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Agenda item 28:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa
(continued):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
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- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Katapodis (Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 28

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1. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Once again this year the Assembly finds itself under the imperative obligation of considering an item which for more than a generation has burdened our conscience, undermined our efforts, tarnished the reputation of the Organization and, as a matter of course, preoccupied the international community. There is no doubt that this question is no accident, nor is it the result of a temporary situation. It is unfortunately a system which draws its inspiration from an artificial set of values which has used one category of persons, essentially the blacks, as breeding stock and as labour to be exploited; in other words, it has reduced them to the role of mere beasts of burden.

2. *Apartheid*—for we must call this scourge by its name—continues even today to claim innocent victims and to transform the blacks on the lands of their ancestors into a machine for producing goods and services for the benefit of the white minority and certain multinational corporations all over the world.

3. The Organization has been confronted with this tragedy for a long time and remains unable to act because it is hamstrung by the insidious ties between the racist régime of Pretoria and the colonial and imperialist Powers. The moral values which inspired

the founders of the United Nations boldly to proclaim in the Charter that all human beings are born free and equal, have been trampled under foot by the very people who, on joining the United Nations, freely and solemnly promised to respect the fundamental principles of the Charter.

4. South African fascism, which still benefits even today from the collusion of imperialism and Tel Aviv's Zionism, continues to defy the Organization and to stifle in bloodshed the cries of millions of human beings whose only fault is to have opposed racial discrimination, oppression, exploitation, and the occupation of the land of their ancestors by fair-haired settlers from colder climes.

5. The Pretoria régime, while seeking over the years to change tactics by adapting itself to international developments, has nevertheless failed to change at all. This is clear from the essence of its policy, ever rooted in separate development, called *apartheid*, and in the exploitation of the South African blacks.

6. Also, in South Africa, as has been the case with all similar régimes, religion is called upon to bolster an iniquitous philosophy that is losing strength throughout the world, because that philosophy is condemned by morality, justice and law. Objectively speaking, only the régimes that once made use of religion to occupy our lands, disrupt our social equilibrium, distort our moral principles and undermine our cultural values can, in the name of a solidarity that is quite understandable, lend their support to the Pretoria racists.

7. Colonial penetration of Africa was effected first by means of religious faith. When our hearts had been conquered by the cross, the colonizers, little by little, took away our lands, leaving us their cross. But very fortunately the Organization has refused and still refuses to lay down its arms in the sacred struggle it is waging against colonialism, racism and Zionism. Indeed, in 1979 the General Assembly took a welcome step and adopted resolution 34/93 C, by which it decided to organize, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity [OAU], an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

8. The objective of that resolution was undoubtedly to get around the difficulties encountered on numerous occasions in the Security Council, when certain States, supporting South Africa to the bitter end, refuse to go along with the will of the international community and the wishes frequently expressed within the Organization.

9. Another decision of the Assembly that is no less important is to leave the seat in the General Assembly of the Fascist régime of Pretoria vacant, awaiting the day when the genuine representatives of the

South African people can occupy it, which we hope will be the case in the very near future.

10. The Government and the people of Mauritania endorse all the recommendations contained in the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22 and Add.1-3]. That Committee, it will be recalled, received a mandate from the General Assembly to continue the action undertaken in 1979.

11. As I said a few moments ago, *apartheid* has had and continues to have many victims. In 1978 our comrade Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, was assassinated in cold blood while imprisoned in South Africa. In South Africa too it is believed by the colonialists that if one man is liquidated the cause that man is defending is also liquidated. But even after his death Steve Biko continues to be a source of inspiration for the rising generation in South Africa and to influence the work of the General Assembly. As to our comrade Nelson Mandela, he is still being detained in the dungeons of the Pretoria régime.

12. It is necessary, indeed vital, that the Assembly appeal to the South African Government to respect the most elementary human rights and immediately free Nelson Mandela, whose struggle is in the spirit of the Charter. The Sharpeville massacre, which the South African racists carried out to put an end to the liberation struggle of the South African people, did not prevent the uprisings in Soweto, which were also put down with bloodshed.

13. Today, as before, the Pretoria régime does not seem able to draw the lessons of history. It does not seem to have understood that the South African people is also a people and that the blacks are human beings. Above all, it does not seem to have understood that the yearning for independence, freedom and dignity is not the aspiration of only one category of man but that of all men and all mankind. The example of other racist régimes throughout the world and the position of Zimbabwe, from which so many lessons can be drawn, should have warned the supporters of *apartheid* in South Africa. Unfortunately, Pretoria's racist philosophy, the obvious aim of which is to perpetuate exploitation and domination, cannot objectively renounce what constitutes its very *raison d'être*.

14. As in Zimbabwe, so in South Africa the racists will thus sooner or later be compelled to face facts and grant the South African people its most sacred right, the right to life, independence and dignity. While the alliances with the imperialists and the agreements with the Tel Aviv racists may have delayed the process of the struggle undertaken by the South African people, supported by the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations, they cannot halt the wheel of history, which will eventually crush the Pretoria régime and throw it on the scrap-heap of history.

15. At a time when the United Nations and the international community are preparing to adopt effective measures against the Pretoria régime by organizing an International Conference on Sanctions against *Apartheid*, discordant voices are being raised once again in certain parts of the world concerning the resumption of the dialogue with the South African racists. In this connexion I wish to state, on behalf of

the Government of Mauritania, that there can be no dialogue with Pretoria as long as the South African people that still live under oppression have no opportunity to enjoy the most fundamental freedoms claimed by any people struggling for its liberation. Hence, the Pretoria régime, as the *sine qua non*, must abandon its policy of *apartheid* and allow the South African people to choose their own representatives and the political and social system most suitable to them in absolute freedom. The *apartheid* régime must also cease all attacks against countries of the region and all threats against the internal and external security of those countries. Only on those conditions can there be a dialogue between the South African people and the Pretoria administration, which will naturally be conducted under the aegis of the United Nations. Any other approach is inevitably doomed to failure, for the South African régime cannot continue to mislead international public opinion by using the good offices of one eminent person or another according to the circumstances. In any event, the ostrich-like policy adopted by the Pretoria régime will prove useless, and neither the co-operation with the racists of Tel Aviv nor the unconditional support of imperialism, which unfortunately has recently been increasing in strength, will save it from collapse.

16. In conclusion, I should like to congratulate Mr. Clark of Nigeria and all the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the positive work they have carried out in the past few years.

17. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Among the more important of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session was the Declaration on South Africa, which forms part of resolution 34/93. When Australia gave that resolution its support we made it clear that we did so because of our commitment to the reduction of international tension and because of our deep concern at the gross violation of human rights which *apartheid* inflicts on the people of South Africa.¹

18. In the period since the adoption of that resolution there have been, as the Australian Foreign Minister noted in his statement in the general debate this year [10th meeting], qualified promises from South African leaders that they would consider reforms. Mr. Peacock went on to say that unless substantial and early measures to dismantle the oppressive *apartheid* system were taken, the more difficult it would become to bridge the deep divisions which characterize South African society.

19. It is with deep regret, therefore, that we find the General Assembly obliged once again to consider the racial policies of the South African Government. We would have hoped that that Government would have seen the force and the logic and the humanitarian principles which underlie the feelings of the international community at large.

20. Like the other speakers in this debate, I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm Australia's strong and continuing opposition to the system of *apartheid* and to all of its offensive manifestations. *Apartheid* is a cruel and inhumane policy which has rightly been

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 100th meeting, para. 338.

recognized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. We have said before in the Assembly that it distorts every aspect of South African society and brings misery and deprivation to the vast majority of its people.

21. Australia has not shirked its responsibilities to take practical action designed to encourage and speed the elimination of *apartheid*. The Australian Prime Minister played a leading role in the process leading to the adoption of the document now known as the Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice,² adopted at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, which was held at Lusaka in August 1979.

22. Australia is an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose efforts to put an end to the injustices suffered in Namibia we support. As my Foreign Minister stated in his message of 21 March, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Australia will "continue its efforts to see an end brought to the cruel and pointless policy of *apartheid*".³

23. Along with other Members of the United Nations, we have continued to scrutinize closely the statements and actions of the South African Government in the hope that that Government would make a genuine effort to bring about fundamental changes in its racial policies. We therefore welcomed the statement made by one South African Minister during a recent overseas visit that "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."

24. We deeply regret that actions of the South African Government have fallen well short of this promise. For example, the three bills published in the Government Gazette at the beginning of this month provide only marginal improvements for certain urban blacks, while increasing the burden of discrimination on the majority and providing harsher penalties for offenders against *apartheid* laws. The new identity documents envisaged under the legislation make a mockery of the relevant Minister's professed commitment to abolish the offensive "dompass".

25. We have seen the Government of South Africa take similar initiatives in other fields during the year. Plans were announced for a new constitutional system which purported to grant a share of political power to the Coloured and Indian communities. These proposals, which ignored the black majority, were rightly rejected by the overwhelming majority of Coloured and Indian leaders as cosmetic.

