid* régime. In addition to the previously mentioned reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the report<sup>2</sup> submitted in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 9 (XXXV) of 5 March 1979<sup>3</sup> sets forth the most important field in which such steps should be taken to achieve a breakthrough in ending collaboration with South Africa. The report contains the names of more than 2,400 banks, firms and several kinds of organizations based in Western countries—mainly those which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—which are giving assistance to the colonial racist régime of South Africa.

22. Without financial, economic, military, nuclear and other kinds of collaboration, the racist régime would not be able to survive. Consequently, the General Assembly should, by resolution, request the Security Council to give effect to its resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa and to impose effective and comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the racist régime, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

23. Mr. YUSUF (Bangladesh): My delegation would like at the outset to extend its profound appreciation to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for their comprehensive reports [A/35/22 and Add.1-3].

24. Year after year, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has catalogued the extent and escalation of the policy of discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa on the basis of racism and racial discrimination. The policy of *apartheid* has meant denial of representation to four fifths of that country's population, economic discrimination on an unprecedented scale and the dispossession and forcible transfer of millions of Africans under increasingly restrictive laws curtailing their freedom of movement in their own country. Thousands of Africans have been incarcerated, tortured and even murdered. Intimidation

and harassment are sanctioned by even more repressive legislations.

25. The human rights dimension of the problem needs no elaboration. An abominable and abhorrent practice, *apartheid* is a negation of all elementary norms of human values. The international community over the past 30 years has evolved certain essential standards governing the conduct of nations in the field of human rights. The Charter has committed all Member States "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women". In the light of these standards and subsequent elaborations by numerous international instruments, each nation is charged with the task of measuring its performance in the context of sustained and universal condemnation of, and opposition to, the policy of *apartheid*.

26. While the humanitarian consideration alone demands the total eradication of *apartheid*, there can be no doubt that politically its continued existence constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. South Africa's aggressive acts are not confined to its own territory; it has repeatedly transgressed across its international frontiers, posing a direct threat to peace and security in the entire region of southern Africa and beyond.

27. *Apartheid* remains a fundamental obstacle to international co-operation not only on the African continent but also in the world as a whole. Condonation of *apartheid* seriously jeopardizes the moral and intellectual fabric of our society.

28. It is regrettable to note that the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to receive financial and material assistance from certain countries. The Security Council, by its resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), has imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. In spite of those resolutions arms and arms-related material continue to find their way into South Africa on one pretext or another.

29. It may be recalled that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its thirty-fifth ordinary session held at Freetown from 18 to 20 June of this year observed that foreign investments and bank loans help to bolster the *apartheid* régime and increase its intransigence and defiance of world opinion [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I]. Bangladesh believes that there exists a clear consensus among the great majority of nations that any form of relations whatsoever with South Africa directly encourage its *apartheid* policy. The time has now come for taking action against South Africa in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter.

30. Bangladesh is totally committed to the eradication of *apartheid*, without compromise. Bangladesh fully reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and the total dismantling of the machinery of the repression called *apartheid*. We believe that a concerted campaign must be directed against the *apartheid* régime on all fronts—economic, political, social, cultural and diplomatic. The international community must intensify its efforts to provide all forms of assistance, moral and material, to the national liberation movements.

<sup>2</sup> E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, 1979, Supplement No. 6, chap. XXIV, sect. A.

31. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of my country congratulated Mr. von Wechmar at the beginning of this session on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly and paid a tribute to his qualities and the strong relations binding our two friendly countries [26th meeting]. It is my pleasure once again to pay a tribute to him, his wisdom, experience and magnanimity in conducting the work of this session.

32. Once again a call is voiced by representatives of the countries and peoples of the world for condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, which is indeed a source of concern to the conscience of a world which looks for a happy present and a better future. We do not know how that racist minority régime thinks or how it justifies its perpetuation of a situation rejected by all other countries of the world; nor do we know how it consoles itself as it sees the bastions of imperialism, colonialism and exploitation collapsing one after another and observes the great African continent day after day recovering its right to freedom, independence, equality and sovereignty.

33. Our delegation has carefully examined the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which is indeed an objective and comprehensive report giving a clear picture of the positions adopted by countries of the world on this grave subject and of the tragedy suffered by citizens who have been dominated by a racist, exploitative minority which recognizes neither human rights, nor declarations or international covenants on them; which recognizes neither the United Nations nor the conclusions arrived at by the international community in this latter part of the twentieth century.

34. Our delegation would like to see the Special Committee continue its work of supplying the General Assembly with its views and observations.

35. In a few days the whole world will be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], on decolonization and foreign domination. Yet that Declaration will not be final until the world succeeds in eliminating those blemishes in South Africa, Palestine and Namibia that constitute a stigma on the face of the world.

36. Zionism, which is a form of racial discrimination, the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa and the continued occupation of Namibia require that the countries of the world display further determination in the struggle to build a better future where people will live in co-operation, equality and mutual respect.

37. The Smith régime in Rhodesia has collapsed and Zimbabwe has triumphed. We have no doubt whatever that the racist régime of South Africa will collapse, regardless of its manifestations of power and its continued acts of aggression against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring countries, and its co-operation with the Zionist régime in Palestine will be of no assistance to it. Both régimes will meet with failure and frustration.

38. We in the Arab Republic of Yemen declare our solidarity with the struggling peoples of Namibia and

South Africa, as well as with all other peoples struggling to regain their lawful and legitimate rights.

39. Mr. RASOLONDRABE (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Among the events that we are commemorating this year there is one which continues to evoke a feeling of shame and indignation shared by the entire international community, that is, the massacre committed in cold blood by the South Africa police 20 years ago, a massacre of unarmed demonstrators assembled before the Sharpeville commissariat. That was not a simple episode devoid of importance in a series of constant and growing troubles dogging the implementation of *apartheid*. It was an act of terrorism, which has been repeated many times since then and aimed at sowing fear not only among the demonstrators but also in the entire region and country.

40. Above and beyond the desire to suppress the protests of honest individuals quite rightly outraged by the pass system, that barbarous massacre was a response by the racist régime to the aspirations of the South African people as expressed in the Freedom Charter<sup>4</sup> adopted by the multiracial Congress of the People convened by the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] in 1955 and the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are also observing this year.

41. In that Charter, need we recall, the leaders of ANC express, in terms that could not be clearer, their vision of the future of their country as well as the significance of the struggle they have been carrying on to transform that vision into reality. In the preamble to that document the ANC proclaims that South Africa belongs to all its inhabitants, black and white, and that no Government can assume power that does not represent the will of all the people; that the South African people has been deprived of its inalienable right to land, freedom and peace by a form of government based on injustice and inequality; that South Africa can never prosper, never be free, until all its inhabitants enjoy equal opportunities and rights in brotherhood; and, lastly, that only a democratic State based on the will of its entire people can guarantee the inalienable rights of each and every individual without distinction as to colour, race, sex or creed.

