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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 28**

**Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa**  
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1. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): The South African policy of separate development as the political and economic instrument for perpetuating the supremacy of the white minority over blacks, Coloureds and Indians constitutes a mockery of Africa and the international community at large. It is hard to accept the fact that in this last quarter of the twentieth century there can exist a place in the world where a society claiming democratic values can still keep people, against their will and their expressed desire, in townships according to the colour of their skin.

2. It is astonishing to learn that people can have their movements and activities controlled by armed forces merely because they happen not to be white. It may sound unreal that in 1980 somewhere in the so-called civilized world blacks, Coloureds and Indians can be forced to live in precarious conditions in townships where living facilities are of a sub-human standard. However, no matter how inhuman it may sound, that is what *apartheid* is all about.

3. *Apartheid*, which is a different version of slavery, is vigorously alive in South Africa in a period of history in which even some former slave-masters speak of human rights and the equality of races.

4. In October, during the general debate, my Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, said:

"In the so-called free world, few know about the nature of *apartheid* and of those who practise it." [25th meeting, para. 84.]

"... *Apartheid* and nazism are based on the same political and ideological principle—the superiority of one race over the other races. They use the same instruments to suppress and massacre the peoples...

"... The direct victims of nazism in Europe were whites while those of *apartheid* are blacks." [*Ibid.*, paras. 79 and 80]

"... *Apartheid*, like nazism, can never be reformed; it must be destroyed." [*Ibid.*, para. 88.]

5. It is of great concern that in a country like South Africa a Government whose régime is totally opposed by over 80 per cent of its population, has been able to defy the international community and sustain its malevolent policy of *apartheid* over the people of Namibia and South Africa for many years. It is disturbing to know that South Africa has managed to escape the punishment of international sanctions which it deserves.

6. We think that it is not very difficult to understand the reasons behind this. The fact is that the Governments of certain Western countries that are the beneficiaries of the intensive plundering of Namibia's and South Africa's natural and human resources have repeatedly failed to condemn the policy carried out in South Africa and in Namibia, thereby encouraging the Pretoria régime in its discriminatory practices, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its military aggression and threats against neighbouring countries. The refusal of the American, British and French Governments to endorse a plain condemnation by the Security Council, in its resolution 475 (1980), of the invasion of Angola last June by racist South Africa reveals the extent to which those countries are committed to protecting Pretoria's policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, the occupation of Namibia and the constant destabilization of front-line States.

7. The Pretoria régime has, by its stubborn attitude, demonstrated on various occasions its unwillingness to abandon its *apartheid* policy. The solution to the problem now lies in the isolation and neutralization of that régime by the international community. But such isolation cannot be effective while certain Western countries covertly continue to render support to the Pretoria régime.

8. It is urgently necessary that the international community adopt effective measures to put an end to the repression, the exploitation and the denial of the most elementary political rights to the majority of the population in South Africa and Namibia. We in Mozambique believe that the arms embargo declared by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) should be

reinforced by other sanctions so as to put an immediate end to the policies of *apartheid* in the world.

9. The brutal massacres, indiscriminate arrests and political and mental torture inflicted upon the people who refuse to conform to *apartheid* are part of the daily scene in South Africa. The images of Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976, to mention but two cases, are very fresh in all our minds. Heroes like Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko are very familiar in our circles. People in the region are fighting with determination to neutralize one of the most backward and obnoxious régimes in the world, which manages to survive because of the hypocritical attitude of some Western Powers.

10. Despite this negative attitude shown by the West, the ever-increasing political awareness of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, led by their respective liberation movements—the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], and their effective determination to fight until total liberation is achieved and *apartheid* is wiped out in their respective countries are inflicting very serious casualties on the minority régime. The uprising of black students against racial discrimination in education, the wave of strikes by black workers demanding more pay and better working conditions, the bus boycott and the rent strike, the resistance against arbitrary and forcible removal of African communities in South Africa, the intensification of the underground and armed struggle by ANC militants and the boycott by the Indians and Coloured people of South Africa of the announced plans to establish a constitutional framework for Coloured and Indian people to the exclusion of blacks are victories which are very seriously shaking the fortress of *apartheid*.

11. The racist régime of South Africa announced a few days ago the introduction of compulsory education for blacks, to commence next year. That move by South Africa should not be taken as a considerable step towards ending *apartheid* in South Africa. This manoeuvre is an integral part of those cosmetic changes that are already very familiar to us and are aimed at silencing the ever-growing dissatisfaction and revolts of the people of that country and the protests of the international community.

12. The Pretoria régime must be isolated and neutralized. That is the only way to put an end to *apartheid* in the region and it is the duty of the international community to participate by all possible means in this combat so that Sharpeville, Soweto, Gogoletto and Langa shall never more be repeated. *A luta continua*.

13. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): *Apartheid* is "aparthood". The régime in Pretoria calls this system "separate development" and "independence for the homelands". But, no matter what name, or appellation, the racist Fascist minority régime of South Africa uses to justify and explain its system of *apartheid* and its creation of the white Republic of South Africa, it cannot disguise the truth. No one is deceived any longer by Pretoria's attempts to whitewash the situation in which South Africa's majority inhabitants are forced to live.

14. I do not wish to burden my listeners with mere rhetoric. I do not even wish to force the supporters of South Africa's racist régime, and hence of its racist system, to examine either their consciences or their principles. But I wish to lay certain facts and figures before the Assembly.

15. We who debate in these halls and conference rooms about the present and the future history of mankind often forget the very people who are, or should be, at the centre of development. Indeed, the very people whose causes we espouse often become peripheral to the issues. To be specific, I am referring to the endless debates we have had on the evils of *apartheid*. There have been numerous conferences and seminars; countless resolutions have been adopted. On paper, the Government of South Africa stands condemned. In practice, it continues to flourish. On paper, there were seven resolutions at the thirty-fourth session alone which dealt with the question of *apartheid*. In practice, South Africa has continued to acquire arms despite the arms embargo.

16. Do we really have any idea of what exactly it is that *apartheid* does to its victims? We are not talking of issues which certain Western countries blow up into human rights scandals when it suits them politically to do so. We are not talking of denial of visas or even passports. We are not talking of various forms of discrimination which many citizens have to suffer in many countries. In South Africa, we are talking of the majority inhabitants who are not even citizens of their motherland where they have lived for centuries. We are talking of the majority inhabitants who have no right to vote in their own country. We are talking of the majority inhabitants who are forced to undergo transfer to areas designated black homelands, which are virtual concentration camps. Furthermore, the homelands policy makes the majority inhabitants a nation of migrants in their own country: they are required to have work permits to work outside the homeland. The policy destroys family life because spouses and children may not live with the wage-earner outside those camps. Without exploitation of this slave labour, South Africa's economic expansion would not be possible.

17. A conference organized by the South African Institute of Race Relations in July 1979 concluded that recent policy shifts were not designed to eliminate unemployment, poverty and discrimination but merely to shift them to the rural areas.

18. That is a subtle replacement of the disastrous policy of homelands for the majority inhabitants. Instead, the racist Botha régime is developing a new system of economic and political confederation of areas designated "black" and "white" areas. The mandate for elaborating guidelines for this refinement of the *apartheid* system has been given to a 60-member appointed body which, typically, does not include representatives of South Africa's majority inhabitants, although its work will affect every aspect of their lives. While this body will work on a political framework, the economic model will be developed by Botha's constellation committee. It is chaired by Gerhardus de Kock, who is eminently qualified for the post having spent three years in Washington on the Board of IMF. Obviously, Botha hopes to silence domestic and international criticism of *apartheid* by

giving it a new form. Many people, I am sure, will oblige Botha by falling into that trap.