26. As the Foreign Minister of Botswana said in the general debate:

"That the whites in South Africa are desirous of preserving their racial identity and their culture is neither in dispute nor begrudged, except to the extent to which such identification becomes justification for the defining of an individual's rights and status by his birth, assessing his worth by his colour or his race and determining where he will not work

and where he will not live". [17th meeting, para. 42.]

27. Australia shares these democratic and just opinions. Indeed, the Australian commitment is to the cause of true democracy based on equality and internationally recognized standards of human rights. It can easily be seen that South Africa's claim to be a liberal democracy defending democratic and religious values is discredited by its policies and in particular by its treatment of the political opponents of *apartheid* and of the vast majority of its citizens, black and white.

28. The South African Government must realize that fundamental changes in its race relations policies are inevitable and, more importantly, that those changes must be made urgently if they are to take place peacefully. We have witnessed during the past year increasing resistance by the people of South Africa to its Government's policy of *apartheid*. There have been widespread protests by black students against their inferior and discriminatory system of education. There has been mounting industrial unrest among black workers seeking equitable wages and working conditions. Black communities have bitterly resisted their forced removal under the Group Areas Act.

29. As a consequence, the South African Government, in an effort to maintain its abhorrent racial policies, has resorted to increasingly repressive and brutal measures. To continue to repress dissent can only heighten the likelihood of violence and, indeed, of ultimate catastrophe—circumstances which must at all costs be avoided. The choice is, I consider, one for the South African Government to make, but it is clear that the United Nations cannot be expected to wait forever. Time is running out for the South African Government and positive action is urgently required.

30. I should like to conclude with a word or two about the process of drafting resolutions which is now under way. It is clear that the Government of South Africa deserves the universal condemnation of the nations of the world for its continued failure to make a genuine attempt to dismantle the *apartheid* system. In fact, the South African Government has shown itself unmoved by resolutions which, often for simple ideological reasons, fail to demonstrate effectively the unified will of the international community. My delegation appeals to those preparing draft resolutions to recognize the importance of unanimity at this critical stage of international debate and to draft so as to capture the spirit of unanimity in the texts themselves.

31. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): In 1960, the tyrannical racist system of rule in South Africa was brought sharply into focus with the now notorious massacre at Sharpeville, when the South African police fired on a group of Africans peacefully demonstrating against the injustice and oppression which form part of their daily existence. The international community, justifiably appalled, was unanimous in its condemnation of this barbaric act, which led to the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 134 (1960), calling for an end to the system of *apartheid* and repression in South Africa.

32. That the Security Council, 20 years later, on 13 June 1980, in the wake of similar demonstrations and equally barbaric reprisals should adopt a resolution, 473 (1980), which again condemns the massive

² A/34/439-S/13515, annex.

³ See A/AC.115/L.522.

repression of the racist régime and calls for an immediate dismantling of the *apartheid* system is an indication of the complete and utter disregard with which South Africa treats the decisions of the Organization.

33. During the years since Sharpeville, in defiance of all resolutions adopted and decisions taken in the Organization, South Africa has instituted measures to further its *apartheid* policies. The racist Pretoria régime has intensified its system of bantustanization, enacted repressive legislation designed to stifle opposition by the blacks to its loathsome *apartheid* policies and to prevent the publicizing of any such opposition, and has even resorted to blatant aggression against neighbouring States in its demented obsession with white racist supremacy. These acts and this attitude on the part of the South Africa régime have promoted and aggravated a state of tension in the whole of southern Africa, with dire implications for the peace and security of the region and, indeed, of the entire world. That the régime this year, in acts reminiscent of Soweto, has again directed its barbaric actions against innocent schoolchildren is symbolic of the contemptible lengths to which it is prepared to go in order to consolidate and perpetuate its racist domination and exploitation of the vast majority of its people.

34. As we, the members of the Assembly, meet once again for yet another debate on the situation in South Africa, we may well ask ourselves why, in spite of the general condemnation by the international community, South Africa is allowed to persist in its objectionable policies. The answer lies with each and every member of the international community. It lies with those among us who, in disregard of the numerous United Nations resolutions, continue to collaborate closely with South Africa in the political, economic, military and nuclear spheres. It lies with those among us who profess abhorrence of *apartheid* but persist in negating attempts to compel South Africa to comply with our collective decisions, through the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. It lies with those among us who claim to support the ideals of the Charter but in effect put profit before principle. The mere adoption of resolutions will not suffice. To be effective, resolutions must be followed by concrete and concerted action on the part of all of us.

35. In an attempt to divert attention from its entrenched system of *apartheid*, the Pretoria régime has of late reacted to international pressure against its policies by attempting to institute cosmetic changes in its racial policies. These changes should fool no one, for they do not alter the fundamental philosophy of racism inherent in *apartheid*, which has been declared a crime against the conscience and the dignity of man.

36. *Apartheid* is a criminal system which cannot be reformed; it must and will be uprooted. For this reason, my delegation supports the view that the full and total isolation of the Pretoria régime is the only peaceful resort left to the international community if we are to bring about the eradication of *apartheid*. In this regard, Trinidad and Tobago therefore reiterates the demand for the Security Council to adopt without any further delay appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, for the effective implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, including an oil embargo. An

essential component of such a measure would be the creation of machinery to monitor all oil shipments to South Africa.

37. *Apartheid* is not only a crime against humanity; it constitutes an ever present danger to Africa and the world as a whole. The increasing militarization and nuclearization of South Africa attest to this fact and give rise to serious concern. It is no longer a secret that South Africa has acquired nuclear-weapon capability. More than sufficient evidence has been advanced to support this contention. We therefore also fully support the recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that urgent attention should be given to the strengthening of the machinery for the supervision of the arms embargo against South Africa [A/35/22, para. 325], and that there should be a complete cessation of all forms of collaboration with the régime in the military and nuclear field by Governments, corporations, institutions or individuals [*ibid.*, para. 338].

38. South Africa has been engaged over the past few years in readjusting its *apartheid* policy in sports in the hope that it would be reaccepted into the world of international sports. Indeed, a review of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/35/36] has revealed that attempts are being made by some sports organizations to admit South African athletes to membership of international sports organizations from which they were formerly barred. My delegation firmly opposes any such move. In our opinion, the effective isolation of South Africa should encompass all areas of contact, and the re-establishment of sporting links with the régime would serve only to delay the eradication of *apartheid* in sports. My delegation wishes at this point to commend the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their dedication to the task entrusted to them.

39. The winds of change have already blown across southern Africa and they do not portend well for the racist minority régime of South Africa. The South African authorities are charting their own suicidal course of destiny by their refusal to acknowledge this fact. Zimbabwe's attainment of independence after a long, violent yet heroic struggle stands as a beacon of hope for the oppressed majority of South Africa. It should also be an indication to the Pretoria régime that change in the form of the total eradication of the system of *apartheid* is inevitable. The victorious struggle of the people of Zimbabwe has shown that the indomitable spirit of man cannot be suppressed, that the inherent desire of an enslaved people to gain control over its own destiny cannot be thwarted. To quote the words of Nelson Mandela:

“The African people of South Africa, notwithstanding fierce persecution and untold suffering, in their ever increasing courage will not for one single moment be diverted from the historic mission of liberating their country and winning freedom, lasting peace and happiness.”

40. International pressure can only accelerate the inevitable emancipation of South Africa's 21 million Africans, so eagerly awaiting their freedom.

41. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its whole-hearted and unwavering support for

the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements, as they join forces in this critical and decisive phase of their struggle for emancipation. In so doing, we join in the extensive pleas for the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders. Those leaders are in the vanguard of the struggle and they must take their rightful place in any discussions pertaining to the future of South Africa.

42. Mr. A. ALI (Pakistan): The abominable system of *apartheid*, which is based on the doctrine of racial discrimination, has long been the focus of international concern and condemnation. The racist régime of South Africa has imposed that system on millions of indigenous people, depriving them of their basic human rights. The systematic racial discrimination, exploitation and persecution of the people of South Africa represents a grim manifestation of the policies of *apartheid* which the minority racist régime in Pretoria has been following in blatant defiance of all norms of justice and human equality.

43. Ever since its inception, the United Nations has made constant efforts to seek an end to the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa. The General Assembly has repeatedly condemned those policies as a crime against humanity. Year after year, in the Assembly and in other international forums, the world community has been expressing its profound abhorrence of and anger and anguish over that cruel system. Those pronouncements reflected the collective realization by the world community of the paramount need to combat racism and racial discrimination—a most abominable violation of human dignity and equality.

44. Though South Africa's racist régime has grudgingly begun to realize that the global drive for human rights has gained irresistible momentum, it has not shown the readiness to respond to the unanimous calls of the international community and has instead persisted in its ruthless repression and brutal actions against the indigenous population. It is deplorable, indeed, that the racist régime continues to deny the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia their basic rights, subjecting them to constant persecution, indiscriminate arrests, unrelenting political trials and arbitrary incarcerations. The world conscience remains afflicted by the horrid memories of Sharpeville and Soweto and of the martyrdom of countless others who have sacrificed their lives in the cause of freedom.

45. The system of *apartheid* remains entrenched in South Africa, posing a serious challenge to the will of the international community. The fact that the present item has continued to appear on the agenda of the General Assembly for decades is a clarion call for the world community to face the challenge and intensify its struggle against racism and racial discrimination. Those issues have come to command worldwide interest, but with no results at all.