42. Those proclamations contrast singularly with the statement made this year by Mr. Botha before the white South African Parliament, according to which there never will be universal suffrage in South Africa.

43. In the face of that contrast, how can we avoid the bitter conclusion that the South African racists remained desperately locked in the false logic of white supremacy, that they have learned nothing from the downfall one after the other of colonial and racist régimes formerly in power in neighbouring countries? The rigidity of their position reveals their inability to face reality. It is the sort of madness that might induce a feeling of pity if it were not so dangerous for international peace and security.

44. The efforts to discredit and distort the liberation struggle of the South African people and the costly propaganda recently focused on Botha's desire for reform have deceived no one but those in the West

<sup>4</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14, para. 295.

who want to be deceived. Nor have the executions, the massacres, the imprisonments and the banishment of all sorts weakened the anti-*apartheid* struggle inside and outside South Africa or deflected the South African people from its fundamental objectives: restoration of its dignity and recognition of its legitimate rights.

45. This is an excellent opportunity for us to pay a public and well-deserved tribute to the South African people, whose desire for freedom remains unshakable in spite of the supreme sacrifices, wounds and deprivation of freedom imposed upon it by the South African Fascists. That people is in a constant state of political mobilization against oppression, and performs individual and collective acts that will be engraved in the roll of honour of the worldwide democratic revolution against imperialism, colonialism, racism and, of course, *apartheid*.

46. We should be failing in our duty if at this stage we did not address our congratulations and our encouragement to the mixed-race and Asian communities, which have resisted attempts to separate them and pit them against the African majority. By identifying with the claims of the latter, those communities have supported the constant position of the OAU, which has rejected *a priori* any solution inconsistent with the concept of universal suffrage in South Africa, or based on the dismemberment of the territory.

47. Finally, it would be unjust not to mention here the name of Nelson Mandela, since it is indeed true that that man, imprisoned without reason for the past 16 years, not only contributed to preparing the political platform of ANC but also personifies the deepest aspirations of his fellow citizens. Many tens of thousands of signatures have been collected this year in an attempt to obtain the release of that prestigious inhabitant of Robben Island, who is a symbol of the struggle against *apartheid*. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar is convinced of the immense contribution that Nelson Mandela, once released, can make to the resolution of the South African crisis and we are therefore confident that the United Nations and all those who share that conviction will redouble their efforts to obtain his release, as well as the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. Justice and peace could only be strengthened thereby.

48. It is the South African people itself that has the primary responsibility for freeing its country of the spectre of *apartheid*, and we are pleased to see our brothers and sisters in South Africa shouldering that responsibility with courage and dignity. But it is also true that that people's struggle involves the entire international community, since the principles at stake are those of the Charter of the United Nations itself and since the risks that the situation in South Africa represent for international peace and security fall within the purview of the Organization.

49. Since we are unanimous in condemning *apartheid*, denouncing violations of human rights, rejecting the exploitation of man by man and condemning non-representative government, it would seem that all the conditions exist to guarantee the authority of the Organization and the effectiveness of its resolutions. But that is not the case, since neither the racist Pre-

toria régime nor its political philosophy and daily behaviour can persuade certain Governments to break relations that they find fruitful, and they maintain their diplomatic connexions with Pretoria.

50. The pressures brought to bear by the international community cannot have the desired impact since certain of the most powerful and wealthy Members of the Organization provide aid and assistance not to the victims of *apartheid* but to the racist régime itself. Strengthened by the economic, military and nuclear co-operation it receives from Israel and certain member countries of NATO, guaranteed immunity from the sanctions that can be imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter against those that violate the Organization's principles and decisions, that régime persists in its inhuman policy and its unrestrained actions against its opponents.

51. We can achieve no progress while certain Western countries refuse to recognize the universality of the struggle for democracy being carried on by the South African people and see only a host of subsidiary problems which can be dealt with by partial measures concerning violations of human rights, violations of union rights, bantustanization, the pass system and social services. If this were so, the Sullivan principles<sup>5</sup> would be irreproachable, aimed as they are at creating more employment and improving industrial relations. But at the same time how can we ignore the fact that those principles support the capitalist hold on the country without responding to the political problems of the proletariat, the African majority that has permanent sovereignty over the natural resources of South Africa?

52. The victory won by the people of Zimbabwe, following the victories of its neighbours in Angola and Mozambique, contributed to a great extent to weakening the strategic position of South Africa and created encouraging prospects for the achievement of decisive progress towards Namibian independence and above all towards the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa. We must not allow those opportunities to be lost. The international community must not take at its face value the propaganda of the racist régime aimed at misleading international public opinion and giving *a posteriori* justification to those who have cavalierly ignored the principles and decision of the United Nations.

53. While the racist régime is attempting by numerous manoeuvres to create the illusion of change, let us not forget that it is preparing militarily to maintain its monopoly of political, economic and other types of power. It is in this context that we must point out the responsibility of those countries, corporations and institutions that have helped that régime to obtain a nuclear capacity. In this respect the conclusions contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa are worthy of note: first, that nuclear weapons "in the hands of a régime desperate to preserve white supremacy" by strengthening by all means what it calls the southern African bastion would be especially disturbing; and, secondly, that "the acquisition of nuclear weapons by that country would have to be treated as a grave threat to the secu-

<sup>5</sup> See A/32/267, annex.



city of the African States and to international peace". [See A/35/402 and Corr.1, annex, paras. 91 and 93.]

54. Those eloquent conclusions are shared by the States of the Indian Ocean, among them my own, which aspire to the creation of a zone of peace in their region.

55. The most sophisticated and death-dealing weapons to defend the system of *apartheid*? That brings to mind the words of Macaulay: "... and then we saw what we deemed to be the most atrocious of spectacles: the force of civilization without its humanity".

56. At a time when the Botha régime seems to have perhaps once and for all closed the door to any peaceful solution by rejecting from the outset the idea of universal suffrage in the country, the United Nations should at the conclusion of this debate address to it a message indicating that we share with ANC and the South African people their vision of the future of South Africa, a message demonstrating our unity of conviction and purpose.