19. The Code of Conduct of the European Community and the six Sullivan principles for international business dealings with South African companies, or companies doing business in South Africa, have not alleviated the conditions of life and work of the South African labourers. What was devised as a cure for *apartheid* has in fact become part of the diseased system. Foreign companies now justify their continued presence in South Africa by their status as signatories of the Sullivan code.

20. The violations of human rights taking place daily in South Africa far outweigh all the violations in other parts of the world which South Africa's Western friends are so fond of quoting. But where is the Western conscience, collectively or individually? Why is there a deafening silence when black schoolchildren are murdered by racist police in South Africa? Why is there silence when women are detained and tortured in South Africa? Why is there silence when children are kidnapped from neighbouring countries and taken to work on South African farms?

21. There is no running away from the truth; it is not a question of interpretation but of fact. Those who support South Africa in political, diplomatic, economic and military terms are also perpetrators of *apartheid* and racism. They support a system which denies the majority inhabitants of South Africa their human, civil, political and economic rights. They support a system which threatens the peace and stability of southern Africa. They support a system which is opposed by the entire third world. They support a system which Africa has sworn to eradicate.

22. *Apartheid* cannot be diluted, refined or changed; it must be destroyed. This is the position of the People's Republic of Angola, which has been enunciated by the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party, the vanguard Party which has led Angola along the path to independence and national reconstruction. And it is our support for the anti-*apartheid* struggle that has led to repeated armed invasions and attacks by the racist South African armed forces against the territory and the people of Angola. Pretoria has felt threatened ever since the emergence of progressive Governments in the area. It has followed the policy that the best method of defence is attack. No country has borne the brunt of Pretoria's racist militarism more than the People's Republic of Angola. Pretoria knows that my Government and indeed all the Angolan people are committed to the eradication of the *apartheid* system.

23. We believe that half-hearted cures are no cures at all. They will not stamp out the disease and might even kill the patient. Pretoria has been given enough time—too much time—by the international community. And Pretoria has blithely gone its way and disregarded the admonitions, even the condemnations, of the international community. We call for economic sanctions against South Africa, especially an oil embargo, as called for at the thirty-fifth session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at Freetown in June 1980 [see A/35/463 and Corr.1].

24. History does not respect colour. It is tragic that so often man does; he often bases his principles on

it. A confrontation is inevitable between the forces of liberation and those of oppression. The *apartheid* structure will be destroyed and, in the struggle, the People's Republic of Angola will give all its co-operation and help. Racism is an insult and an injury. How long can its victims continue to tolerate a system that deems them to be less than humans of another colour? That question is relevant not only in Pretoria but in many Western capitals as well. The continent of Africa is waiting to judge those who support *apartheid* by not hastening its destruction. Africa has already waited too long.

25. Until final victory, *a luta continua*.

26. Mr. COUMBASSA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): For a number of years it has been customary for us to come before the Assembly to indict a régime, the *apartheid* régime, which has become increasingly arrogant and aggressive.

27. Indeed, never in the history of the United Nations has a question aroused such universal condemnation as has *apartheid*. How, then, can we explain the survival of that discredited régime? Is it not that there is a clear distinction between what is said about *apartheid* here and what certain of us do elsewhere so that it may survive?

28. The gap each of us can see between this unanimous verbal condemnation and the meagre results obtained with regard to the implementation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions can be explained only by the support of Western powerful protectors and allies of South Africa.

29. South Africa continues to defy the United Nations in Namibia by trampling underfoot all the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and it exists and continues to exist only because it enjoys immeasurable support from the Western Powers. No statement can any longer mask this reality. As is often said in my country, if the hare dares to aim at the elephant, do not look in the direction in which the gun is aimed; look, rather, for the person who is holding the rifle butt for it.

30. The African peoples have learned to judge, but to judge henceforth by what is done and not by what is said. And what is being done? When the Security Council decided to impose an arms embargo against South Africa the Western Powers delivered the most sophisticated munitions factories to the *apartheid* régime. In response to the request of the international community to impose economic sanctions on the Fascist Pretoria régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, the Western Powers maintain that the investments they have in the *apartheid* citadel are in keeping with their desire to raise the standard of living of the African population. That makes us think of the famous father in Dante's *Divine Comedy* who had to devour his many children one after the other under the pretext that he might otherwise die of hunger and leave them orphans.

31. As are other matters, South Africa's ability to experiment with the nuclear weapon and to bring it to perfection is of the greatest concern to the States of the African continent. In that connexion we have read with obvious interest the reports which are concerned with the implementation of the Declaration

on the Denuclearization of Africa [A/35/402 and Corr.1], the inquiry into the reports concerning a nuclear explosion by South Africa [A/35/358] and recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [A/35/22/Add.2].

32. Consideration of those reports leads us to one formal conclusion: that it is impossible in practice to establish a clear distinction between technology for peaceful purposes and technology for military use. It is also undeniable that South Africa has been able to provide itself with nuclear potential. That is all the more evident in that it is the Western Powers themselves that are now vainly asking the racist régime not to pursue its nuclear test programme in the Kalahari desert.

33. The West has for decades extended its technical co-operation with the *apartheid* régime in many sectors, such as supplying assistance for the extraction, treatment and enrichment of uranium; training South African specialists in nuclear science; visits by Western experts to South Africa; the participation of that country in conferences on nuclear issues; the transfer of nuclear technology and the supply of reactors and other equipment.

34. The flagrant complicity of the Western Powers with the racist régime of South Africa is evidenced in connexion with sports too. Indeed, in spite of the adoption of the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports by the General Assembly [resolution 32/105 M], those Powers are doing nothing to prevent the development of sporting links between their nationals and the Pretoria régime.

35. Our delegation cannot understand why countries that support the thesis that sport and politics are two different things should have been the first to ask other countries to boycott the recent Olympic Games in Moscow. Two yardsticks are being used here: do as I say, not as I do, is a well-known saying.

36. Annex III to the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/35/36] is enlightening. Our delegation greatly appreciates the recent decisions of the Argentine Government in this sphere and encourages other States in the region to act similarly. We also appreciate the very effective co-operation of the Nordic countries, as well as their great contribution to the implementation of the mandate entrusted by the Organization to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We should like to express our earnest and warm congratulations to the dynamic Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Clark, on the unswerving dedication he has shown.

37. It is high time that the challenge of the racist minority of South Africa and its allies to the United Nations be met. For more than 20 years we have been going round in circles and we have now proved that we must look elsewhere for ways of meeting that challenge by giving priority to another approach to the question of the *apartheid* régime.

38. Although we appreciate the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to that crime, we are bound to note that, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré has constantly proposed at all the sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, if the

struggle against the *apartheid* régime is to be successful, the following measures are necessary: first, we must get rid of the contradictions among all those who are determined to ensure the liberation of South Africa by strengthening our unity, the Organization and our ability to carry on the struggle, including armed struggle; secondly, we must strengthen our common views on the strategy and tactics to be used in the priority political, financial, diplomatic and military support for the legitimate struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples under the courageous leadership of their liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. We remain convinced that this is how the historic victory over the *apartheid* régime will be achieved.

39. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): For the Government of South Africa 1948 was a landmark year. In that inglorious year South Africa inaugurated the set of policies that comprise the practice of *apartheid*. A seamless web of laws, rules and regulations covering every aspect of South African communal life—political, economic and social—firmly established the most thorough and systematic example of racial discrimination ever conceived in the history of mankind.

40. To say that racial discrimination in the form of *apartheid* violates the principles of the Charter of the United Nations is to state the obvious. With or without the Charter, however, racial discrimination constitutes a violation of every known norm of conduct sanctified in religion, philosophy, custom and civilized tradition. The practice of racism is evil to the core, an affront to the dignity of the human person and an offence to human decency.