46. We feel that the United Nations bears a special responsibility towards sustaining and consolidating the forces of freedom against the tyranny of racism. The principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations provide a comprehensive framework for effective measures aimed at ensuring the rule of law and human dignity. The Members of the United

Nations are committed, and have pledged themselves under the Charter, to promoting the realization of those objectives. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the various conventions and covenants on human rights adopted by the United Nations are an expression of that commitment.

47. Unfortunately, however, the endeavours of the international community have so far lacked the firmness which could compel the Pretoria régime to give up its policies of *apartheid*, which constitute a challenge to the political ideals which it claims to symbolize and cherish and on which its international prestige rests.

48. My delegation is of the view that the time for rhetoric is long past. It is now incumbent upon the international community to act firmly against the Pretoria régime, which not only negates the high ideals of respect for human rights and self-determination but also endangers world peace and security by its continued policies of repression and terrorism against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States.

49. South Africa today is the bastion of racism and colonialism. By its continuing violations of the fundamental precepts of international law and morality, it has proved itself to be impervious to reason and in direct defiance of world public opinion. In fact, it is the only country in the world which has a racist ideology.

50. We believe that peace in southern Africa will remain elusive until the scourge of *apartheid* is eradicated, restoring to the people of that part of the world a life of dignity and equality. This is a task that can be accomplished only with collective and determined effort on the part of the international community. It is a matter of concern for all of us that racism continues to survive largely because of the support and succour of those who profit from the system of plunder and exploitation in South Africa and Namibia. Regrettably, South Africa has succeeded in thwarting and balking the crusade against colonialism and racism through the active support and encouragement of vested foreign interests and Powers.

51. The alarming dimensions of the role played from outside South Africa in that country's economic and military build-up are reflected in a series of reports prepared by the Centre against *Apartheid* and in the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22 and Add.1-3]. My delegation shares the extreme concern which has been expressed in those reports on the failure of certain States to comply with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at eliminating the system of *apartheid*. Despite the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, transnational corporations have continued to play a major role in strengthening Pretoria's oppressive rule by providing financing and technology for its military production programme.

52. The reports of the Special Committee contain detailed information on how certain Members have maintained and even increased their political, military, economic and other relations with South Africa,

thereby contributing to the survival of the pernicious policies of *apartheid*. The first and the second special reports of the Committee also expose the continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and the *apartheid* régime; which is a matter of great concern to the international community and calls for firm action to check that unholy alliance between zionism and *apartheid*.

53. The threat that South Africa's growing militarism poses to world peace and security is adequately underlined in the conclusions of the report of the Special Committee, which states that

"The intransigence of the *apartheid* régime has created an explosive situation in South Africa, the ramifications of which are felt world wide." [See A/35/22/Add.1, para. 257.]

If such an explosion occurs, it can easily involve the peace of the world.

54. We agree with the recommendation that the forces opposed to *apartheid* should increase their vigilance and resources to strengthen the legal measures against collaboration with South Africa. In this connexion, we must recognize that the principles of freedom and equality which are so vital for the world order make it obligatory for all States to work for the total elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The international community must exert itself in support of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia against the racist tyranny. To that end, strict enforcement of and compliance with the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa instituted under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) is imperative. My delegation also supports the view that the time has now come for the Security Council to consider the application of necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to oblige the régime in Pretoria to give up its racist, exploitative and oppressive policies.

55. At the same time, it is necessary for the international community to extend all possible moral and material support to the liberation movements fighting against racist colonialism. We have a collective obligation to assist them in their struggle for the liberation of their peoples and territories. The front-line States, which have steadfastly participated in this battle against *apartheid* and have suffered over the years in terms of human and material losses, also need a concrete manifestation of our solidarity.

56. This year, we have witnessed a momentous development in the form of Zimbabwe's accession to independence. Not only Africa but the entire third world and all freedom-loving countries rejoiced at that great victory for the cause of human dignity and racial equality. We have no doubt that the valiant struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and their triumph will continue to inspire other national liberation movements, particularly the movement for the liberation of the Namibian people who are engaged in a heroic struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

57. My delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Clark, has

been making a significant contribution to the international struggle against racism. We have taken full cognizance of the annual report of the Special Committee and fully support its conclusions and recommendations as well as those contained in its special reports.

58. We also appreciate the efforts that the Special Committee and its Chairman have made, in consultations with the OAU, towards the convening of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. In this connexion, the recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report [A/35/22/Add.3, para. 31] are on the correct lines and deserve full support, with a view to the expeditious implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/93 C of 12 December 1979.

59. Pakistan's traditional and total solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa is very well known and needs no reiteration. We have been, within the constraints of our limited resources, extending every possible assistance on a regular basis for the eradication of *apartheid* and also for the welfare of the victims of that cruel system. Our stand is consistent with the basic principles of Islam, which uphold the dignity of all peoples irrespective of race, colour and creed and which vehemently condemn racism. Our commitment to the struggle against the inhuman system of *apartheid* is a matter of deep conviction arising from the eternal precepts of our faith. In this context, at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad in May this year, the members of the Conference strongly denounced the racist régime in South Africa and reaffirmed their resolute support, economic, technical, material and moral, for the struggle for liberation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

60. I should like to conclude by quoting a passage from the recent statement of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, our worthy President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on 1 October 1980, the President underscored the feelings of 900 million Muslims of the world when he said:

"The policies of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and minority rule being followed by South Africa are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality. We are convinced that nemesis will overtake whosoever practises racism and *apartheid* or discriminates between one human being and another on the grounds of colour." [18th meeting, para. 45.]

61. Mr. MAITHA (Kenya): For the last few days we have been meeting once again to review the progress, if any, attained in the struggle against the *apartheid* system of the Government of South Africa. Our work is greatly assisted by the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. It gives a clear picture of the situation obtaining in that region and enables us to consider with clarity the issues involved. For this reason my delegation takes this opportunity to thank the Chairman and the members of the Committee for their good work. Kenya intends to support the recommendations that the Committee has made.

62. The question of the racial policies of the South African Government has been before the General Assembly for many years already. During this period many resolutions and decisions have been adopted by the Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations, as well as many non-governmental organizations. Yet, victimization and oppression on account of a person's racial heritage continue unabated in South Africa. Laws and measures have been enacted and adopted by the racist minority régime to ensure continued discrimination, separation and exploitation of the black people of South Africa, the ultimate goal being the perpetual maintenance of the black people in subjugation and subject to the whims of the white minority. The result of all this has been complete disregard for human rights, human dignity and human equality.

63. Over the years these diabolical laws and measures have been developed into a system of government which has come to be referred to as the policies of *apartheid*. Efforts to induce South Africa to abandon them have been unsuccessful. Statements emanating from the régime's officials that positive measures are being taken to remove ugly features of the system serve only the régime's calculated efforts to hoodwink the international community.

64. The continued application of these policies of *apartheid* is a contravention of the principles of the Charter, which the racist régime has chosen so flagrantly to defy. In the same spirit, it has chosen to disregard the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. Moreover, the régime has opted not to heed or respect world public opinion, which is so vehemently against its policies of *apartheid*.

65. In the face of the tyranny of the system of *apartheid*, which knows no bounds and under which the black people of the region continue to be treated like beasts of burden, the world community, and the United Nations in particular, cannot afford not to combat the system, taking all necessary and speedy measures to bring about its eradication.

66. In the efforts to eliminate that system, in the view of my delegation, the world community should resolutely adopt measures to ensure increased assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa, affording them all the necessary means to carry on the struggle more efficiently. We must demand the release of all freedom fighters and opponents of *apartheid* at present languishing in South African prisons. Other measures geared to this goal must also be adopted in the context of political, diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the racist régime of South Africa.

67. We note with regret that, despite the ever-growing diplomatic isolation of South Africa, several States Members of the United Nations continue to maintain official forms of relations with South Africa. Among these are those that have not yet ceased the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. Furthermore, others are collaborating with South Africa in the field of nuclear armaments, without regard to Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. We take this opportunity to remind them that South Africa's huge military needs arise principally

from its internal situation, brought about by its repressive policies of *apartheid*—a system already declared by the international community to be a crime against humanity. We appeal, therefore, to all Member States having such collaboration with South Africa to review those relations, put a stop to them and desist from any further dealings with that régime until it abandons the system of *apartheid*.

68. In conclusion, allow me to reaffirm the well-known position of the people and Government of Kenya in this respect. We believe that the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the protection of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are contravened by the application of the policies of *apartheid*. This is the case in South Africa, and consequently peace and security remain under constant threat. Indeed, in the recent past the situation obtaining in South Africa has been made manifest. Children of the oppressed have demonstrated against the unacceptable *apartheid* policies. The State machinery has each time responded by increasingly numerous acts of brutality and murder. It has, further, repeatedly mounted insane and aggressive raids against neighbouring countries. The situation has become a dangerous time-bomb. Prompt remedial action is called for lest the situation explode, causing enormous damage to both the guilty and the innocent. We call for full implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the only sure way to bring racial harmony to South Africa, thus ensuring the promotion and preservation of international peace and security.