57. As a body representing the conscience of mankind, we shall steadfastly reaffirm our principles as well as our determination to defend them. We shall reiterate that, because we are committed to peace and justice, we condemn the use of force by the racist régime both to suppress the opposing forces within the country and to commit aggression against the neighbouring African States and intimidate them. We shall reaffirm our opposition to the policy of bantustanization, which implies the dismemberment of South Africa's territory. We shall renew our support for the students, workers, religious leaders and all those who are persevering in their condemnation of injustice and oppression, in spite of the brutality and the risks involved. Above all, we shall continue to express our solidarity with the South African liberation movement by adopting the various measures proposed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* relating, in particular, to the oil embargo and to the strengthening of the arms embargo.

58. In conclusion, I should like to express our thanks and congratulations to the Chairman of that Committee and all its other members. The efforts they have made will not be lost for the cause of the struggle against *apartheid*.

59. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): *Apartheid* has been described as a crime against humanity, an insult to the dignity of the black man in South Africa, a threat to international peace and security and the ultimate in man's injustice to man. It has also been likened to a pestilence, a scourge and a cancer which has been eating up the body politic of South Africa since the progenitors of modern-day Afrikaanderdom broke their voyage to the East back in 1652 and decided to disperse into the interior of South Africa. The black man in South Africa has since never known peace, freedom or justice. Thus South Africa to this day remains a veritable concentration camp for more than 20 million black inmates, the innocent victims of an evil ideology which grades human beings like commodities in the market-place.

60. Yes, South Africa is a world of its own—a world in which the colour of a human being's skin can be an

asset or a liability, if not a curse, and a world in which even the Word of God is invoked more often to justify racism and oppression. The question we are compelled to ask, naturally, is: Why is this so, particularly in this century? Is it because the larger world in which we live remains essentially racist and disrespectful of the inherent dignity of the non-white races? Where does South Africa derive the solace and the comfort to allow it to persist with such obvious confidence on a course which in normal circumstances would have long ago led to disaster? Is it not because South Africa has succeeded in convincing an ideologically polarized world that it is truly the custodian of Western civilization in southern Africa, surrounded, as our detractors may cynically suggest, by the fire-breathing agents of an anti-capitalist external Power with the gluttony of a hungry bear?

61. Yes, South Africa is not short of friends and allies in a world in which the human ideals of freedom and liberty are often given lip-service in deference to economic interests. But what is often lost sight of is the fact that these economic interests can find real protection only in a peaceful and stable environment and, in this case, in a South Africa free of a war psychosis and free of combustible material for a racial conflagration.

62. *Apartheid*—that *damnosa hereditas* from the darkest page of South Africa's tortured history—cannot by any stretch of the imagination lead South Africa and its friends to a prosperous future. It can only lead to disaster. There is no way the millions of disenfranchised South Africans are going to accept their present lot as a permanent condition as if decreed by divine providence.

63. No, *apartheid* is neither benevolent nor understandable in the so-called circumstances of South Africa. It is evil. A policy that dehumanizes people because of their race and colour can never be acceptable in any circumstances whatsoever.

64. White South Africans have nothing to fear but the consequences of their own folly, which they are determined to perpetuate with all the power and violence at their disposal. They are not, as some may suggest, a lost race which finds itself perched on a lonely island surrounded by a vast sea of black humanity. They are of Africa and Africa has been too good to them, thanks to their indomitable spirit of adventure. They have a special calling to fulfil in the deep south of our continent, but not at the expense of the manifest destiny of their black brethren, who rightly consider Africa their ancestral home and have every right to follow their own calling in their own continent in freedom and peace.

65. No, *apartheid* has no justification whatsoever. South Africa is the home of all South Africans, black and white. The fact is that whites and blacks in South Africa belong to one human family. They have both made their homes in that country, and have nowhere else to go. Their roots in that country are more than 300 years old and deep. Together they have laboured hard to transform South Africa from the wilderness it was in the seventeenth century into one of the richest countries in Africa today. There is more than enough to share in that country, and share the two races must,

if the majority race is not to be forced to seek domination over the minority race in a fit of vindictiveness.

66. No, the white minority in South Africa does not need *apartheid* to secure its future and the future of its generations to come. It only needs to understand that the future of South Africa and its people, both white and black, lies in shared aspirations and in an undivided sense of community.

67. We in Botswana have long accepted the fact that it is not our prerogative to impose a political solution on the people of South Africa, because we firmly believe that it is not anybody's prerogative to lecture us on how we should organize our own society. All we have asked of the ruling white tribe in South Africa is to abolish *apartheid* precisely because it denigrates the proposition that all men are born equal.

68. Finally, let me suggest to the Assembly that those who continue to argue that the perpetuation of *apartheid* in South Africa does not pose a threat to international peace and security are dangerously ignoring the lessons of history. We live in an interdependent and inter-reacting world. What guarantee do we have, therefore, that a racial conflagration in South Africa can be isolated and confined to that part of the world? Are the beneficiaries of the *apartheid* system in South Africa going to allow their investments to go up in smoke? What guarantee do we have that our continent would not be turned into a cockpit of super-Power confrontation in the event of a racial war in South Africa?

69. No, a racial war in South Africa would reverberate all over the world, with dire consequences for us all.

70. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): It has recently been said that South Africa is a country no longer at peace but not yet at war. The South African Government's efforts to present that country as a haven of stability on an unstable continent are in vain. In reality, there is no stability in the South African society. On the contrary, there is an evident danger that the present state of twilight between peace and war might change into a state of open conflict with catastrophic consequences for South Africa and the world. Systematic repression by a racist minority, such as we have witnessed in South Africa, can only create such a situation, as has so many times been proved by history. South Africa is no exception. There can be no peace in the *apartheid* society. To ensure social and racial harmony in South Africa the *apartheid* society must be scrapped together with its foundations.

71. The independence of Zimbabwe is the latest of forceful reminders to all that southern Africa is moving irresistibly towards majority rule, even if that may still demand a long period of struggle. In northern Namibia the South African army is locked in an increasingly costly effort to suppress the Namibian people's struggle for freedom; but this, as well as the aggression South Africa commits against neighbouring States, especially against Angola and Zambia, is a vain attempt to stem the tide of history. However fearsome its military strength, if the foundation of a society is unsound, no physical or material resources can help.

72. There have been increasing eruptions of violence in South Africa itself during the past year, however quick the well-equipped South African police has been in suppressing them. There will be still more serious outbursts of violence in the future, as long as *apartheid* reigns supreme. Despite this repression, the opposition by the majority and by clear-sighted members of the minority groups is becoming more widespread and well articulated. New groups have lined up with opposition students and workers; today, churchmen, representatives of trade unions, teachers and lawyers have joined the ranks of those who are willing to pay the price of fighting for freedom in the prisons of the *apartheid* régime.