41. The passion of universal moral indignation that *apartheid* has evoked should therefore surprise no one, including its callous practitioners. Every year for the last three decades the United Nations has adopted resolutions persuading, appealing and finally condemning the Government of South Africa in its heedless pursuit of racism and massive oppression. To all of these, South Africa has turned a deaf ear. The impenitent Government sitting in Pretoria has ignored, defied and mocked the world Organization and today, in the most ominous development of all, it threatens, by the use of its potential for nuclear armament, to use force to maintain itself in power and thus perpetuate the practice of *apartheid*. Whereas before South Africa claimed that *apartheid* was a domestic problem, today, as a result of its own actions, it can no longer make any such claims, which were invalid to begin with. South Africa has become a threat to the peace of continental Africa and a threat to international security.

42. I suggest that for South Africa the eleventh hour has struck.

43. We have before us the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22 and Add.1-3]. They must be judged in the context of a decision by the United Nations aimed at the complete isolation of South Africa through the imposition of total sanctions. As a result of rapid developments in southern Africa—namely, the independence of Zim-

babwe and the increasing success of revolutionaries in South Africa—and the need to take account of these developments, the projected International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa has been postponed. But I remind the Assembly that the postponement is not an admission of failure. On the contrary, that Conference has been postponed in order to ensure that the universal campaign against South Africa will be elevated to a higher plateau and a new level of intensity.

44. The reports contain positive and negative elements, suggesting the need for more comprehensive co-operation on the part of Member States in the struggle against *apartheid*. Some Member States have complied with United Nations resolutions on trade, investments, military and diplomatic relations and sport. South Africa has been expelled from many intergovernmental organizations, and the massive information campaign has been particularly successful. The Philippine delegation supports maximum pressure along these lines.

45. It is a matter of extreme regret, however, that a few countries, contrary to their commitments, not only continue their relations with South Africa, but have in some areas increased those relations to a significant degree. This amounts to enhancing the strength of South Africa and thus directly contributes to that country's capacity to perpetuate *apartheid*. We urge those countries to refrain from further actions which negate the very purposes of the United Nations commitment to the total elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa. In the long run, the extirpation of the scourge of *apartheid* will work as much in their own interests as in the interests of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and, of course, in the interests of world peace and stability.

46. In South Africa itself, there are three developments of considerable importance. The first is the mounting activities of revolutionaries. The second is the measurable increase in the level of repression. And the third is the incontrovertible evidence of the militaristic character of the South African régime. Taken together, this is a potent mixture. Somewhere along the line the flash-point of danger will be reached, with incalculable consequences spreading well beyond the narrow confines of South Africa.

47. Two options remain open to South Africa. It can decide to choose the road to peaceful change by dismantling the entire apparatus which supports *apartheid*. The basic thrust of the United Nations is in this direction—to apply pressure to permit the forces for peaceful change to find solutions to a problem that remains insoluble only because Pretoria wilfully ignores the voices of reason. Pretoria must recognize that fortress South Africa, no matter how strong—and it is not that strong—cannot stand alone against the world. The example of Zimbabwe suggests that peaceful change is possible, that the restoration of the moral order is achievable, that the sovereign rights of peoples can be reclaimed through political and diplomatic solutions and that multiracial societies can exist, as they do in many parts of the world, with full respect for the rights of all.

48. The second option for South Africa is to persist in its ill-chosen course in the mistaken belief that

force is the real foundation of stability. If South Africa believes this, then it has made its own appointment with disaster. South Africa is built on sand and its entire artificial structure will crumble in ruin, as sooner or later it must.

49. Today, South Africa can feel the gathering storm. The premonitory signal in Sharpeville turned into a raging revolution in Soweto. To the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Soweto is the first wave in an irresistible tide towards independence. As much as we deplore violence, it is impossible to deny the right of peoples to regain their birthright. Recent events in South Africa involving terror and counter-terror should make the message to South Africa crystal clear: South Africa is sitting on top of a volcano.

50. All over the dark continent, the winds of change are blowing and nowhere more mightily than in South Africa. It must make its choice before it is too late. If it does not, that bastion of racism, of a practice that is repugnant to the moral sense and the soundest instincts of man, South Africa, may well be making its last, futile stand.

51. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): At this point in the exhaustive discussion to which the General Assembly has devoted several days relating to the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, a question which has been before the United Nations since its creation, my delegation, whose position is well known, would once again like to speak of all the repugnance and horror that the *apartheid* régime inspires in it, and we should like to emphasize that it is urgently necessary to proceed to its total and definitive elimination.

52. The persistence in Africa of this odious system of discrimination racial oppression imposed by a white illegal governing minority which proclaims itself to be superior when compared to the overwhelming majority of the African populations which have been decreed to be naturally inferior and debased to the status of foreigners and slaves condemned to wander in their own country, has become the most humiliating challenge and the shame of our time.

53. Over and above its ritualistic aspects, the intense discussion which is taking place here, and which has been going on for more than three decades, testifies to the constant concern of the international community about this serious problem. Indeed, despite the international community's reprobation and unanimous condemnation of *apartheid*, each day we receive news of further atrocious incidents of humiliation, torture and assassination of the black people in South Africa. And it should be emphasized that the fringe of white liberals, laymen or members of the clergy who oppose and struggle against the hateful system are victims of the same oppression.

54. This is an unprecedented challenge, but one which unfortunately is becoming more widespread in the Organization, whose authority and mandatory decisions are being increasingly flouted. This is nothing more or less than a test of force engaged in by the Pretoria racist minority against all the Governments which are represented here and which bring together within the Organization the value systems that are



defined in the Charter and that we are committed to promote and defend.

55. We must therefore vigorously respond to this aggressive challenge, which is putting the Organization to an intolerable test. To do that we must fill the gap that exists in the conduct of many States between their condemnation of *apartheid* and the political will to put into effect the indispensable measures jointly agreed to in order to eliminate *apartheid* once and for all.

56. It is true that the historical circumstances are such that, because of the bipolarization of international relations, South Africa benefits from an advantageous situation at the confluence of the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, one of the extremely sensitive interfaces of the spheres of influence of the Powers. Because of its varied, immense mineral wealth, including that which it is pillaging in Namibia, and because of its important economic, financial and military interests, with the Western countries in particular, South Africa—which claims to be a part of the so-called free world—regards itself as an outpost, an indispensable link in the chain ensuring Western security in that part of the world. But those ideological claims deliberately overlook the fact that the value systems of the European West, whether liberal or socialist, condemn racism and racial discrimination. Thus, these claims are nothing other than poor excuses, crude camouflage behind which the Pretoria racist régime wishes to conceal its international discredit.

57. It cannot be denied that the *apartheid* régime would collapse like a house of cards were it not for the interplay of the great interests which we have just mentioned and which lead the Powers to which the international community has entrusted particular responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security to deal with South Africa as an equal. That is the crux of the problem, the basis of the lamentable impotence that the Organization has experienced since the very moment when the question of *apartheid* came before it. That is why South Africa continues to trample underfoot the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the subject. That explains South Africa's arrogance towards the international community. The persistence of its illegal occupation of Namibia is one piece of proof, among others, of that fact—just as are the acts of aggression and intimidation it constantly perpetrates against the neighbouring States, particularly Angola and Zambia.

58. Domestically, *apartheid*—confronted by the growing resistance of all sections of the population—is becoming increasingly oppressive, as is emphasized in the excellent reports of the Special Committee now before us.