69. We call for action by all Member States to terminate existing relations and to refrain from establishing relations with the racist régime of South Africa in any field of human endeavour; to promote to the maximum extent possible publicity concerning the evils of *apartheid*, and international action to secure its elimination; to provide political, humanitarian and other assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and to the national liberation movement of South Africa; to increase the isolation of South Africa by such measures as the boycotting of cultural and sports exchanges with that racist régime; to condemn the bantustan policy and refuse to recognize bantustans established in South Africa; and to prohibit economic, military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. We shall for ever remain bitterly opposed to the practice of *apartheid* policies by the Government of South Africa.

70. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly on 19 September 1980 [3rd meeting, para. 109], I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC].

71. Mr. EBRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania: The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is not only a record of the work and progress of the Committee but also a means whereby the international community can measure the extent to which the white minority racist régime flouts the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. As we have stated on other occasions, the intransigence of the racist régime, encouraged by the economic, military, diplomatic and other support which it continues to receive from certain countries, remains one of the most

intractable problems of our times. The report of the Special Committee is also a barometer by which the international community can gauge the progress which has been made by the national liberation movements in the pursuit of the goals of freedom and justice for all in Azania.

72. The period since the beginning of April 1980 has been characterized by an escalation of black resistance in Azania, the name of occupied South Africa. What began as a protest by black students against the system of inferior education provided by the Pretoria régime as part of its scheme to perpetuate the subjugation of the black majority soon developed into a full-scale national uprising involving students and workers.

73. A boycott of schools in April by so-called Coloured students in the Western Cape in protest against *apartheid* education soon spread to other parts of the country, drawing support from other sections of the oppressed community, the Africans and so-called Indians. Although the requirement that certain subjects be taught in the medium of the Afrikaans language was rescinded after the Soweto massacre, the discrepancy persists between expenditure on black education and that on education for whites, for the latter education is both free and compulsory, despite the fact that while whites constitute approximately 18 per cent of the total population, they earn 76 per cent of the national cash income. The discrimination in salaries between black teachers and their white counterparts has also continued.

74. The students' strikes were supported by parents who not only attended community meetings in various parts of the country, but also established Parents' Committees so as to add the weight of the parents' voices to those of the students.

75. By the end of June 1980, black schools in all the provinces of South Africa were affected by the strikes. Four of the five segregated universities for blacks were also closed as a result of the students' actions. In an article entitled "A new phase of rebellion", the British weekly review, *New Statesman*, on 6 June 1980 stated:

"... the escalation of the latest schools' unrest has been rapid. Cape Town Coloured (mixed-race) scholars left their classrooms in late April; their African counterparts in Cape Town's townships went out in sympathy; Johannesburg Coloured and Asian students joined in almost immediately, followed shortly by those in Natal. ... African scholars in areas of Natal boycotted classes in defiance of... Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's powerful Inkatha movement. In Afrikanerdom's heartland, Bloemfontein's black township of Batho erupted in a weekend of clashes with police in which one man died and many others were injured; and police shot two children dead in Cape Town on Wednesday last week".

76. The information media deliberately played down the extent and intensity of the recent wave of black resistance in Azania. The impression was continually conveyed that the strikes were petering out and that this was due to the conciliatory attitude of the Prime Minister, P. W. Botha. In addition, the white-owned media in South Africa deliberately tried to create the impression that, rather than being a strike by black

students as a whole—that is, involving students from all sections of the oppressed community in Azania—it was a strike by Coloured students only. Sections of the media even went so far as to suggest that the "African" students did not support the strike.

77. This bias in the coverage by the South African media of the students' strikes was criticized by the *Muslim News*, a Cape-based weekly for blacks, which has greatly increased its circulation as a result of the progressive stand it has taken on numerous community issues, such as forced removals under the Group Areas Act, and as a result of its accurate and sympathetic coverage of the Soweto and other uprisings since 1976. It wrote:

"Despite the fact that papers are trying to create the picture that the boycott is by and large a boycott maintained by Coloured pupils, the white-controlled news media have gone to great lengths to play down the role of black pupils in areas outside the Cape Flats. The grievances that brought about the boycott are grievances common to all black pupils. Black pupils reject an educational syllabus that is fraught with inferiorities. They rightfully demand a syllabus that will embrace all pupils and not a syllabus that is patterned to pigmentation.

"It is only too apparent that the Government has not learnt anything from what happened in 1976. The confrontation between pupil and State did not come about solely because of Afrikaans as the medium of education, but the whole discriminatory aspect of legislation passed. The reasons for the boycott are the same. Inadequate facilities at schools, lack of textbooks; these are symptomatic of the oppressive state the disfranchised are placed with legislation favouring those who have the vote... What students really demand is what all the disfranchised have always been demanding—equal rights".

78. This quotation from the *Muslim News* very clearly demonstrates that, although the students' strikes have focused upon the educational system, the students have consistently stated that their struggle is part of the struggle for national liberation and self-determination in occupied Azania. This was also pointed out by a student publication, *SASPU National*, in an editorial:

"Unequal education prepares people for exploitation. The link has been illustrated by the content of a number of pamphlets issued by boycotting students. It is clear, therefore, that their attack on education is in fact a protest against the broader exploitative structures..."

79. What has also emerged very clearly from the present wave of black resistance is the absence of a generation gap between students and parents and the fact that the students have enjoyed the full support of the parents in their struggle. One reason for this is that the students had from the very outset embarked on a massive campaign to "educate" their parents about the nature of their grievances and their demands. As the *SASPU National* pointed out:

"Unlike the education boycotts of 1976/77, students have displayed a rigorous organizational discipline and direction. From the beginning the

boycott has had a strong political and community emphasis.

“A week before the first students came out, placards were posted on the fences at the Wynberg offices of the Department of Coloured Affairs with the message, ‘Our parents are forced to work because the bread price has increased. School books are not free. Rents and rates are increased. They have no say. Solidarity with workers, students and parents.’

“It was for this reason, student leaders are saying, that students at all times maintained solidarity with their parents—the workers—and why demands and attacks on the education system included such statements of solidarity with workers and parents.”

80. In the Cape, for instance, hundreds of parents and students attended parent-student meetings held in Cape Town, Salt River and Athlone early in May. Parents overwhelmingly came out in support of the stand taken by black students to continue boycotting classes until the Government gave concrete evidence that it would fulfil the pledges Prime Minister P. W. Botha had made. *Grassroots*, a non-profit community newsletter produced in the western Cape, reported as follows:

“Western Cape communities from Scotsche Kloof to Stellenbosch, and Guguletu to Ocean View, have shown unprecedented solidarity in support of students boycotting classes against racial education.

“Meetings were held throughout the peninsula and as far afield as Stellenbosch and Paarl. Thousands of people attended the meetings organized by students, local churches, civic associations, youth groups and other organizations.

“At all the meetings, support was expressed for the protest of the students.”

81. After the mid-year vacation and demands by the Pretoria régime that black students should re-register—a move designed to exclude so-called agitators—there has been a continuation of the protests by the students, as a result of which schools in the eastern Cape and the western Cape have been closed indefinitely. The noted journalist Patrick Laurence, in a despatch to the *Manchester Guardian*, of 12 September 1980, wrote that

“Black schools in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area have already been closed indefinitely because of the boycott. The rationale behind the decision to close schools in boycott-hit areas is that the boycotters use school grounds as gathering points from which to launch politically motivated ‘agitation’. But closure does more than deprive black youths of assembly points. It puts pressure on education-conscious black parents elsewhere to persuade their children to return to school to forestall closure of schools in their own townships.

“The latest round of unrest began at the black township of Galeshewe, near Kimberley, after an ‘invasion’ of a white residential area by black school pupils. One hundred and twelve black teenagers, most of them girls, were arrested for public violence. For many, entry into the white area appears to have

been prompted by flight from the police and an attempt to hide from them in white suburban homes.”

82. In mid-September, violence flared up again in black townships in the eastern Cape, in the Ciskei bantustan and in the townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu in the western Cape. In the Whittlesea district of the Ciskei bantustan, black students stoned a policeman to death following constant police harassment of the boycotting students. In return, police fatally shot one student and arrested many others.

83. In the township of Guguletu in the western Cape, police also fatally shot a 16-year-old black youth and wounded four others. Following the fatal shooting, police detained two members of the Black Parents’ Action Committee in a pre-dawn raid. The Action Committee represents black parents in the three townships on the outskirts of Cape Town, namely, Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu. In a statement it issued, the Action Committee condemned the detention of its two members.

84. As a result of the escalating boycott of schools by black students protesting against the inferior system of education for the oppressed black majority, the Pretoria racist régime has been forced to close schools indefinitely in several centres, including small places like Adelaide, Victoria West and Oudtshoorn.