73. No propaganda about economic stability and no attempts to make us believe that liberalization is around the corner can hide from us the true nature and expressions of the *apartheid* society. As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I am in a position to follow personally the contemptible and horrifying record of the *apartheid* system. There is no lack of evidence of its suppression and mistreatment of those who stand up for the values of individual liberty and human rights and of its relentless persecution of even families and dependents of those in opposition to tyranny. It must be evident to any objective observer that the opposition in South Africa will find it more and more difficult to see alternatives to armed struggle—to efforts to counter force by force. The armed struggle in various forms will obviously grow unless fundamental changes take place.

74. The choice facing the leaders of the white minority is thus either to accept radical changes in the near future or short-sightedly to try to live with growing antagonism and greatly increased violence. By trying to suppress all majority opposition and to deprive the majority of its leaders the Pretoria régime is now running the risk of eventually finding itself in a situation where it will have no partners with whom to negotiate a peaceful solution of an impossible situation.

75. The ongoing campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners is a campaign for peaceful and political solutions, instead of armed and bloody conflict. Is such a conflict the kind of future that the white minority will let its own children inherit? The Government in Pretoria must start a dialogue with the real political leaders in the country before it is too late. The *apartheid* system has no future, but South Africa will have a future, if the degrading policy of *apartheid* is abolished and reason prevails.

76. I have just pointed out South Africa's increasing isolation, regionally and internationally. There is not a single Government throughout the world that gives support to this system of flagrant contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations and to the ideals behind it, even if there are private interests that use the *apartheid* system to make short-term profits.

77. The international community has shown by concrete action that it is able to exert pressure on South Africa. One important step has thus been taken in the form of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, under Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Although not as comprehensive as many of

us would have liked it to be, it constituted an important breakthrough. The members of the Security Council established by that unanimous decision the principle that sanctions under Chapter VII should be applied against South Africa.

78. By its resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980 the Security Council decided to make new efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo by closing still existing loop-holes and making it more comprehensive. The Security Council again demonstrated that joint action by the United Nations is possible with the aim of pressing for a fundamental change in South African society. This has served and should serve as a warning to the *apartheid* régime that more pressure will be applied if the necessary changes are not brought about. It is true that South Africa has so far taken a defiant attitude against the measures applied by the international community, resisting the pressure of united world opinion. The logical response is that this pressure must be increased.

79. The instruments of peaceful action at our disposal are economic sanctions as foreseen by the Charter. The United Nations confers on the permanent members of the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. It is therefore their duty to consider what means may contribute to a dissolution of *apartheid* in South Africa. They should not shirk that responsibility.

80. Sweden for its part has actively advocated that the Security Council consider steps in order to achieve at an early date the cessation of foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. This proposal, adopted as a resolution at every session of the General Assembly since 1976, has met with an overwhelming response from the Members of the world Organization. We hope that the Security Council will find it possible to act without further delay on the relevant Assembly resolutions on this subject.

81. The aim of limiting foreign investments in South Africa is one of the essential elements of the joint programme of action against *apartheid* adopted by the Nordic Governments. This year we have noticed an increasing interest in Western Europe in our Nordic action plan. Pending a decision on this matter by the Security Council, the Swedish Parliament last year passed a bill by which further Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia were prohibited. We hope that this measure, which we regard as exceptional in an exceptional situation, will encourage other States to take similar action, eventually leading to a joint decision on effective measures by the Security Council. In response to a call by Parliament this year the Swedish Government is investigating possible supplementary measures, for instance in the field of technological transfers.

82. Action against foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa is only one of the measures which we expect the Security Council to explore. Other possible measures include those concerning oil trade and air connexions with South Africa. The Nordic countries have made it clear that they support the adoption of an oil embargo against South Africa by the Security Council and that our Governments are ready to work for a decision on that matter.

83. In our view the ongoing negotiations on Namibia should not be allowed to serve as an obstacle to effective Security Council measures against South Africa. It is not acceptable that those negotiations become in reality a protective shield either for South Africa's machinations in Namibia or for the continuation of its *apartheid* policies at home.

84. The recently issued report of the Secretary-General on South Africa's plans and capabilities in the nuclear field concluded that "There is no doubt that South Africa has the technical capability to make nuclear weapons and the necessary means of delivery." [See A/35/402 and Corr.1, annex, para. 87.] The prospect of South Africa developing its own capability to produce nuclear explosives lends a particularly perilous dimension to the problem of *apartheid*. As long as South Africa is not a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or full-scope safeguards are not applied to its nuclear programme, the prospects of preventing such a dangerous development are bleak. Adherence to the Treaty or, as a minimum, acceptance of full-scope safeguards by South Africa should therefore be a basic requirement by all countries still co-operating with South Africa in the nuclear field. In order to achieve maximum pressure against the *apartheid* régime it may be necessary to consider a mandatory and total cut-off of all nuclear co-operation with South Africa as part of a programme of economic sanctions decided on by the Security Council. Any such consideration must include a balanced judgement of, on the one hand, the persuasive value of sanctions in a sector particularly sensitive to South Africa's economy and, on the other, the risks to the region and to the world of South Africa's acting without the ties of international safeguards and developing military nuclear capacity on its own.

85. As Chairman of the Trust Fund for South Africa, I should like to underline the importance of international solidarity in alleviating the plight of the victims of *apartheid*. As is demonstrated in the present report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the General Assembly, a large number of States are contributing to various programmes established for such a purpose. In the draft resolution concerning the Trust Fund [A/35/L.33 and Add.1], we shall appeal for increased generous contributions to the Fund and to the programmes of various voluntary agencies engaged in providing assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and Namibia. The Swedish contributions to the Trust Fund and to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa amount this year to \$750,000 altogether. In addition, Sweden is giving increasing support to the civilian activities of ANC, this year by a contribution of \$4.5 million. We shall also continue to support those international non-governmental organizations which are working to relieve the plight of the victims of *apartheid*. We shall do this in spite of infiltration and other attempts by the South African régime to put obstacles in the way of that work.

86. The neighbours of the well-equipped and well-organized *apartheid* society have found it increasingly necessary to strengthen their economic co-operation. It is the responsibility of the international community to play its part in making that co-operation a success.



It is aimed not only at strengthening the economic power of the independent countries in southern Africa but also at reducing their economic dependence on South Africa. The Swedish Government will continue to provide development assistance to the front-line States and humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa. It will actively take part, with a high-level delegation led by the Foreign Minister, in the donor conference which it is planned to hold at Maputo at the end of this month with the purpose of finding appropriate ways to contribute to regional economic co-operation among South Africa's independent neighbours.