59. I would take this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee, and particularly its Chairman, Mr. Clark, the representative of Nigeria, not only on the valuable information and recommendations contained in the reports, but also on his dynamic action during the past year against the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. Thanks to these reports and the testimony widely disseminated in the international press, we know that the Pretoria racist régime has replied with brutal repression to the determination of the peoples it is oppressing, to their determination to emerge from

slavery and exercise their inalienable right to genuine self-determination, under the leadership of the liberation movements. The murder of schoolchildren and women, the arrest of thousands of persons, particularly students, workers, journalists and clergymen, testify to the disarray and fear that have seized the white minority. According to a study made by a private foundation, one adult out of four is arrested each year in the black city of Soweto. Sham trials, which invariably lead to severe and arbitrary sentences, as well as the torture and other ill treatment of political prisoners, the violation of the trade-union rights of workers and the attempts to muffle the press, are the kinds of criminal acts constantly engaged in by the Pretoria régime to perpetuate its repugnant political system.

60. What can be done to correct that dangerous situation? To reply to that question, many initiatives have been taken over the past three years to ensure a peaceful change in the inhuman system and to bring about a multiracial, democratic society in South Africa.

61. My delegation would merely recall the measures advocated in the Lusaka Manifesto,<sup>1</sup> which the Assembly endorsed after they had been submitted to it by the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo.<sup>2</sup> Since that appeal to reason has not been heeded by the advocates of *apartheid*, there is no other option but to encourage the oppressed people of South Africa to continue and intensify the struggle they are waging by all the means at their disposal, with the support of the international community, for the elimination of *apartheid*. It was in that spirit that at the thirty-fourth session the General Assembly adopted 18 resolutions condemning *apartheid* in all its aspects and indicating the ways and means to put an end to it. One might ask whether these various measures have been put into effect.

62. According to a certain opinion, those recommendations have had the effect of bringing about changes which have been reported at great length in the propaganda organs of Pretoria. To be sure, we have observed a certain evolution in the internal situation. It is not precisely the same as it was before because of the joint effect of international pressure, demonstrations and, in particular, the severe blows dealt the racist régime by the national liberation movements, ANC and PAC. Basically, however, it has not been changed.

63. For my delegation, this is merely window dressing designed to give the barbarous system of *apartheid* a human face. The fact is that the system cannot be reformed. *Apartheid* in all its forms must be abolished. Indeed, how can we accommodate ourselves to its existence when we have become acutely aware of the need for equality and interdependence among peoples throughout the world?

64. The struggle of the South African liberation movements draws its legitimacy from the principles and ideals of the Charter. *Apartheid* is one of the most brutal, most perverted and most despicable forms of violence. This is why, despite our repugnance for

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1780th meeting, paras. 2-32.

violence as a means of political struggle, we have finally come to understand that the liberation movements in South Africa, which Cameroon supports, Africa had no other means of resisting and fighting.

65. On the international level we understand that it is necessary to mobilize public opinion, trade unions, political parties, parliamentary assemblies, religious and legal bodies, student associations and all kinds of non-governmental organizations resolutely to oppose this policy of *apartheid* by means of concrete actions.

66. Everything should be done so as to ensure that this régime is completely isolated and that no Government or external body co-operates with the régime of Pretoria. In particular, all nuclear co-operation, all investments, all trade, all technological transfers, all air and maritime communication and all cultural, scientific and sports co-operation must be discouraged.

67. Although we firmly support all the recommendations of the Special Committee contained in its report, my delegation hopes that the General Assembly will by certain practical measures take immediate action to ensure the effective implementation of those recommendations.

68. We feel that it is appropriate to call upon the President of the Assembly to seize the Security Council of this matter without delay so as to invite it to impose against South Africa compulsory economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, in accordance with the provisions stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter.

69. Indeed, by its criminal policy and actions perpetrated against the majority of the peoples that it dominates, by its illegal presence in Namibia and the strengthening of its military occupation of that international Territory by means of subversion and destabilization, by sowing terror in the region and, finally, by its acts of aggression perpetrated against neighbouring African States, the régime of Pretoria continues to represent a constant threat to international peace and security and thereby falls within the purview of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

70. We venture to hope that all the States entrusted by that Charter with particular responsibilities with regard to the maintenance of peace will finally understand that it is neither in their interest nor in that of peace to block the action of the Council with regard to such a crucial question that wounds the universal conscience and, indeed, calls in question the fundamental principles of the Organization.

71. Whatever may occur, we should like to make an urgent appeal to all States to adopt severe unilateral measures against the repugnant policy of Pretoria. The breaking of all relations with South Africa and the strict implementation of sanctions appeal indispensable in view of the fact that all actions taken for the past 30 years so as to bring about change have been in vain. In so far as Cameroon is concerned, we will continue to implement the provisions that we have applied since we achieved independence so as to prohibit any co-operation with South Africa.

72. We must mobilize international opinion and all energetic forces to compel South Africa to terminate repression and to initiate a process leading to self-determination and the establishment of true democracy in that part of the world so that there will be a multi-

racial society based on the rule of the majority. We must do all within our power to ensure that the racist and illegal minority of Pretoria abandons its punishment of political prisoners and the sentences it has arbitrarily imposed on opponents of *apartheid* under the Terrorism Act.

73. We must wage an active campaign so as to bring about the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. In order to ensure the success of such action, the political will and the support of the Governments here represented are indispensable.

74. This is why we appeal to them to give heed to what we are saying and to translate into deeds the ever growing range of measures adopted over the past 30 years so as to ensure the total elimination of this scourge *apartheid* from our planet.

75. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): *Apartheid* is a deadly human poison. Because of the persistence of *apartheid*, those who are for and those against mankind are pitted against each other, like an element and its opposite, each excluding the other so radically that their coexistence can only be felt as a collective nightmare of the entire human race. By dint of *apartheid* suffered or tolerated in South Africa, the human person bears within himself the seed of his own destruction.

76. What is happening in South Africa and what gives each of us pause at every moment is a totalitarian war being waged against human beings. This is why the international community has proclaimed *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity.

77. This heinous policy of racial segregation inspires revulsion in all people. But above and beyond the violation of individual human rights, *apartheid* also represents—and we might say first and foremost—a negation of collective human rights as a form of political power. It is a system of government based upon the oppression and exploitation of the South African people. Presented as a policy of separate development, it is really systematic repression. *Apartheid* is based on a supposed hierarchy of races and manifests itself therefore in a minority régime of institutionalized racism.

78. The institutionalized violence of authority is called "order" there, that is, a diabolically consistent system to legalize absolute oppression and to divide 20 million human beings.

79. What is raging so intolerably in South Africa is not a civil war in the sense that we normally understand it, as a conflict between citizens of the same country. Citizenship confers the same rights and duties on each and every citizen. The entire *apartheid* régime, on the contrary, is based on the negation, not only of the equality of rights and duties, but of the very existence of a citizen and the negation even of the existence of a human being.

80. So is it a colonial type of conflict? To be sure, this "raceocracy" does possess the essential colonial characteristics. People coming from elsewhere and establishing themselves in settlements have done nothing, quite the contrary, for many decades to make the genuine inhabitants of the South African land forget that they, the settlers, are anything other than conquerors and a race apart. They have peopled a territory

and subjugated a people through the sophisticated development of a political, legal and police arsenal, which makes the indigenous inhabitants into non-persons. The South African blacks are not only superfluous in their own country; they do not exist.

81. In view of this condition of "legal non-existence", we are witnessing in South Africa something more than a colonial type of conflict, at a time when the conquests of the vast liberation movement have been moulding a world gradually rid of the principle of "might makes right".