85. As a result of the politicization which has been carried out by black students in the community, there has emerged a very effective coalition between students and workers which has been evident during the workers’ strikes and bus boycotts, both of which have occurred concurrently with the students’ strikes. Black workers in the meat industry in the western Cape went on strike on Wednesday, 21 May 1980, following the dismissal of 800 workers who had staged a strike in solidarity with other black workers. Students and workers called for a boycott of red meat, and this boycott, too, was implemented by the black community. I quote from the *Sunday Express* of 1 June 1980:

“The rash of strikes which began soon [after the students’ strikes] is also spreading and on Tuesday for the first time reached the gold mines when 4,500 black miners struck and began rioting in the Stilfontein mine. The police dropped tear gas on them from helicopters.

“It is a picture of ferment throughout the country. The police are trying to be more restrained than they were during the 1976 Soweto [uprising] ...but their resources are stretched. They are having to put in long overtime in some areas, and weariness and tension are beginning to show”.

86. Strike action by black workers in Azania gained wide publicity in the international press in June, July and early August of 1980. Although in most instances economic issues were the major causes of the strikes, workers often coupled their demands for higher wages and better working conditions with demands for trade union recognition and for the reinstatement of their dismissed fellow workers.

87. The strikes by black workers are part of the wider pattern of increasing black resistance to white domination in occupied Azania. According to Rob Lambert,

lecturer in industrial sociology at the University of Natal, about 50,000 black workers in all the major industrial centres have launched one of the most protracted and determined campaigns against the exploitative system in South African labour history.

88. The spate of strikes, from the meat industry in the Cape to the municipal workers in Johannesburg, has affected more workers than any industrial disputes since the 1973 strikes.

89. Pay increases gained by blacks in recent years, particularly after the labour unrest which rocked the country in 1973 and 1974, have been eroded by inflation, which is currently running at approximately 17 per cent. The monthly average wage of \$47 earned by an unskilled black worker in 1980 is worth about 5 per cent less than the monthly average wage for the same worker in 1973.

90. Economic issues have not been the only causes of the current labour unrest. Black workers have been demanding recognition of their trade unions. In the wake of the workers' strikes of 1973 and 1974 an independent trade union movement emerged despite the fact that black trade unions were not recognized. It has been this independent trade union movement which has largely been responsible for, and most successful in, the organization of workers and which has incurred the wrath of the Pretoria racist régime. One of the recommendations made by the Wiehahn Commission in 1979⁴ was that the registration of black trade unions should be permitted so as to bring them under government control; the legislation subsequently enacted permits registration under extremely stringent conditions.

91. Fourteen independent trade unions formed themselves into the Federation of Southern African Trade Unions. These unions have been among the most active of the country's unregistered unions. One of the affiliates of the Federation, the militant United Automobile, Rubber and Allied Workers' Union, organized a strike in mid-June, following the police killings of at least 60 people in the western Cape, which crippled the automobile industry in the eastern Cape at a time of so-called booming car sales in South Africa. Approximately 16 automobile and automotive parts factories, some of them American-owned, were affected by the strikes. The union ultimately secured for the workers a 20 per cent wage increase.

92. Arrests and detentions, bannings and other intimidatory tactics have failed to cow black workers, who have increasingly resorted to strike action even though such strikes are illegal in South Africa. In July, more than 18,000 black workers at the SASOL-3 oil-from-coal plant were laid off for a few days following labour unrest at a construction site, which halted the project. Workers complained of harassment by the army, which had been brought in to beef up security at the plant after the sabotage attack by guerrillas in June. Workers also suspected that a fellow worker who died in mysterious circumstances had been killed by troops.

93. July also saw strike action by black workers in other areas. At the De Beers diamond mine in Kim-

berley, 600 black workers seeking a 50 per cent wage increase were dismissed after going on strike. At a paper mill near Johannesburg, 340 workers gained a 15 per cent wage increase to \$1.17 an hour after a work stoppage. Similarly, 500 PUTCO bus workers in Johannesburg won a 15 per cent wage increase to \$67 a week and recognition of their trade union after a one-day strike.

94. More recently, more than 10,000 black municipal workers in Johannesburg went on strike demanding higher wages, the reinstatement of 1,350 power-station workers who were dismissed after walking off the job, and recognition of their trade union, the Johannesburg Black Municipal Workers' Union. The strike was broken by the brutal action of the white Johannesburg City Council, which dismissed 1,500 workers, and by the police who arrested the dismissed workers and repatriated them to bantustans. The leader of the unrecognized Johannesburg Black Municipal Workers' Union, Mr. Joseph Mavi, was detained; police indicated that they were investigating charges against him under the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Sabotage Act, the latter carrying a maximum penalty of death.

95. It is very clear that labour unrest is likely to spread in South Africa with the heightening of the levels of politicization and organization among black workers. Politicization and organization will not, however, come about by themselves but are the tasks of the national liberation movement which has to provide correct leadership and direction to the workers' movement.

96. The pressure on the white minority comes not only from mass action on the part of the black majority who have begun to flex their muscles with increasing vigour and determination but also from the national liberation movements which are committed to armed struggle as the principal form of struggle for national liberation and self-determination of the colonized people of Azania. Guerrilla warfare is already established in South Africa, although at this stage it is still limited in its impact upon most whites. However, it has assumed three forms: attacks upon white areas, attempts on the lives of black collaborators, and rural infiltration by guerrillas of the liberation movement.

97. "Urban terrorism has come to stay in South Africa for the foreseeable future", said the former Premier, Johannes Vorster, on a visit to an anti-terrorist training centre in September 1977. The first urban violence—then generally directed against property, not persons—took place in the early 1960s in the wake of the banning PAC African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]. But that phase ended with the hanging of a white man, Richard Harris, who planted a bomb in a Johannesburg station. In December 1976 a black man, Isaac Seko, opened a new phase of urban violence when he entered a white restaurant in Johannesburg Carlton Centre and injured several people with a dynamite blast. Such incidents, none of them involving loss of life, followed in several parts of the country. The notorious former Minister of Police, Jimmy Kruger, publicly warned that large numbers of people who had left the country for guerrilla training were now returning and police were on a round-the-clock look-out for them.

⁴ See *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation*, part. I, R.P.47/1979 (Pretoria, The Government Printer).

98. In June 1977, two warehousemen were killed and another wounded when three guerrillas carrying automatic weapons and hand grenades took refuge after being spotted in Johannesburg. Since then over 20 bombing incidents have been reported, including one in the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg, in which several whites were injured. Petrol bombs and dynamite have been used.

99. Blacks attacked include police, men serving on government-created institutions like urban Bantu councils and people suspected of being informers; a number have been killed. Early in July 1978, a black detective, Orphan Chaphi, was shot as he entered his house in Soweto and died from his wounds. He had escaped a petrol attack in 1977. South African police were extremely worried to discover that the weapon used was a Russian Tokarev machine-pistol. The South African News Agency reported the imprisonment of two African women patriots who fire-bombed the Soweto home of a State witness in the "PAC Bethal 18" trial, and other news media have reported the liquidation of similar witnesses in other trials. The *Sunday Times* of London of 25 May 1980 reported that:

"More than 10 Security Branch undercover agents have been assassinated after infiltrating organizations [in South Africa] and abroad."

100. Rural terrorism was confirmed for the first time in April 1978 in a press interview by the Security Police Chief, Brigadier C. F. Zietsman. He said that there had been several gun battles between guerrillas and the South African police in the eastern Transvaal near the Mozambique border. Shortly afterwards it was announced that a new army base was to be established at Phalaborwa in the eastern Transvaal. I quote the following from the report of a press interview with Brigadier Zietsman:

"People must not think this is a recent phenomenon with simple solutions. It has been going on for a long time and is more complicated than people realize. We are now picking the fruits of years of work by those who fled the country in the 1960s. He added that the recent large-scale intensification of guerrilla activity was partly the result of the change in the status of South Africa's neighbouring States: guerrillas are now receiving training and support closer to home. However, he said they tried not to engage South African forces for fear of embarrassing their hosts. Like all guerrilla movements they prefer to spread their activities over as wide an area as possible."

101. A steel ring on South Africa's borders was being manned by the South African police. As reported by the periodical *To The Point* of 28 April 1978, Brigadier Zietsman said: "It is no longer child's play; it is an extended onslaught we are facing." Since then he has said that about 2,200 "potential terrorists" had been brought to court under security legislation. More than 350 had received sentences of longer than two years.

102. During a radio interview in which he claimed that the security police had "arrested 23 PAC terrorist infiltrators from abroad", former Minister of Police, J. T. Kruger, stated:

"Terrorists are conducting a psychological struggle to undermine the confidence of the people in the country's security measures and security forces."

That was in the South African Broadcasting Corporation's "Week-end Newsroom" of 20 November 1978. That same week-end Kruger told a television interviewer that PAC, following its Arusha Consultative Conference in June-July 1978, had "launched two insurgency campaigns code-named 'home coming' and 'curtain-raiser'." He also said:

"It is therefore desirable that members of the [white] public join a defence organization such as the Citizen Force or Police Reservists."

103. Although it is true that the collapse of buffer States along South Africa's borders has greatly assisted the liberation movements, waging effective armed struggle in Azania depends on the organization and determination of the underground movement inside the country. As was recognized by delegates to the important Consultative Conference of PAC at Arusha, the 1976 national uprisings created favourable conditions for the intensification of the armed struggle. The principal elements in that historic struggle were the mass organizations of schoolchildren and students. Veterans of the Soweto Students' Representative Council in Johannesburg, the Young Comrades Movement in Cape Town and the nation-wide South African Students' Movement—all three organizations having been banned in October 1977—have joined the national liberation movement, bringing with them a new vitality and also enhancing the chances of a successful symbiosis between the internal resistance and the externally based movements.