87. Let me end this statement on a positive note by praising the increasingly constructive co-operation among the front-line States in the political and economic fields. In their common diplomatic efforts and mutual solidarity we see one of the most efficient forces for the achievement of majority rule and peace in southern Africa. But we know at the same time that the brunt of the burdensome struggle is borne by and has to be borne by the people within the suppressed countries themselves. We are willing to play our role in this struggle to establish a stable and peaceful southern Africa so that men and women of different races can live and work together in that region without being haunted by the nightmares of *apartheid*.

88. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again the policy of aggression and terror of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa appears on the agenda of the General Assembly.

89. The struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to be able to exercise their inalienable rights is being reinforced. The independence of Zimbabwe, which was achieved as a result of many years of armed struggle, has even further reduced the radius of action of the racist régime. The opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa itself has become a broad-based mass movement, and this opposition reflects the growing desire of the people of South Africa to eliminate *apartheid* and build a democratic system based on the exercise of the right to self-determination.

90. The national liberation movement, which is daily showing itself to be a genuine defender of the interests of the people of South Africa, deserves full support. The efforts of social forces on all continents to oppose the co-operation between the imperialist States and monopolies and the *apartheid* racists, and effectively to isolate and finally eliminate this system of lawlessness, are gaining strength. This is a factor which should be taken into account as well by those who are trying to maintain South Africa as a bulwark against the ultimate liberation of the African continent from all forms of colonialism and racism. The struggle of the patriots of South Africa, and international solidarity with them on the part of all progressive forces, makes us certain that South Africa will also be freed from colonialist and racist oppression.

91. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* should continue to mobilize world public opinion and to provide further incentives for the struggle against *apartheid*.

92. Despite protests throughout the world, the Fascist régime of Pretoria is expanding its policy of *apartheid* and aggression. Terror, murder and forced resettlements have become an everyday practice in the *apartheid* State. In this regard I would recall the recently reported murder of six anti-*apartheid* fighters in Port Elizabeth. The *apartheid* régime is trying through demagoguery to hide its crimes and, as part of this effort, we can cite the so-called reforms being propagandized by the Western mass media. These manoeuvres are essentially aimed at maintaining the *apartheid* régime even in the face of changes which have occurred.

93. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities correctly concludes that

"... the *apartheid* system in South Africa is not simply a racial discrimination problem to be solved through education and political and social reforms. Rather, it has been increasingly understood that the essence of *apartheid* lies in the dispossession of the black population through the imposition of quasi-colonial rule, and in the harnessing of the labour of the vanquished indigenous people through a variety of coercive measures for the profit of white investors, both South African and foreign."<sup>6</sup>

94. This régime should be opposed, not by supporting the so-called reforms with which it is trying to paint a deceptive picture of peaceful change, but by demanding the elimination of any form of racist oppression and exploitation. Measures must be taken to put an end to the threat to peace from South Africa, and we must ask ourselves: how long will Pretoria continue to allow itself to attack neighbouring States with impunity? In the first half of this year alone, the South African aggressors have carried out 530 ground attacks and 27 air attacks on the provinces of southern Angola. Such acts of aggression against sovereign African States have no other goal than to destabilize the situation of those countries politically and economically, and to clear the way for the achievement of Pretoria's expansionist plans. The undeclared war against those States is a challenge to all States which recognize the goals and principles of the United Nations. This recognition requires appropriate action.

95. In Namibia the Pretoria régime is continuing its illegal occupation and is forcing a so-called internal settlement. The results of the two years of negotiations on the implementation of a United Nations plan for Namibia leave no doubt that no success of any kind has been achieved in the area of promoting independence. Instead, new obstacles have been created by the racist occupying forces. Now South Africa is demanding what it calls "impartiality" on the part of the United Nations. There can be no impartiality which would be tantamount to placing the occupying forces and the representatives of the oppressed people on an equal level.

96. The States Members of the United Nations have set themselves the goal of achieving and implementing the independence of Namibia. What we need is not collusion with the designs of the racists, but support for the Namibian people and its legitimate repre-

<sup>6</sup> See E/CN.4/Sub.2/449, para. 231.

sentative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The United Nations has all the means to force the *apartheid* régime to end its illegal occupation. Like the majority of States, we favour the application of those means.

97. At the present time the forces of international reaction are increasing tension in the world. It is no coincidence that the *apartheid* régime turns precisely to those forces, speaking to them of shared interests. It speaks of the defence of a so-called white civilization against communism; nor is there any lack of proposals for the defence of the interests of NATO at play here. Are those not the same interests which guide certain Western political figures in making decisions on the development of relations with the racist régime?

98. Unfortunately imperialist forces have already been carefully protecting that régime for several decades now, financing the expansion of its machinery of cruel oppression, supporting its economy and supplying its army with modern weapons.

99. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has, in its special report [A/35/22/Add.1], once again recalled the following facts: in 1978 exports from the Federal Republic of Germany to South Africa increased by 37 per cent; thus the Federal Republic of Germany became South Africa's main supplier, followed by the United Kingdom and the United States in second and third place, respectively. Foreign capital investments in South Africa increased from 5.8 billion rands in 1970 to 21.3 billion rands in 1977. Sixty-three per cent of those capital investments came from the countries of the European Community and 24.1 per cent from America. The loan recently granted by Citicorp Bank and Western European banks for \$250 million shows that that support is continuing, not decreasing.

100. Trade investments and the transfer of technology have neither promoted restraint among the racists, as is often claimed, nor eased the fate of the oppressed people. They serve only the interests of profit-oriented monopolistic capital. Despite the embargo declared by the Security Council, co-operation is continuing with South Africa in the military area as well. The Security Council Committee on sanctions, in its recent report,<sup>7</sup> was forced to conclude that illicit transfers of arms and related matériel of all types to South Africa continue to take place. The links of foreign monopolies with the military industry of South Africa are many and multifarious. They range from the illegal supply of arms to local production of military matériel by subsidiaries of international monopolies, to the granting of industrial licences to South African companies and the sale of equipment that can be used in both the civilian and military sectors of that country.

101. Nuclear armament by the *apartheid* régime represents a particular threat to peace. The prerequisites for nuclear armament in South Africa were established by the training and exchange specialists in the field, in the case of a certain country, even under the guise of a cultural agreement, as well as by the supplying of the appropriate licences and the fur-

nishing of equipment for South Africa's nuclear industry by imperialist monopolies. For example, the South African Deputy Minister of Defence, in an interview with the periodical *Newsweek*, stated that South Africa would not shrink from the use of its nuclear potential to carry out its expansionist goals.

102. All States are obligated actively to oppose the policy of the *apartheid* régime, which threatens peace, and we must hope that the Security Council will take a decision on appropriate measures in that regard.