82. The internal logic of this concept of race and of colour, expressed in a dizzying glorification of the superiority of the conqueror has in addition created the elements of a latent international war through constant aggression by the Pretoria authorities against neighbouring States.

83. Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia are regularly paying their tribute, in human lives and in destruction of all kinds, to this South African political monster constantly egged on by its hegemonistic aspirations. The immediate object of these terrorist State operations against neighbouring countries remains the vain quest for the annihilation of the resistance by the South African and Namibian peoples. But above and beyond this short-term objective, the Pretoria régime is attempting to carry out its plans to make the entire southern part of the African continent its satellite.

84. As well as being civil war, colonial war, intra-continental war, international war, the arrogant policy of the South African Government is also, as we have been reminded, a war against mankind by the crime against mankind that *apartheid* represents. This scourge is an urgent categorical warning to our reason and our conscience, even if and especially if some, overcome by bitter discouragement, no longer believe that the racist South African demon can be exorcised, and have let their faith grow cold in the performance of age-old rituals.

85. But in this multifaceted war, waged against the South African people, against neighbouring States and against the human race, whose very nature is defied, *apartheid* has been benefiting from powerful outside support and in this not the least active have been the cosmopolitan enterprises, agents of an anonymous and stateless economy, now on a world-wide scale and to a greater or lesser degree attached to certain prevailing nations.

86. The very close relations of interest which some countries have with South Africa have greatly strengthened the ability of the racist régime to defy the international community. They constitute the major obstacle to the implementation of sanctions, however limited, that has been agreed upon by the United Nations.

87. This brief analysis shows that *apartheid* cannot be interpreted solely from the standpoint of individual human rights violations, and even less can it be reduced merely to that dimension.

88. The violations of South African human rights are in reality nothing but a by-product of an ideology of exploitation and of power. To attempt to focus consideration of the situation in South Africa only on the

aspect of human rights violations would be deliberately to minimize the tragedy endured by the South African people and to give it the appearance of a temporary transgression of the norms governing any human society. This would also be tantamount to giving credence to the idea that the *apartheid* régime is likely to modify itself and become tolerable, thanks to a few reforms which would leave intact its major aspects.

89. It is with this in view that we should interpret both the recent decisions taken by the Pretoria leadership, presented as likely to improve the living conditions of the South African people, and the promulgation by some Western Powers of "codes of conduct", attributing their multifaceted co-operation with the Pretoria racist régime to generous motives which are denied by the facts.

90. Actually, far from diminishing, repression against the South African people has been developing, just as there has been an increase in the over-exploitation of its labour force, to the benefit of the racist minority, foreign business interests and certain Western Powers.

91. The present debate is unfolding at a crucial moment at which the antagonistic forces in southern Africa are erupting more fiercely than ever. The institutional violence of Pretoria, more intensified than ever, is getting an ever-stronger response in the revolutionary violence of black South African patriots and their friends, who are today more numerous and better organized within the totalitarian universe of the Pretoria régime, which is reacting in turn with increasing repressive violence in every sphere.

92. The laws of violence are drastic in their intermeshing, their linkage, and in the way they nourish each other, to the point at which liberating revolutionary violence, born of institutional violence and galvanized by repressive violence, will triumph over the infernal cycle.

93. History has shown that when a people is denied in its own identity and banished in its own homeland, revolutionary violence becomes imperative and is a question of the safeguarding of human dignity and values.

94. The South African people took up the challenge a long time ago and began a long national liberation struggle that alone can ensure its real emancipation. If Sharpeville sounded a warning, Soweto, a few years later, confirmed the determination of the South African people to recover its rights by whatever means. Today, thousands of students and schoolchildren are showing their opposition to the *apartheid* system. Their movement has broadened that of the workers, who, by means of strikes, not only refuse to accept their inhuman working conditions but, above all, challenge the very régime which imposes them.

95. The South African national liberation movement is resolutely committed to the path of armed struggle, the only means of liberating its country from racist oppression. We pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its Chairman, Mr. Clark, for having caused the echo of that struggle of the South African people for the salvation of their homeland and also for the salvation of mankind to reverberate at the level of the international community.



96. From arbitrary arrests to torture, from persecution to emergency legislation—such as the infamous decree on terrorism and acts against internal security—from sham trials to summary executions, from black slave traders' practices to penning people up in evil-smelling shanty-towns, from slow death in the bantustans to genocide in the reservations: a people bears unimaginable suffering to hold on to a breath of life and freedom.

97. The ideology of the racist régime of Pretoria is such that we cannot reasonably expect to bring the leaders of that régime to a constructive dialogue which could lead to reform of its anachronistic and ossified internal structures. Indeed, it is part of the logic of that system's philosophy that it can only be broken down by violence responding to its own violence.

98. To harbour any illusions about internal evolution in that country by means of dialogue has always been an academic and negative exercise and for nearly three decades and almost as if this were its aim, dialogue has only led to the strengthening of the oppressive structures and has enabled the Pretoria racists to defy the entire world. It is unfortunately clear and proved beyond doubt that there is a total lack of communication with the South African régime.

99. It is a fact that the sensitivity of the international community on the question of *apartheid* has been increasingly heightened as a result of the action of those of its members that have emerged from the colonial night, and that increased attention has been given to developments in the situation in southern Africa.

100. Nevertheless, we must note that United Nations action has not been based on the joint political will of all Member States or taken the form of a coherent approach that would respond to all the challenges of the policy of *apartheid*. United Nations action has been marked by powerlessness and has long been limited to verbal condemnation.

101. The international community has very often confined itself to laboriously devising replies without real impact each time the Pretoria régime has faced it with a new fait accompli. The process of deterioration of the situation can thus only accelerate.

102. In this connexion, the impressive number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions devoted to all the aspects of this question, while reflecting an awareness of the growing intensity of the threat to international peace and security posed by the Pretoria régime, none the less shows the disappointing limits of United Nations action.

103. Thus, the Security Council, unfortunately, has often found itself incapable of taking any decision at all because of the use of the veto by three of its members, sometimes even all at the same time. Because of this the Security Council, which the Charter has entrusted with the primary function of the maintenance of international peace and security, has not been able to discharge its responsibilities. In the few cases where that body has been able unanimously to adopt a resolution, applying that resolution has turned out to be impossible both because of its rejection by the Pretoria leaders, isolated in arrogant disdain, and because of the behaviour of certain permanent members of the

Council who shirk the fulfilment of commitments into which they entered freely.

104. Resolution 181 (1963), in which the Security Council requested all States to end arms shipments to the Pretoria régime, was in fact addressed to States which can be easily identified. Since 1963, that resolution has been thwarted by those very States that permitted its adoption, by invoking a skilful distinction between types of armaments, whereas any armaments furnished to South Africa undoubtedly help it in its repression of the South African people and in its aggression against peoples of the region.

105. In 1977 the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 418 (1977), in which it decided, this time in more detailed and specific terms, on an embargo on all armaments for South Africa.

106. The struggling South African people and all African States, which had welcomed that embargo as a concrete act intended to weaken the murderous arm of the racist Pretoria régime, did not see any kind of reduction of South African arsenals, but on the contrary, unfortunately, an increase in and further development of the infernal war machine, endowed henceforth with a nuclear capability.

107. It is a sad paradox that a régime which on many occasions has proved its determination to carry out aggressive acts should benefit from all the technological assistance and scientific co-operation necessary for complete mastery of the nuclear cycle. Suspect from the outset, the arguments developed in favour of this nuclear technological assistance to South Africa could not fail to alarm us, since it sought to make us believe in an exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy by a régime which has made aggression an institutionalized practice.