104. The programme of action drawn up by the Consultative Conference was based on the experiences of veteran members of PAC combined with the fresh experiences of the cadres produced by the 1976 uprisings. Swift implementation of the programme, as acknowledged by Kruger himself, was made possible by the realistic knowledge of the concrete situation inside Azania.

105. The South African army has seen how in country after country revolutionary forces have ultimately overcome well-equipped armies of repression and seized political power. Yet the white population hopes that somehow South Africa will be an exception.

106. Simultaneously with the internal and regional pressures, international pressure against South Africa has been mounting steadily with the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the socialist countries campaigning for, *inter alia*, the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against the régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations on the grounds that the perpetuation of *apartheid* in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The major Western Powers—Britain, the United States, France and West Germany—have been opposed to the imposition of economic sanctions not only because of their economic interests in South Africa but also because of their need for strategic raw materials. Reflecting Western opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa, Rotberg argues that

“... total boycotts of trade and finance envisaged by American and British pressure groups fail to accord with American or British political and economic realities... Boycotting South African manganese, vanadium, chrome and platinum would hurt the West, especially the United States, far more than South Africa.”

107. While conceding that Britain is heavily dependent on South Africa in terms of trade and investment, Nagorski challenges the view that South Africa's minerals are of critical importance to the West since economic sanctions are not feasible. He argues that, with careful planning and political will, alternative sources of strategic raw materials can be found.

108. The Sullivan principles and the European Community Code of Conduct for United States and Western European transnationals operating in South Africa represent a response to the pressures for economic sanctions. The argument that has been used to justify continued economic involvement in South Africa is that transnationals, by promoting fair employment practices, will undermine the system of *apartheid*. The fallacy of this argument has already been analysed by many. As former Senator Dick Clarke pointed out: “The net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's *apartheid* régime.”

109. The United Nations Centre against *Apartheid* has also begun to mobilize for economic sanctions against South Africa. A preparatory meeting was held at Geneva from 30 June to 3 July 1980 and an International Conference on Sanctions is planned for 1981.

110. Closely linked with the campaign for economic sanctions has been a mounting campaign for the withdrawal of foreign investments in South Africa. In the United States, for example, as a result of the divestment movement launched by students and anti-*apartheid* organizations, a number of universities have withdrawn their shares or sold their stocks in multinational corporations and other businesses with investments in South Africa. These include the prestigious Cornell University of New York State, the University of Wisconsin and the five colleges of Amherst, Massachusetts, with pressure mounting at hundreds of other universities.

111. In November 1978 more than 1,300 delegates assembled at New York University under the auspices of the North-East Coalition in Support of Liberation in South Africa to co-ordinate strategy on the divestment campaign and other solidarity work. A former United States Ambassador to Ghana, Franklyn Williams, observed: “The most articulate social protest movement since the Viet Nam war is accelerating from coast to coast... the drive to force American business out of South Africa.”

112. The Pretoria régime is mindful of the fact that it was in the university campuses in the United States and elsewhere in the West that the most formidable movement against the United States war of aggression in Indo-China was built up. Indeed, South African propaganda offices in these countries are flooding not only universities but also high schools with glossy *apartheid* propaganda. Although Western corporations are unlikely in the foreseeable future to withdraw from

South Africa because of the high rate of returns on investment which in turn is related to the exploitation of the non-unionized black labour, such actions at the grassroots level have the potential to force Governments in the Western countries to adopt meaningful policies against the South African *apartheid* régime. The divestment movement in the Western countries would be assisted too if African countries adopted punitive measures against multinationals with investments in South Africa. Nigeria, for example, has already given notice that it will blacklist foreign companies which have investments in South Africa.

113. The drying-up of 91 per cent of Pretoria's oil supply following the decision of the new Government in Iran to ban the sale of oil to the racist régime has fuelled the campaign for the imposition of an oil embargo against South Africa. The effect of the Iranian decision is described by Rotberg as follows: “In 1979 the loss of Iranian oil supplies cost mostly white consumers dearly. Their gasoline became among the most expensive—\$2.45 a gallon—in the world. Speed limits were cut back and gas made unavailable on weekends.” The régime hastily enacted legislation prohibiting publication of any information relating to the existing supplies or future sources of oil.

114. A study completed by two British researchers, Martin Bailey and Bernard Rivers, in 1978, before the fall of the Shah, concluded that South Africa was vulnerable to oil sanctions and that such sanctions could be effectively imposed. Their calculations were that South Africa's 1978 oil supplies could hold out only for up to 30 months, with enormous economic dislocation long before the reserves were exhausted. The fictitious five-year stockpile of oil was exposed by the calculations which showed that it would require 620 million barrels at a cost of \$9.9 billion at 1978 prices to stockpile that amount of oil.

115. The oil crisis in South Africa not only affects civic transport, factories, mines and agricultural industries but also gravely affects the mobility of the security forces—the police as well as the army, navy and air force. The investment of millions of dollars in exploration for oil on land and in the sea-bed has thus far proved fruitless. While South Africa admittedly has the largest known deposits of coal in Africa, the decades-old expensive attempts to meet the country's oil needs through the conversion of oil—of late vigorously aided by the Fluor Corporation, based in Los Angeles—will by 1982 provide just 13 per cent of the country's oil needs. The Government-funded magazine, *To The Point*, openly admitted that South Africa would have to rely on clandestine means to secure oil.

116. An international seminar on an oil embargo against South Africa was held in Amsterdam, from 14 to 16 March this year and at the thirty-fifth session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June a resolution was adopted calling for the strict imposition of oil sanctions against South Africa [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I]. A committee of experts has been appointed to examine ways and means of effectively implementing the oil embargo imposed by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC].

117. There continues to be a great deal of debate within the white establishment as to the most effective means of countering these pressures, and to a large extent the old antagonism between the Afrikaaner ruling elite, representing white workers and the white rural populace predominantly, and the English-speaking opposition, representing the capitalist class, has disappeared. The major contradiction today is between those who are aware that as long as blacks remain disenfranchised the pressures will remain and those who believe that some sort of accommodation to black aspirations short of majority rule is essential to ensure white domination. The second category may be termed the *verkrampes*, that is, those who argue in favour of greater rigidity in white domination and defiance of all pressures. Although there are contradictions within these broad categories, those contradictions remain secondary. For example, Harry Oppenheimer, the representative of monopoly capitalism, and Dr. Piet Koornhof of the "enlightened" wing of the ruling National Party share the view that change is necessary in order to avert black revolution; but they differ on the nature of the change and the means to effect that change. There is, however, no disagreement among them on the ultimate objective, which is the perpetuation of white domination in one form or another.

118. This dichotomy between "*verligte*" and "*verkrampste*" is evident in the régime's handling of the internal pressures for change. This has been characterized by an attempt to "modernize racial domination", to quote the Canadian sociologist Dr. Heribert Adam, and an intensification in repression.

119. The election of P. W. Botha as the successor to Vorster as leader of the ruling National Party and hence Prime Minister ushered in a period of rhetoric about change, exemplified by Botha's admonition to the white population that they would have to either "adapt or die". In keeping with this thesis, Botha has proceeded to embark upon what has been termed a "total strategy" for continued white rule. This envisages the abolition of racial discrimination in certain spheres, the integration of blacks into the economy with a view to promoting a black middle class with strong interests in capitalism, and hence in defending the *status quo*, and the establishment of structures to promote collaboration between the Government and those blacks whom it chooses. This was described by Rotberg in an article entitled "South Africa under Botha: how deep a change" in the spring 1980 issue of *Foreign Policy*:

"Botha wants to encourage economic opportunities for blacks removing barriers to their advancement in industry, dismantling obstacles to the accumulation of black commercial power in the black cities, and generally limiting discriminatory practices in economic spheres. Botha's economic adviser, Simon Brand, recently made this point:

" 'Blacks must be allowed to take part fully in the free enterprise system if we want them to accept it, defend it and make it their own' ".

120. All the changes envisaged by the régime are aimed at creating for blacks an illusion of power while control is retained in white hands. A perfect example of this is the constitutional proposals made by a

government-appointed Commission and accepted by the whites-only Parliament. What was proposed was the abolition of the whites-only senate and its replacement by a nominative 60-member President's Council comprising so-called Coloureds, Asians, Chinese and whites. The powers of the President's Council were to be purely advisory; also, its advice was to be restricted to those matters on which it is consulted by the Government.

121. The establishment of this Presidential Council has been rejected by blacks, including those sections of the black community whose participation was invited, that is, so-called Coloureds and Indians, on the grounds that it excluded the indigenous population. Moreover, blacks have seen that the real purpose of the formation of this new structure was not the establishment of a non-racial democracy, but the extension of "white hegemony", to quote John F. Burns in the *New York Times* of 15 June, 1980, Humphrey Tyler, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* of 10 June 1980, in commenting on the rejection of the Presidential Council by blacks, stated:

"The Government is clearly concerned that it may set up a consultative body and find that nobody of any consequence is prepared to serve on it, and that it will flop just as disastrously as previous National Party attempts to satisfy black aspirations with powerless, dummy bodies".