103. The arms embargo approved under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) must be strictly complied with and must be extended in accordance with the proposals of the Committee on sanctions. Broad economic sanctions must also be adopted, particularly with respect to an oil embargo. The rapid convening of a conference on sanctions would promote the mobilization of all forces capable of furthering the isolation of the *apartheid* régime on the international scene, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. That is the reaction required to meet the policy of *apartheid*. In the interests of the African peoples and in the interests of peace, such measures must not be delayed any longer.

104. For the socialist German State, which maintains no relations of any sort with the racists, active, effective solidarity with the anti-colonial, anti-racist struggle of peoples is a matter of principle. As was recently stated by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Erich Honnecker, in a recent talk with the President of ANC, Mr. Tambo, the German Democratic Republic will continue firmly to support the peoples fighting for their national and social freedom. The German Democratic Republic is and will remain a loyal ally of the people of South Africa, fighting under the leadership of ANC against the *apartheid* régime.

105. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like, on behalf of the delegation of my country, to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts and to commend its Chairman, Mr. Clark, on the comprehensive report submitted to the General Assembly, which covers all aspects of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination perpetrated by the Government of South Africa and reflects the awareness among the international community of the horrors of *apartheid*.

106. I should also like to pay a tribute to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

107. My country's interest in human rights causes it to be greatly concerned about their flagrant violation in our world today. In spite of the prosperity and progress achieved by humanity in recent decades—including the exploration of outer space and of the oceans and seas—men still suffer the most atrocious forms of oppression and persecution at the hands of men. *Apartheid* and racial discrimination are still widespread in official and unofficial forms in certain parts of the world, mainly South Africa and Palestine.

108. The persecution of indigenous populations on the basis of colour, creed or race still persists and such

<sup>7</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplément for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.

populations still suffer the most atrocious forms of persecution, oppression, repression and tyranny in contravention of United Nations resolutions, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, of the two International Covenants on Human Rights, of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

109. The situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate, thus constituting a threat to international peace and security, as a result of the continuing atrocious, arbitrary policy of *apartheid* applied by the white minority régime in South Africa, its denial to the indigenous population of the most important, fundamental human rights, its indulging in the policy of repression and exploitation of that population, its building up of its military arsenals and its pursuit of the development of its nuclear programmes, as well as by its policy of armed aggression against and occupation of Namibia and other neighbouring States.

110. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa is not merely a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly: it is one of the gravest problems which face humanity as a whole and is the result of the brutal exploitation of the human and natural resources of the people, as well as of the all-out effort at developing South Africa's military capability, including the production of nuclear weapons, which makes southern Africa one of the most explosive focal points of the world and threatens peace in Africa and throughout the world.

111. The responsibility for the consequences of the situation is not incumbent only upon the ruling régime in South Africa, but also upon the international community, which witnessed the horrors of the war which caused bloodshed and the massacre of millions of victims as the result of racist ideas and policies and brought immeasurable burdens, sufferings and pain to mankind in the course of a single generation. In order to save succeeding generations such an ordeal, the human family turned a new page and established the international Organization, inspired by the lofty ideals of justice, peace and equality. It is indeed regrettable that one of the States signatories of the Charter of the United Nations was South Africa, whose régime had adopted abominable racism as its policy of government.

112. Despite our deep confidence in the mission of the United Nations and our firm conviction that since the establishment of this international Organization a better future has been secured for the whole of humanity, we nevertheless find it essential to remind the international community that, while never in the history of the Organization has an issue called forth such unanimous and continued denunciation and condemnation as the issue of *apartheid* and racial discrimination we nevertheless find that this universal condemnation has not been followed by any action. The failure to take action and to follow up on this unanimity for more than 30 years is a clear indication that some countries which connive with the *apartheid* régime and support it financially, economically and militarily, as well as technically, have no real intention of putting an end to that crime, which will continue

to be a shameful blot on the face of the world. As long as such a policy persists in any part of the world any talk about human rights or the freedom of peoples is void of meaning or purpose.

113. In spite of the universal condemnation and denunciation of the policy of *apartheid* as carried out by the white minority in South Africa, that minority's response to that condemnation and denunciation has been the continued promulgation of more laws based on colour and race. The white minority continues to establish Bantustans in order to spoliage the land of the black majority and to consolidate the white settlers' political and economic grip. This is to be rejected and condemned by the international community.

114. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to escalate its ferocious, inhuman campaigns to pursue, arrest, repress and assassinate citizens who reject its policy of *apartheid*. It throws them into prisons where they suffer the most brutal forms of torture and suppression. What takes place in southern Africa is indeed a flagrant violation of human rights, for the rights of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are violated every day before the very eyes of the international community. Those peoples are exposed to the most atrocious forms of oppression and exploitation, which lead, *inter alia*, to negative effects as a result of racial discrimination in education, health, housing, nutrition, employment opportunities and cultural development.

115. International measures aimed at the elimination of the causes of such practices should include measures for the improvement of living conditions for all members of the community, regardless of their colour, creed or race.

116. The racist régime in South Africa continues illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia, in flagrant defiance of all United Nations resolutions and all the appeals of the international community. It seeks ruthlessly to strengthen the foundations of hideous *apartheid* and racial discrimination in order to fragment the Territory and to sow the seeds of dissension among the population by pursuing the policy of bantustanization and by denying fundamental human rights to the people of Namibia, including their inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence. It resorts to violence, repression, oppression and persecution in an attempt to stifle the true aspirations of the people. It continues to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring African States and refuses to abide by the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

117. The continued military occupation of the Territory of Namibia and the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegitimate and runs counter to the decisions of the international community. The white minority Government must withdraw its occupation forces from Namibia. The United Nations should also reject any step that undermines the unity and territorial integrity of that Territory or prevents the legitimate and free expression of the will of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, its spokesman, and under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

118. My country expresses its deep concern at the relationship between the racist régime in South Africa and the Zionist entity in Palestine which is growing,

particularly in the military and economic field, in spite of United Nations resolutions calling upon that entity to put an end to such relations. At a time when the international community is exerting every effort to isolate the racist régime in South Africa, we find the Zionist entity expanding, intensifying and consolidating its relations to the extent of developing the nuclear potential of the South African régime, which represents a serious threat to international peace and security and a source of concern and instability for all African and Arab countries and contradicts the General Assembly resolutions concerning the question of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East and Africa. This collaboration and co-operation has only one explanation: it is a deliberate option and an act of hostility against the oppressed people of South Africa.