108. South Africa's acquisition of nuclear armaments is therefore a new defiance of Africa, whose Heads of States, at the time of the birth of the OAU, proclaimed in a solemn declaration their determination to ban nuclear arms from the African continent for ever.<sup>3</sup> The crossing of the nuclear threshold by South Africa's military potential thus introduces a new and even more dangerous dimension into the threat to world peace.

109. The international community is today in a position to assess the inadequacy of measures already adopted since the leaders in Pretoria are more than ever immune to its injunctions. In the face of such an attitude, any procrastination, any partial measure, can only strengthen the intransigence of the Pretoria régime and consolidate it in its rebellion.

110. The General Assembly has already indicated the path of firmness. By excluding South Africa from the Organization, the Assembly has put an end to the intolerable anomaly which consisted in allowing the representatives of a minority to speak here on behalf of a people to which it denies all rights. It is imperative that the international community maintain its pressure on the Pretoria régime in order to compel it to restore the legitimate rights of the South African people.

<sup>3</sup> Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its first session in July 1964. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

111. For their part, Africa and progressive forces the world over fully support a national liberation struggle the justice and outcome of which they do not doubt. The struggle of the South African people is shaking the foundations of the proud citadel of *apartheid*. The solidarity of peoples that love justice and freedom is forcing the Pretoria régime into isolation.

112. It remains for the United Nations resolutely to commit the weight of its authority so that at last a people which has exercised its right to use violence to respond to the violation of its rights may be restored by the triumph of the force of right over the right of force.

113. To that end, the Charter of the United Nations provides for a number of mandatory measures, ranging from the application of economic sanctions to the use of force.

114. The countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have already discharged their responsibilities by decreeing an oil embargo against the Pretoria régime. For its part, the General Assembly has recommended that all Member States ban oil exports to South Africa. It is now up to the Security Council to endorse that measure so as to give it binding force in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

115. We must also consider measures against individuals and corporations which continue to obtain oil for South Africa.

116. We can help to reduce the resources available to Pretoria's war machine and its arsenal of repression. This will result in the reduction of tension in the region.

117. The Security Council for its part is duty bound to forbid any technological assistance which might make possible the development of South Africa's military industry, just as it must put an end to public and private foreign investment in South Africa.

118. By its nature, its scope and its constant development, *apartheid* represents a serious and constant threat to international peace and security.

119. Africa, in unanimity and confident of the justness of the cause of the South African people, is convinced that that people is fighting for everyone, and the South African régime against everyone.

120. Africa, whose unity is being damaged and the realization of whose aspirations to freedom and progress is being hampered by *apartheid*, is resolved to commit all of its energies to the struggle side by side with the South African people.

121. It is just such a commitment that that people has a right to expect from the international community as a whole.

122. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): No propaganda can conceal the stubborn, cruel and inhuman persistence of the *apartheid* system, its arrogant defiance of the United Nations and the numerous lengthy resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. It is because of this persistence in error and this racist oppression that the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin wishes once again, after so many previous speakers, to make its modest contribution to this debate, which, we hope, will at

last awaken the consciences of some and provide our oppressed and humiliated brothers of South Africa genuine solidarity in real terms, making it possible for them to achieve progress in their heroic struggle against an institution in which only a few decades before the year 2000 the slavery and nazism of a bygone era still have an authentic following.

123. In the face of this barbarous scandal, it will never be in vain to repeat our dignified and resolute rejection of an historical enterprise which is oppressing, exploiting, torturing, imprisoning and assassinating people who have been colonized on their own land and in their own country confined to immense ghettos of shame and misery.

124. The *apartheid* institutional, police and economic machinery has enacted laws engendering a permanent state of racial exclusion and warfare, which the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has once again clearly and accurately described. In all aspects of daily life and in all facets of their existence, our black brothers of South Africa are confronting aggression at the hands of a system, which, in our view, has one basic merit of exposing the hypocrisy of major accomplices and zealous protectors who have interests at stake; of those, in fact, whose main concern here and elsewhere is precisely eloquently to expound the imperative need to defend fundamental and sacred human rights everywhere and at all times and to promote basic democratic freedoms throughout the world.

125. Indeed, our delegation believes that the contemporary spectacle of the wilful blindness and conventional amnesia of the eloquent attackers of the nazism of yesteryear and of fascism when confronted with the racist exploits of the Pretoria régime should be viewed by the Organization with great sadness and utmost disgust. I shall recall two historical facts the better to illustrate our purpose.

126. Hertzog, a former Prime Minister in Pretoria, referring to German National Socialism, stated that it was in keeping with the moral and religious views of the Afrikaner and that, indeed, he considered that the constitution of the old Republic of the Free State was founded upon such views. John Vorster, another South African leader, was an eminent member of the Ossewa Brandwag, whose programme, as we know, was to struggle under the strict Nazi model against "the British Empire, the capitalists, war, the communists, the Jews, the parliamentary parties and systems... and trade unions". That individual, who in 1942 was condemned to 17 months' imprisonment because of pro-Nazi activities, became Prime Minister and exercised that lofty political function until his election to the post of President of the Republic.

127. It is therefore the Republic and the reign of those notorious Nazis that many important Western Governments today refuse to isolate or to punish. Instead they protect them by their silence, their strategic calculations and the callous cynicism of their stock markets.

128. However, nothing can any longer stifle or thwart the daily struggle waged under various forms by our brothers of South Africa. Students and workers and heroic urban guerrillas are thus with courage and determination confronting the Fascist colonialism of

Pretoria. An entire people is mobilizing, demonstrating and preparing to deal increasingly decisive and mortal blows to a war machine which will inevitably meet the fate of all armies of occupation and colonial oppression in history. Viet Nam, Algeria, the former Portuguese colonies and, more recently, Zimbabwe are ample proof of this and those examples should lead certain Western and South African strategists to display greater humility and clear-sightedness.

129. The basic factor for change and the decisive element of any solution to the South African problem therefore resides in the national democratic liberation struggle of our black brothers in South Africa. And it is in that struggle, which is expanding, intensifying and becoming more radical, that our delegation finds reason for comfort and hope.

130. The constantly active, artful and hypocritical complicity of some in the West is consolidating the Pretoria régime by subsidizing it and carrying on much extremely profitable trade with it.

131. But there is something even more serious today. Thanks to the strategic importance of the South African base at Simonstown, the Pretoria régime is displaying Western and anti-communist credentials and, in return, it receives the benevolence and gratitude of many Western official circles and military committees. As a privileged strategic partner, South Africa can therefore continue with impunity to defy the Organization and flout resolutions so long as Western solidarity confers upon it a primary military role.

132. Moreover, Pretoria has already decided to resort to nuclear blackmail of the African peoples and no one can any longer seriously deny the fact that the South African régime indeed possesses a nuclear weapon. We should like to add to the particularly full and revealing report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* the fearful and revealing replies of the South African Minister of Defence to questions from a correspondent of *Newsweek* in its 29 September 1980 issue. When asked whether South Africa has the capability to produce nuclear weapons, he said that it would be very bad nuclear philosophy to answer "yes" or "no". When asked under what circumstances South Africa would use nuclear weapons, he said that as a country with a nuclear capability, it would be very stupid not to use it if nuclear weapons were needed as the last resort to defend oneself.

133. The following confirmation appeared in *The Star* of 29 September 1980:

"South African nuclear power: a threat to world peace. South Africa will within five years produce 50 tons of enriched uranium a year through a unique space-age battery of gigantic 'spindryers' similar in principle to those in home washing machines.

"The ultra-secret enrichment process—once claimed to be the cheapest in the world—has been partly revealed for the first time in a public document published by the Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR) at Valindaba, near Hartbeespoort Dam.