122. On the whole, the régime has failed to win the co-operation of blacks in the schemes it has designed. Not only is this due to the radicalization within black politics within the past decade, a radicalization which rejects present reforms as too little and too late, but also blacks have seen within less than a decade the collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa and the collapse of the white minority régime on South Africa's northern border, which has resulted in the emergence of three black majority-ruled States in southern Africa, namely, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Again to quote Rotberg in *Foreign Policy*:

"... Botha's strategy has a limited likelihood of success. It may bring real benefits to Africans, but to them it still represents too little too late. They are no longer content with the modest modernization of social and economic *apartheid*. They want fundamental alterations in the very structure of society of a kind that Botha is not yet ready to concede.

"Vocal blacks ... want to participate fully in the process of Government. They want a voice in matters that affect their lives and the destinies of their children".

123. While recognizing the need for change in order to "avert black revolution", Botha has also been at pains to reassure his white populace that he is not about to let power slip from white hands. As a consequence, his conciliatory rhetoric has been accompanied by arrests, detentions and the enactment of repressive legislation. For instance, in response to a plea from the "Coloured" Labour Party for equal citizenship rights for all South Africans, he angrily replied that there would never be "one man, one vote" in South Africa. Similarly, his response to the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, the leader of ANC serving a life sentence on Robben Island, was that Mandela would never be released.

124. Botha's initial reaction to the boycott of classes by "Coloured" students as to admit the legitimacy of their grievances, which he pledged to examine personally. This was followed by widespread arrests of black activists whose number was estimated by sources in South Africa to have approached the 2,000 mark.

125. All gatherings were banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act, and in order to pre-empt any commemoration of the Soweto massacres of 1976 the ban was extended to cover all gatherings of more than 10 persons, including memorial services and commemorations.

126. The police ban on meetings provoked defiance from the blacks, who regard 16 June as sacred. In the township of Soweto, black youths demonstrated and were violently dispersed by the police, who baton-charged the crowds of demonstrators and also unleashed Alsatian dogs, which savaged large numbers of black youths. The worst incidents of violence, however, occurred in the western Cape in the townships for so-called Coloureds. In a week of police violence in the townships of Elsies River, Tygerberg and others on the Cape Flats, some 60 peoples were killed by police gunfire. A 22-year-old journalist, Miss Zubeida Jaffer, who did too accurate a job in reporting indiscriminate police violence, was detained on 20 August and kept incommunicado under the Internal Security Act. She was transferred from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth, to the Sanlam Building occupied by the security police who murdered Steve Biko, George Botha and other black leaders. Commenting on the violence in the Cape towns, Eric Marsden wrote in the *Sunday Times* of London of 22 June 1980, that last Tuesday's rioting demonstrated how deeply seated the Coloured anger is, and how close to violence even this traditionally peaceable community has drifted.

127. Legislation has been enacted making it illegal to publish the names of detainees except with the approval of the police. The effect of this legislation is that persons may simply disappear from society. During the uprisings in the western Cape in June this year, journalists were prohibited from entering areas where there were confrontations between the police and blacks; instead, the police permitted only local journalists who had been "vetted" by the police Directorate of Public Relations to enter.

128. Botha's idea of a "constellation of southern African States" was partially a recognition of the geopolitical changes which have occurred in the sub-continent as well as a response to the pressures for change which the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe precipitated. Under this scheme, Pretoria held out the promise of economic co-operation with and assistance of independent African States willing to enter into such an economic and military alliance with the white racist régime and its bantustans.

129. While offering peaceful coexistence and economic co-operation, Pretoria has not hesitated to commit aggression against neighbouring States and to threaten action against African countries offering sanctuary to freedom fighters. Witness the aggression committed against Zambia and Angola, which has caused millions of dollars' worth of loss of property to those countries and at the same time has resulted in

the murders of hundreds of civilians; witness also the intervention in Zimbabwe in the run-up to the elections in February this year and the threat to intervene militarily in the event of so-called chaos, which was generally taken to mean that the régime would intervene if the election results were not favourable to the puppet Muzorewa.

130. Simultaneously, Pretoria has been training forces to destabilize the neighbouring countries of southern Africa. In Angola, for example, the traitorous bandits of Savimbi's group, UNITA,⁵ have been the beneficiaries of financial and military aid from Pretoria so that they can terrorize the Angolan people and at the same time be used to fight against freedom fighters of SWAPO. Similarly, anti-Mozambican forces are being supported by South Africa. According to *The Guardian* of 31 May 1980:

"The Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) said that South Africa now has a base for training anti-government Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces in the Northern Transvaal, south of Beit Bridge. Before the January cease-fire, Rhodesia trained anti-government Mozambicans at a base near Umtali and supplied them inside Mozambique with regular air-drops and food and ammunition... South Africa has now taken up this role.

"South African helicopters have been seen over Mozambique's Manica Province recently and they are believed to be ferrying supplies in two hops... first to bases in south-east Zimbabwe and then into Mozambique."

131. Since the collapse of the Smith/Muzorewa régime in Zimbabwe, Pretoria has granted sanctuary to the notorious Selous Scouts and almost 1,500 of Muzorewa's "private army". It is obvious that these forces are to be deployed by Pretoria in a destabilization campaign against the new Government of Zimbabwe, led by Comrade Robert Mugabe. The aim of the destabilization is to make the task of reconstruction difficult in those countries which have achieved national liberation after years of armed struggle. At the same time the aim is to internationalize the conflict by drawing in support from reactionary circles in the West where propagandists have attached the label "Marxist" or "pro-Soviet" to the newly independent States in which there is local resistance to "communism". According to such propagandists such resistance deserves Western financial and material support because the strategic location of southern Africa with its mineral resources makes it a vital part of the trade routes and the so-called defence of the "free world".

132. We have attempted to demonstrate in our statement that the situation in South Africa has indeed deteriorated during the past 12 months. Not only has the Pretoria régime intensified its brutal repression against the black majority but it has stubbornly refused to heed the demands of the international community for a new political dispensation in the country. The régime has demonstrated that while engaging in rhetoric about the need for "reform", it is determined to pursue its policies of *apartheid*, which have been declared a crime against humanity. At the present

⁵ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

time, for instance, the régime is planning to grant "independence" to the Ciskei bantustan even though a Commission investigating the future of the territory—the Quail Commission whose members included Sir Arthur Snelling, the former British Ambassador to South Africa, and Professor Robert Rotberg of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—found that 90 per cent of the Ciskeians favoured a one-man, one-vote system within a united Azania. If the Ciskei becomes "independent", not only the area's 660,000 residents but also an additional 1.4 million persons living elsewhere in South Africa theoretically lose their claim to South African citizenship.

133. The Quail Commission showed that half of all the Ciskei's children of two and three years old were malnourished. Dr. Trudi Thomas, who helped to conduct the survey, described their plight: "Most were just stunted like mealie plants in a drought-stricken field. One in 10 in the towns and one in six in the country were actually suffering from kwashiorkor and marasmus."

134. The South African press in recent weeks has focused upon the severe drought which has brought hardship to the Ciskei and other bantustans. The drought, which extends to areas in the eastern Cape and Natal which normally have good rainfall, has highlighted the rural poverty in the bantustans, but it has not caused the problem in the first place. The destruction of maize crops, the drying up of traditional water supplies, and the emergency "importation" of both food and water all testify to the serious situation confronting the inhabitants of the bantustans.

135. Migrant labour, one of the pillars on which the modern economy was built up, has had a detrimental effect on agriculture in the bantustans, depriving them of able-bodied men and disrupting life generally. Professor Jill Natrass, of the University of Natal says that "It has contributed to the underdevelopment of the African... areas." The extent of their underdevelopment can be delineated by a few relevant figures: urban black incomes are nearly four times as high as those of rural blacks; per capita national output in the bantustans is less than in all but 10 independent African countries, according to the Pretoria-based Bureau for Economic Research; and an infant mortality rate of 240 per 1,000 in the Transkei must be set against 60 for urban blacks and 12 for whites.

136. The pursuit of *apartheid* has been accompanied by detentions, bannings and banishments under the repressive laws of the régime, rationalized on the grounds of "national security". During the past 12 months which, as we have indicated have been characterized by heightened resistance, leading opponents of the régime have been banned; for example, the 75-year-old veteran Helen Joseph, leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement like Curtis Nkondo, former President of the Azanian People's Organization, and Fanyana Mazibuko of the Council for Higher Education have been banned. Opponents of racism in sport like M. N. Pather of the non-racial South African Council on Sport have been harassed and intimidated; in fact, Mr. M. N. Pather had his passport confiscated on the eve of his departure for New York where he was to take up a consultancy with the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid*.

137. The intransigence of the régime has provoked black resistance which is taking on the proportions of a low-intensity civil war, involving mass action on the part of the black population, including workers' strikes and student action, on the one hand, and armed struggle, organized and co-ordinated by the national liberation movements, on the other.