119. My country's position with regard to *apartheid* and the policy being perpetrated by the racist régime in South Africa against the indigenous populations is well known. We have always supported the activities of the United Nations aimed at achieving the final eradication and elimination of *apartheid*. My delegation reiterates its continued and absolute support for the struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia against the atrocious régime of *apartheid*. My country will spare no effort in supporting international action until *apartheid* and racial discrimination are finally eradicated from the entire world. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is hopeful that the United Nations will dedicate further joint efforts to eliminating colonialism and the policy of *apartheid* in southern Africa in order to prevent further suffering and destruction. The international community is also requested to adopt the necessary effective measures to restore freedom and dignity to the oppressed peoples in southern Africa and other regions which are currently subjected to the most atrocious forms of repression and injustice.

120. My country calls upon all other States to support and assist these peoples, and to continue to adopt all necessary measures to end all forms of economic and military co-operation with the racist régimes. It particularly calls upon those countries that have condemned those régimes to continue to carry out their commitments and to give effect to them. Then and then alone will the racist régimes realize how far the international community is committed to the eradication of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

121. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation attaches great importance to the report submitted by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Clark, on the activities of the Special Committee, activities which have had my country's constant support.

122. In order to promote one of its noble objectives, that of guaranteeing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all peoples, the United Nations has in recent years intensified its concern about the serious situation created by the perpetuation of racist practices and the policy of *apartheid* and colonial exploitation in southern Africa. The Romanian delegation, like the overwhelming majority of delegations, has repeatedly stigmatized and condemned from this rostrum the racist policy practised by the authorities of Pretoria, which is an anachronism in total

contradiction to the realities of the African continent and the world in which we live. The state of tension that prevails in southern Africa is a direct consequence of the defiance of the illegal racist South African régime and its suppression of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms, its brutal and systematic repression of the African majority population and its disregard of the right of that population and the people of Namibia to decide their own destiny and to live in freedom and independence. It is the result of South Africa's institutionalization of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, violence and oppression as a means of government.

123. In spite of the efforts of the Pretoria authorities to perpetuate the present order of things and their intensification of repressive acts, opposition to the policy of *apartheid* has continued to increase. The majority African population has intensified its struggle to abolish the *apartheid* régime imposed by the racists and acts of protest among different sectors of the population have increased in number, as have the forms of organized struggle which the African population is using. Demonstrations against *apartheid* this summer spread throughout the country. In the face of the widening of the struggle for equal rights and social justice, and realizing its increasing vulnerability, the racist Government of South Africa has desperately stepped up its repressive acts against the opponents of *apartheid* and has become even more brutal and inhuman.

124. The situation in southern Africa is further aggravated by the fact that the policy of *apartheid* is compounded by the attempts of the Pretoria régime to maintain as long as possible its colonial domination of Namibia and to impose a so-called internal settlement in that Territory, contrary to the will of the Namibian people and the injunctions of the United Nations, in order to continue its exploitation of that people and its national wealth. In order to accomplish this, the South African authorities are increasing acts of violence and repression against the people of Namibia.

125. Abroad, the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by South Africa is expressed in the acts of aggression frequently perpetrated against the front-line African States, with many victims and considerable material losses.

126. It is clear that in present conditions, when the world political climate is worsening and instability increasing, the maintenance by South Africa of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination constitutes a hotbed of tension and conflict and a threat to international peace and security.

127. In its over-all efforts to put an end to this policy that propagates inequality, oppression and racial exploitation, a policy rightly described as a crime against mankind, the United Nations has year after year adopted measures aimed at supporting the majority population of South Africa in its legitimate struggle against *apartheid* and for national emancipation.

128. The United Nations has repeatedly condemned the policy of segregation, the force displacement of millions of Africans, bantustanization and the dis-



memberment of the territorial unity of Namibia being pursued by the racist authorities of Pretoria.

129. The entire international community is in favour of abolishing the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and has expressed its solidarity with the freedom fighters and the entire oppressed population of southern Africa. In spite of this, the situation of the African majority population has continued to worsen and the climate of tension in South Africa has reached an unprecedented level. Measures of a political, economic and social nature taken by the Pretoria leaders, in the framework of the so-called total strategy, through which they attempt to give a new image to the policy of *apartheid*, in the last analysis tend to divide the African majority population, which is forced to live in bantustans in its own country. These measures only further deepen the basic disparities that exist between a small minority which is usurping power and the majority population deprived of the most elementary rights and freedoms.

130. The numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council which condemn and require that an end be put without delay to the brutal and reactionary policy of South Africa, which is repudiated by the entire international community, are arrogantly disregarded by the Pretoria authorities. Thus we believe, as do other delegations, that because of the continued policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination the United Nations has before it a particularly grave problem, which can no longer be resolved by simple appeals to reason.

131. The sad state of affairs in South Africa requires that the United Nations take more resolute and more effective action in the future to support the population oppressed by the racist régime. There is also a need to broaden the political action of the entire international community, to give greater weight to its resolve to abolish forever the policy of *apartheid* and the practices of racial discrimination.

132. We have often pointed out in the matter of the worsening of the situation in South Africa, as we did during the debates in the Security Council last June, that Romania is in favour of applying firm measures against the South African régime, in accordance with the Charter, including the measures provided for in Chapter VII; and we are in favour of the implementation of a programme of action which can better serve the legitimate aspirations of the majority population of South Africa. Of course, this presupposes the political will and concerted action of all Member States and, in particular, the contribution of the countries which through their co-operation with the Pretoria authorities encourage, in one way or another, the continuation of the system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

133. Romania's sense of militant solidarity with the struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa against the régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination have been forcefully expressed by the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, during the many talks that he has had in Romania or on African soil with heads of State and leaders of African national liberation movements.

134. The joint communiqués signed by the Romanian Head of State with the Presidents of Mozambique,

Zambia and Zimbabwe on the occasion of their recent visits to Bucharest reflect the firm resolve of these eminent signatories to act for the total and prompt liquidation of the policy of *apartheid*, as well as the support that they give to the just struggle of the majority population to exercise its inalienable rights. At the same time, they firmly condemn the aggressive military operations of the racist régime of South Africa against independent African States and demand that an end be put to all violations of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

135. In the message addressed this year by the President of Romania to the OAU at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, it is clear that socialist Romania and the Romanian people have given and continue to give active support to the resolute actions of African countries and peoples to abolish any imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and to their efforts to consolidate their independence and national sovereignty and to eliminate underdevelopment.

136. Romania has always fought for the complete elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa. We are at one with the struggle for independence of the people of Namibia to which we give our full political, moral, diplomatic and material support; and we are convinced that the struggle of the Namibian people will soon be crowned with success. Likewise, Romania has most forcefully condemned the acts of aggression of the South African racists against neighbouring independent countries, and we have demanded the cessation of those attacks and respect for the independence and territorial integrity of those States.