"The process is not radically new. It is a variation of the centrifuge system experimented with in several European countries over many years. From the first details provided by UCOR it appears, according to one leading nuclear scientist, Professor

Friedel Sellschop of Wits University, that the spindrying method of uranium enrichment could be used in principle to manufacture materials for a nuclear bomb—but very slowly and at enormous cost in money, time and power'."<sup>4</sup>

134. In order to acquire this nuclear capability South Africa has benefited from the undeniable complicity of the West and of Israel through technological support and clandestine deals.

135. Therefore we have our new reasons for concern on the one hand and on the other the categorical refusal of those who so solemnly affirm their passion for human rights so apply to South Africa the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. When we see, for example, that in areas that pose so little danger to their vital interests as the sporting sphere they put forward the argument of the popularity of certain competitions or of tourism, as a reason for refusing to ban any exchanges with South Africa, we realize the real extent of their anti-racist convictions.

136. At this session the Assembly will probably adopt many new resolutions on *apartheid*. It will again declare, recommend and demand. It will condemn with legitimate energy South Africa's constant aggression against Angola and other front-line States. It will indicate to the international community the only path to follow to confront the Pretoria régime; that of mandatory sanctions in accordance with the letter and the principles of the Charter. Our delegation remains convinced that fundamentally the determination, mobilization, organization and implacable struggle of our brothers in South Africa will decide the future of a barbarism that has been made law and a historical monstrosity that has been made a system in Pretoria. As long as the freedom fighters follow the hard but glorious path that Nelson Mandela and so many anonymous and heroic militants have marked out for them, the victory over *apartheid* and the liberation of South Africa are certain.

137. We are ready for the revolution; the struggle continues.

138. Mr. DORR (Ireland): The Ambassador of Luxembourg has already spoken on this issue on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, including Ireland [61st meeting]. I should like to speak here further on behalf of the Irish delegation to put our views on record in this debate in somewhat greater detail.

139. For 28 years now, since 1952, the Assembly has discussed in one form or another the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa. Each year delegation after delegation comes to this rostrum to attack the racist policies of that country. The denunciations are vehement and trenchant. Indeed, on no other issue is there such unanimity in the Assembly. Irrespective of ideological or political differences among us we all condemn *apartheid*.

140. Why? At first sight the answer is obvious. Injustice, repression and a stunting of opportunity for a whole people seem to be a necessary part of life in South Africa under the policy of *apartheid*. But human rights are violated elsewhere. There are

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in English by the speaker.

great injustices and much human suffering and the Assembly does not, indeed, perhaps cannot address itself to all these issues wherever they arise.

141. What is it then that gives us a special right to criticize South Africa and its policies? Are we being selective in the vehemence of our attack? Those are questions that will, no doubt, seem purely rhetorical to most of us here and certainly to all those representatives who, if they lived in South Africa, would themselves suffer discrimination under its laws. But they are questions that are still raised at times outside the Assembly by those who may deplore *apartheid* but do not always fully appreciate how fundamental is the challenge that system offers to the very basis of human rights.

142. Let us therefore be quite clear in our response. There is indeed much injustice elsewhere in the world and human rights are violated in many countries. We cannot easily weigh human suffering in a balance to decide where it is greatest. But South Africa is different. For nowhere else on earth today is there a society which openly, explicitly and as a matter of public policy has tried to build its political system on race. It is that basic idea, central to the *apartheid* system, which has a special resonance and which awakens the most disturbing echoes for all of us in the Assembly. Injustice and the repression of a majority by a minority are part of daily life in South Africa. But the essential aspect of South Africa's polity, which distinguishes it from any other case where human rights are violated, is its central concept. In South Africa the race of an individual irrevocably decides his or her destiny and a white authority can decide once and for all on the basis of colour what place that person will have in the life of the community.

143. These are concepts that we have heard before and it is the memory of where they lead that gives them a peculiar and very special resonance now. We are only one generation removed from a war and from an experience of human degradation on a scale not seen before in human history. Those events resulted from a previous effort to make racial theories the basis for the organization of human society. We cannot now plead ignorance of where they lead. To our shame, they were theories that developed within Western culture as an aberration and a perversion of its best values. All the more reason, therefore, why all of us who speak out of that background must flatly repudiate those in South Africa who claim to stand for our values while re-establishing racial theories as a basis for the organization of society. Those are ghosts which must not walk again.

144. But, white South Africa will claim, this is unfair on two counts. First, *apartheid* is, they say, a policy of separation—of separate development in separate homelands for people of different ethnic origins and not necessarily a policy of discrimination; and secondly, there is in any case change and reform within the system and this has now done much to make it acceptable. We outsiders, they say, do not know the reality.

145. As to the first of these points, it is not easy to know whether the belief—that *apartheid* aims at no more than a simple separation of peoples—is sincerely held by some in white South Africa, or whether it is

simply an attempt to put an acceptable face on the unacceptable. But whether the belief is genuinely held or not, it is clearly belied by the reality of life in South Africa.

146. In the name of "separate development", 4 million whites have a complete monopoly of political, social and economic power; 19 million blacks and, indeed, several million people of mixed race are completely disenfranchised. Not only have they no political representation whatever, but they are subjected to daily indignities in their own country because of a convenient theory which makes them strangers there and which would eventually assign them to separate homelands. The result is that generation after generation of blacks grow up under a system which stunts their lives and limits and circumscribes the future of their children—a system which they had no hand in establishing. How can white South Africa plead that this is simply separation for mutual benefit and not discrimination?

147. It is inevitable that such a system can be maintained only through repression. There is no other way in which 4 million could continue to impose their will on 19 million who had, and have, no voice whatever in the system under which they must live. In practice, the effort to maintain this system has led to a tangled, indeed, ludicrous web of pass laws, marriage laws and other examples of major and of so-called petty *apartheid*, all to repress the majority; and it has led to the detention of hundreds of long-term political prisoners in South African jails under harsh conditions.

148. Underlying all this, we are asked to believe, is the theory that the black majority—more than four times greater than the white population—are really no more than temporary residents in South Africa pending the establishment of so-called homelands where they will really have a right to self-expression. Most, in fact, have never seen these "homelands" and probably never will. At best these homelands would, if fully established, assign something like 13 per cent of the land to the 75 per cent of the population which is black, leaving the remaining 87 per cent of the land and proportionately more of the resources of the country to the white population.

149. Is it any wonder that the world rejects the argument that *apartheid* is a policy of benevolent separation of peoples who do not really want to live together? Is it any wonder that the world questions the *bona fides* of white South Africa which makes this claim? But, white South Africa will claim, there have been changes and reforms; many aspects of so-called petty *apartheid* are being abolished; and the conditions of life in black South Africa are being improved—in some cases as a result of internal economic pressures in society, in others as a matter of deliberate government policy. So says white South Africa.

150. It may be that there has been some change; and if there has we would wish to encourage it. But in view of the tenacity of purpose and the intransigence with which *apartheid* has been enforced since 1948, and in view especially of the basic theories which underlie it, there is a very great onus of proof on white South Africa if it claims that change has really taken place.

151. We do concede that in comparison to the more frozen situation which has long prevailed there appears

to be some movement in the thinking of white South Africa at present. It would be too much to call it a ferment, but there does appear to be a wish in some circles—whether for tactical reasons or others—to improve the situation in certain ways—in the matter of labour relations, for example, and rights of residence.

152. But over-all, so far as we can judge, there is no evidence that real and substantive change has taken place or is intended. There is no movement that we can discern in the matter of political prisoners, and leaders such as Nelson Mandela are still incarcerated under harsh conditions; and there is no evidence that the basic concept which makes race the central principle of social and political life has been modified or abandoned.