138. We have attempted to demonstrate that the maintenance of *apartheid* in South Africa poses a threat to international peace and security, through the constant acts of aggression against the neighbouring States by the Pretoria régime. This aggression has assumed two forms, namely, actual military aggression like bomb attacks on Angola and Zambia, whose territorial integrity has been continually violated by forces of the *apartheid* régime, and training of murderous bands of terrorists to destabilize the neighbouring territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have similarly been subjected to constant acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime.

139. It is universally acknowledged—and I should like particularly to stress this—that prevention is better than cure. In this regard, we of PAC would like to stress here that, while the international community has been debating over the past two decades how to eliminate *apartheid* and the universally condemned philosophy of racism, the racist régime of South Africa, with its Zionist ally in occupied Palestine, has been systematically and methodically planning to eliminate that part of the human race which its propounders regard as either inferior or subhuman.

140. It is public knowledge that in the latter part of last year the South African racists carried out a test in the South Atlantic. The explosion was photographed by orbiting satellites, and ever since then it has been debated whether it was after all an atomic explosion. We of PAC have been collecting information on this matter, and we have information that it was in fact the explosion of a neutron bomb which was tested both by the South African racists and the Zionists in the South Atlantic.

141. PAC, whilst bringing this to the notice of the General Assembly, calls upon the world community to support the struggle of the people of Azania for national liberation and self-determination, by imposing mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations—and we believe that after two decades it is high time that this world Organization respected its own Charter—calling for an immediate withdrawal of all foreign investments in South Africa and a prohibition of all bank loans to the Pretoria régime; imposing a total oil embargo, which can be implemented and be effective, as the study commissioned by the Centre against *Apartheid* has shown; prohibiting all airline flights to and from South Africa and banning all South African Airways flights to and from the countries which are Members of the United Nations; terminating all nuclear collaboration with South Africa and reinforcing the arms embargo so that the violations such as those committed by certain Western corporations could be prevented; demanding the cessation of all cultural and sporting links with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and demanding the release of all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and the lifting of all restric-

tions on those who are at present banned, banished or under house arrest.

142. These are the minimum demands that we make of the Assembly, but we wish also to emphasize that we have always recognized the task of liberation as one which has to be borne by the oppressed peoples themselves. Ultimately, it is the effort of the oppressed themselves which will achieve the desired and cherished goal of freedom. It is a responsibility which we shall never shirk. But as the successful struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Algeria and Zimbabwe and others have shown, there is an important supportive role for the international community to play, and therefore we make this appeal to it.

143. Mr. NIKULIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of racial discrimination in South Africa has been examined by the General Assembly since its first session. The United Nations has frequently condemned the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African authorities as a crime against humanity and a policy which is incompatible with human rights and human dignity and the principles of the Charter and a serious violation of international peace and security.

144. Nevertheless, the situation in South Africa today quite rightly gives rise to the indignation and concern of the entire world community. The Pretoria régime, which has raised *apartheid* to the level of a state policy and ideology, continues the mass suppression of the elementary human rights of millions of native Africans. Sharpeville and Soweto have become synonyms for bloody reprisals against the native population of the country and racist attacks by the Fascist South African racists. In their oppression of the non-white population of the country the South African authorities resort to typically Fascist methods. Thousands of opponents of *apartheid* are thrown into prison without trial or investigation. Peaceful demonstrations are splattered with lead, and patriots and leaders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement are threatened by prison terms and death penalties.

145. The General Assembly and the Security Council have frequently demanded that an end be put to the criminal policy and practice of *apartheid*. However, the Pretoria régime continues to follow the same path of intensifying its policies and stepping up its Draconian measures against the native African population of the country and carrying out the policy of bantustanization, which has been condemned by the United Nations.

146. The proclamation of so-called independent bantustans has as its obvious aim dividing the African people and depriving them of their land and property, legalizing the establishment of territories without rights which are dependent on and under the authority of South Africa and hindering the growth of the national liberation movement. On the other hand, bantustanization creates a cheap source of manpower that facilitates the over-exploitation of the native population by South African and Western monopolies and ensures that the latter can extract their super-profits.

147. The United Nations has condemned the creation of South African bantustans in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda and declared it to be unjustified

and invalid. It has urged all Governments to refuse to grant any form of recognition to those bantustans and to take effective measures to prevent all persons, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from maintaining any connexions with them. We note with satisfaction that, aside from South Africa itself, not one State has recognized those puppet entities.

148. As previous speakers have already pointed out, the Pretoria régime carries out its policy of *apartheid* also in Namibia, which it occupies illegally. Despite the demand of the Security Council and the General Assembly that it put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibian territory, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa increases and intensifies its massive repression of the Namibians, and in particular the members of SWAPO. It is increasingly activating and stepping up its military presence in the country and is using the territory of Namibia as a staging area for aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States. While seeking to conceal this with hypocritical statements to the effect that it is ready to seek a political settlement in Namibia, the Pretoria racists are attempting to set up and consolidate a neo-colonialist puppet régime in that Territory.

149. There is no question that South Africa could not continue its criminal policy of *apartheid* and its illegal occupation of Namibia or carry out acts of aggression against sovereign African States, ignoring the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the world community, if it did not enjoy the continuing comprehensive support and assistance of the principal Western countries, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. The maintenance of that nucleus of colonialism and racism in southern Africa serves the long-term selfish political, strategic and economic interests of certain imperialist States, which see in South Africa a bastion of racism, a base for the struggle against independent Africa and a military staging-area and beach-head in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

150. The very existence of the *apartheid* régime would be impossible without the support of the West. It is precisely thanks to the support and assistance on the part of certain Western countries that the military potential of the *apartheid* régime continues to grow. As a result of the co-operation of the NATO countries with the Pretoria régime, the nuclear potential of South Africa is also developing, and this poses a threat not only to the African countries themselves but also to international peace and security.

151. There is no need to go into great detail on the comprehensive and increasing co-operation with South Africa by the principal Western Powers and their monopolies. It is sufficient to note that foreign investment in South Africa at the end of 1978 was \$27 billion, and South Africa's foreign trade was more than \$13.5 billion. It is characteristic that the principal trade partners of South Africa are the same Western countries which in the United Nations speak of continuing the so-called dialogue with the South African racists, which only plays into the hands of the Government of South Africa.

152. Western banks finance the South African racist régime. The availability of international credit and

vitaly important foreign currency is a decisive factor in the effective functioning of military and other programmes of the South African Government. During the period 1972 to 1978 alone, foreign banks made available to South Africa 158 loans for a total amount of \$5.5 billion. There can be no doubt that those generous foreign investments enable the racist régime of Pretoria to have a military budget which, according to material furnished by the United Nations, increased between 1973 and 1978 by more than 300 per cent and now accounts for one fifth of the country's budgetary expenditures.

153. Foreign corporations have taken dominant positions in the South African banking system. As noted in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: "By 1978, foreign banks controlled over 50 per cent of all assets in the entire private banking sector with the heaviest concentration in commercial banking" [see A/35/22/Add.1, para. 157]. Here we can mention such well-known banks as Barclays and Standard, both of which, incidentally, have branches in the bantustans, which is in violation of United Nations decisions concerning bantustans. It should be stressed that the interests of the banking circles are closely tied in with the interests of their clients, namely, corporations, Governments and private persons.

154. The transnational corporations of Western countries are not lagging behind the banks. They play a dominant role in such industrial areas of South Africa as electronics, oil refining, automobile production and nuclear production. All the oil that is necessary for South Africa is regularly supplied by such Western transnational corporations as Shell, British Petroleum, Caltex, Mobil and Total. The interconnexion between the interests of South African and Western imperialist circles and their monopolies in South Africa is permanent and very solid. The need to protect those interests explains the comprehensive support and assistance given by Western States to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. In the United Nations the representatives of those States block the adoption of effective measures against the *apartheid* régime and blithely ignore the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community. The comprehensive co-operation of Western States with the racists of South Africa serves to strengthen the *apartheid* régime and to enable it to continue its colonial and racist oppression of the Namibian and South

African peoples and to carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States.

155. The shameful, inhumane policy of *apartheid* must be ended. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racists should immediately and unconditionally be brought to an end and all authority in that country should be handed over to the Namibian people, headed by its only legitimate representative, SWAPO. The aggressive acts of the Pretoria racists against sovereign African States should finally be ended once and for all. The Namibian and South African peoples must be freed from the colonial racist yoke.

156. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the basis for solving the problem of the policy of *apartheid* conducted by the Government of South Africa can be found in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and OAU, and in the proposals of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We must ensure strict observance by all States of the sanctions against racist South Africa already imposed by the Security Council, as well as the adoption by the Council of a resolution on compulsory comprehensive sanctions against that country under Chapter VII of the Charter.

157. In the opinion of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, should be commemorated by new efforts by the United Nations in the struggle for the final liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on African soil.

158. In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR once again declares its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples against the colonial and racist rule of the South African régime and expresses its firm conviction that the just cause of liberating Namibia will prevail and that an end will be put to that most shameful phenomenon of our times, *apartheid* in South Africa.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.