137. Faithful to that position, Romania has supported United Nations resolutions on the situation in South Africa. We are firmly determined to work with all Member States, within the United Nations and in other international forums, to arrive at effective and practical measures which can speedily lead to the elimination of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The historic victory of the people of Zimbabwe, of such deep significance for developments in southern Africa, has further highlighted the isolation of the racist Pretoria régime.

138. The Romanian people is convinced that no action to strengthen the obsolete institution of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, no act of terrorism or aggression can prolong the agony of colonial and racist domination. The time is approaching when the cause of the freedom of people and human dignity will triumph throughout southern Africa.

139. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The question of *apartheid*, the system which South Africa defiantly practises, has been a constant on the agenda of the General Assembly almost from the inception of the Organization. Over the years, our discussions and decisions on this abominable system have accordingly been enriched by the increased participation of newly independent States and by the growing awareness of the entire membership of the Organization of the very serious threat that the continued existence of this inhuman system poses for international peace and security. Nevertheless, the unanimity with which we



have condemned *apartheid* as a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and of the principles of the Charter has left the South African authorities outwardly unshaken and unmoved.

140. Given the paucity of results in relation to the time and energy that we have devoted to ending this mockery of human dignity, it would be easy indeed to fall prey to a feeling of frustration, despair and helplessness. Speaking on this item in the Assembly last year, my delegation warned against the cynicism that could easily lead us to see the *apartheid* debate as an annual ritual and that system as a permanent, albeit aberrant, feature of our world<sup>6</sup>. My delegation feels the need to repeat that warning. South Africa continues to commit the most unspeakable outrage against our most basic and enduring moral and spiritual values. It is an outrage that can afford no compromise or resignation on the part of the international community. It demands instead the most vigorous and uncompromising responses by us. We can never slacken in our efforts until the system of *apartheid* has been destroyed. Our commitment to this goal must be total. From its achievement we must never flinch.

141. Within the Organization we can more resolutely pursue our struggle against *apartheid* since our membership today represents, in its majority, nations which were born of the struggle against racist and colonial domination. It is natural that, consistent with the principles that inspired their own revolutions, these nations have from the very outset dedicated themselves to the intensification of the struggle for the destruction of the system of *apartheid*.

142. As representatives of the new era that replaced the old colonial one that existed at the end of the Second World War, those nations are keenly aware of the fact that the achievements of the great age of decolonization will not assume their full significance until the dehumanizing system of *apartheid* is ended and the oppressed people of South Africa are liberated.

143. While the role that the Organization can play in hastening that liberation is of course an important one, it is ultimately the efforts of the victims of *apartheid* that will be the decisive factor in bringing about the eradication of that abhorrent system. The struggle of those freedom fighters against seemingly insuperable odds has been a long and impressive one. It is a struggle which recently has cut across all ethnic and class lines. It is a struggle which has reached out to embrace men, women and children alike. It is a struggle which over the last year has started to enter a decisive phase with the daring and heroic exploits of patriots, which have stunned the oppressors, shaken their smugness and confidence and caused to tremble the foundations upon which the foul system of *apartheid* is built. We should be failing in our duty if our efforts here did not measure up to those made by a people that must fight in an environment that presents the peculiar and unique difficulties of which we all know so well. Inspired by the courage and self-sacrifice of the oppressed majority, let us adopt decisions that will correspond fittingly to and supplement their continuing efforts in the cause of freedom and justice.

144. In taking decisions in the General Assembly we must once more urge South Africa's major Western allies and trading partners not to stand apart from the measures which the majority of us in the Assembly have in the past recommended and continue to recommend as indispensable for the elimination of *apartheid*. The overflow of rhetoric from those countries in their condemnation of *apartheid* is matched by an equal reluctance to take those concrete steps which they know would lead inevitably to the collapse of that system. Words and inaction cannot be reconciled. Those friends of South Africa must set aside the short-term interests of economic benefit based on the exploitation of man in favour of the enduring principles of justice and freedom for the oppressed.

145. We have of late grown accustomed to hearing arguments to the effect that a few trivial and peripheral modifications of the system of *apartheid* are perhaps a hopeful first sign of eventual fundamental change. The detailed and comprehensive report that the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has submitted to the Assembly demonstrates most effectively how groundless those arguments are. As the report emphasizes in exposing the duplicity of the Pretoria régime "talk of reforms was essentially a device to divide the blacks and deceive the world. Not a single discriminatory law has been repealed" [A/35/22, annex I, para. 142].

146. The Special Committee catalogues the arrests, imprisonments, detentions, bannings, torture and ill-treatment of the opponents of the racist régime. The Committee draws attention to the regime's desperation, desperation born of an increasing isolation, which has become more marked with the triumph of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Like a cornered criminal the Pretoria régime prefers not to yield but to lash out at those forces within South Africa and in neighbouring countries that continue to maintain their stand, based on principles against *apartheid*. That increased repression at home is accompanied by attacks against Angola and Zambia, by attempts to subvert and destabilize Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and by an intransigent response to efforts to free the occupied Territory of Namibia. There is no telling to what lengths the racist régime is prepared to go in maintaining its exploitative system. The warning given by the Special Committee that South Africa's nuclear plans and capability pose an enormous danger and an inescapable challenge to the international community is no exaggeration. We cannot afford to ignore the tremendous risks to which we can all be exposed by the reckless actions of that frenzied régime.

147. In this respect the position of the Western nations to which I have referred is of crucial importance. What most helps to sustain South Africa is its conviction that in the last resort its perceived economic and strategic value will prevent its Western friends from taking the actions that would bring the system of *apartheid* to an end. To date, those States have done or said nothing to dispel that feeling. In fact, whether directly or indirectly, they have encouraged it. They therefore bear a great responsibility for the survival of that barbarous system and for the grave consequences which the collaboration with the South African régime has for peace and stability in southern Africa and in the rest of the world.

<sup>6</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 60th meeting, para. 150.

148. In confronting this vile system of *apartheid* the international community and the oppressed people of south Africa face challenges that might seem to be forbidding and insuperable. In South Africa we face a régime which has so prospered from the exploitation of its black population and from the international economic environment that it sees itself prepared to fight for the maintenance of its system of *apartheid*, with no limitations on the nature and scope of the weapons to be used. Development of its military and economic capabilities has been assisted by certain Western States which have found it too great a sacrifice to subordinate the profit incentive to higher principles. That is another challenge we face: South

Africa's ability to count on economic and military assistance from the wealthiest grouping of nations on earth.

149. But we should not be daunted by those challenges. Let us rise to them. Let the growing militancy of the South African nationalists be our guide. Let us, in terms of our own rule, strive to keep pace with the exploits of the South African patriots. Let us ever keep before us the recent example of Zimbabwe, where in the not too distant past the white minority rulers looked into the future and felt confident that white minority rule was there to stay.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*