153. But for us to argue this point on one side or the other from outside is in any case irrelevant. Whether we judge that there has been real change or not is not the issue. What really matters is what the people of South Africa—that great majority of the people of South Africa who are black or of mixed race—really think, and what they will do now and over the coming months and years. For it is they in the end who will decide; it is they in the end whose views will prevail and whose demand for justice must be met.

154. What is extraordinary in many ways is the relative moderation which has been shown for so long by those who speak for this majority of South Africans. Repressed as they have been, they do not seem to want to repress white South Africans in their turn, still less to expel them. South Africa, they accept, should belong to all those who live in it, white and black, on the sole condition that it belong in equal measure to all so that all have an equal opportunity, and that domination and repression of one race by another should come to an end.

155. It is indeed remarkable that this view should still prevail to any degree among black South Africans who suffer under the present system; and it is this, and this alone which could give any ground for hope in the present situation. It could offer some hope because such relative moderation, if maintained, could do much to meet the most deep-seated fears of the Afrikaner population—a people whose roots are 300 years deep in what is now their only home; and it is these fears which underlie their intransigence.

156. But even if this relative moderation of black South Africa does suggest some limited basis for hope, there are many other reasons which must bring us close to despair as we look at South Africa today. There may be some change, but it is slow and minor. Militancy is rising within the majority population of South Africa, especially among the young. Reform, as always in such situations, is slow and lags behind events; and there is serious doubt as to whether anything more than surface change is intended. More and more the talk is of armed struggle. With each year that passes opportunities are lost for a peaceful transition to a just and equitable society in South Africa, which would involve all its people on an equal footing. As at other times in history, those in power do not seem to have the wisdom to anticipate events by making adequate changes in time. Inevitably, this must increase the possibility that change will come only as a result of a bitter struggle involving great

suffering for many South Africans and perhaps for the peoples of neighbouring African States.

157. What response is possible to this depressing and deteriorating situation? White South Africa is strong and growing stronger. But black South Africa is determined and increasingly militant. Is the rest of the world forced to watch, like a Greek chorus, an inexorable deterioration to racial war?

158. The answer must come from South Africa itself—from black and from white South Africans. But the main responsibility lies on white South Africa which 32 years ago set itself to institutionalize and construct the present system and which has maintained it in place through a highly organized system of repression.

159. We know, of course, that a cohesive minority community such as the Afrikaners, with roots deep in a country they have made their own, can be fearful for their future if they begin to yield to change. But change will come. That is certain. The only issue is whether it will come now, in time, through an admittedly difficult and major process of adjustment; or whether it will be brought about by violence. There are those who would prefer violence. There are many, however, who still hope—as I do—that violence can be averted and that black South Africa will achieve major change by other means. But how much longer can we continue to tell that black majority that they and their children must accept with patience conditions of life which we ourselves would not endure?

160. The decision is really one for white South Africa. Will it change—enough and in time? There are, nevertheless, some things which we in the rest of the world can do and which Ireland considers important.

161. First—and this is particularly significant for European countries such as my own and for the Western world in general—we must make it clear that in no sense, and despite its claims, does white South Africa speak for, or defend, our values. We cannot afford any equivocation on this point or any half denials. There can be no place in our world for racism; and there can be no claim to defend our values by those who daily repudiate them by racial oppression. This is an area where public opinion can be of great importance. We are glad of what the various voluntary non-governmental organizations—in my own country, for example, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement—have done to bring home to the general public the true situation in southern Africa and the evils of the *apartheid* system.

162. Secondly—and this is important for the whole international community—we must try, however gloomy the outlook may now seem, to find ways to bring white South Africa to face the reality and the dangers of its present course before it is too late. That means a willingness on the part of the international community not simply to exhort, but to increase significantly the pressure we exert from outside on South Africa to promote change. We know that change will come. If we do not want to see it come by violence, then we have a corresponding obligation to promote change in such other ways as are open to us. In the view of the Irish delegation that means maintaining, and increasing, international pressure on



South Africa, carefully and in a co-ordinated way. From past experience we know that it is not always easy to achieve results by these means. But if properly handled and carefully directed, the international pressure we bring to bear can be made effective—especially if it helps to reinforce any tendency towards change which might already exist in South Africa.

163. My delegation several years ago supported the idea of a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa; and since the embargo was imposed by the Security Council we have fully observed it. We welcome the recent report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) on ways to make the embargo more effective.<sup>5</sup> We also welcome the unanimity shown by the Security Council in adopting resolution 473 (1980) in June last in response to the repression by the Government of South Africa of black schoolchildren who were protesting against the inequity of the education system.

164. Ireland has also said that it would be ready to consider further action by the international community—effective, co-ordinated measures, on a considered basis, to bring pressure to bear on South Africa. Measures to channel the collective pressure of the international community should, however, be carefully considered, properly directed and fully implemented. If they are not, they are liable to be ineffective. That could increase the already considerable intransigence of white South Africa and reinforce it in its belief that it can utterly disregard criticism from the outside world. Consideration as to which measures are likely to be most effective should also in our view take account of the particular difficulties which could arise for other African States in the region. In that regard Ireland supports the objectives of the forthcoming Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, to be held in Maputo later this month.

165. At the national level my Government has followed the general principles I have outlined. In a society such as ours in Ireland certain actions are open to Governments; and to the extent possible we have taken steps in these areas, on a considered basis, to bring pressure to bear on South Africa. For example, Ireland does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa; and successive Irish Governments have acted to ensure that no official encouragement is given to the promotion of economic relations with South Africa.

166. Other matters in our society, however, are not directly within the province of the Government, and under our laws and Constitution are not susceptible to government control. In such cases the Irish Government has made its views on the situation in South Africa very clear to those concerned. But there is a limit to the extent to which, under our Constitution,

it can compel individuals or groups to act in accordance with those views.

167. One such issue is that of amateur sport. Ireland holds firmly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sport; and in every way open to it the Irish Government has acted to uphold and promote that principle. That led the Irish Government to take steps some time ago, for example, to ban a visit to Ireland by a South African rugby team which, although it was a mixed team, was clearly selected on a racial basis. That course was open to our Government since it involved entry to Ireland. On the other hand, it is not open to our Government under the Irish Constitution or legal system to withdraw from Irish citizens their basic right to travel abroad even if the purpose of their journey is a sporting fixture with white South African teams. In each such case, however, the Government takes steps to ensure that its views on *apartheid* and on the Olympic principle which it upholds are clearly brought to the attention of those concerned well in advance of any decision they might take.

168. Governments, too, can help to some extent by contributing even in a limited way to the various funds set up under the auspices of the United Nations to help some of those who are disadvantaged in various ways under the system of *apartheid*. Ireland will maintain its contributions to the United Nations southern Africa funds.

169. All those measures may help; and Ireland for its part is prepared to do what it can. But I repeat what I have already said: the issue will ultimately be decided in South Africa by the people of South Africa—the white South African minority that dominates and represses, and the black and Coloured South African majority that endures.

170. Those were the views which the Irish delegation wished to put on record once more, in this current debate.

171. I can conclude by summarizing our views very briefly. First, in general: Racial discrimination is wrong; when made the basis for a political system it is dangerous as well; and when that system represses a majority in its own country, it is potentially disastrous. To be more specific: *apartheid*, we know, is wrong; the danger too is evident; the issue today is how to bring white South Africa to see that it may soon lead to disaster. My country will try to play its part in this effort.

172. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have now heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 28. I would invite the General Assembly to turn its attention to the report of the Special Political Committee contained in document A/35/626. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that report?

*It was so decided (decision 35/415).*

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

<sup>5</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.