

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records

62nd
PLENARY MEETINGWednesday, 10 November 1982,
at 3.40 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 33

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

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

1. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in 1981, declared that this year should be the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.¹ It gives me great pleasure to praise the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*—chaired by my brother Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria—aimed at doing away with that criminal system. We express our appreciation to the members of the Special Committee for the efforts that have led to implementation of the programme for this year.

2. Once again we are considering the question of *apartheid*, which our Organization has considered every year since its inception and with regard to which it has adopted numerous resolutions aimed at eliminating that abominable policy. South Africa, however, has responded to the efforts by the United Nations and other agencies and bodies concerned with utter defiance and contempt.

3. Moreover, with the passage of time, the racist régime is increasing its arrogance and implementing strict racist laws aimed against the national inhabitants, depriving them of all their fundamental human rights and freedoms and placing them in prisons and detention camps, as well as directing a wave of terrorism and violence against the national movements.

4. Despite the condemnation by the international community of the policy of bantustanization, the racist régime is hastening to implement that policy in order to split up and isolate the black majority so that the *apartheid* régime can, without opposition or resistance, thwart all the aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants to exercise their fundamental rights. The régime is proceeding steadily with the implementation of that policy. At the end of last year, the so-called independence of the Ciskei was announced, and in recent months we have had news that Kwandebele is demanding independence as a new bantustan.

5. The abominable racist policy is an insult to humanity and forthcoming generations will never forgive us if we fail to eradicate it, since it denies the humanity of people not because of any particular faith or creed, but merely because there is a difference of colour.

6. The racist régime is attempting to mislead world public opinion with its so-called reforms, hiding its real intention to preserve its racist policy. The best proof of this was the announcement by Pretoria last July of constitutional amendments concerning the establishment of a separate parliament for Coloureds, while at the same time asserting that there was no hope whatever for any possible participation by the black inhabitants in political life.

7. Perhaps this could provide the incentive for all countries that co-operate with the racist régime and claim to believe in the possibility of the gradual reform of that racist policy to refrain from such co-operation.

8. The policy of constructive co-operation adopted by certain States as regards South Africa has not borne fruit. It is clear that there will be no positive response to that policy from South Africa.

9. The international community has condemned South Africa's racist policy and adopted resolutions and programmes aimed at eliminating it. Some were adopted at the Paris Conference at which it was decided to make 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Also, last May, the Manila declaration [see A/37/265] imposed sanctions against South Africa. So far, however, the necessary measures have not been taken to ensure the total isolation of South Africa because some States have not participated in implementing them. In view of their vast potential, these States could play a decisive role in the elimination of *apartheid* through the imposition of mandatory sanctions. We appeal to all the Western permanent members of the Security Council, which have a special responsibility, to respond to the wishes of the international community, not to impede the imposition against the South African régime of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

10. In this context, we wish to draw the attention of Members to the study on the European Parliament and South Africa that was published by the Centre against *Apartheid* last July, in which it was concluded that the European Parliament had adopted numerous resolutions condemning *apartheid* and the aggression perpetrated by South Africa in southern Africa, and that some of those resolutions called for the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning embargoes and economic sanctions. We call on the States concerned to heed those appeals.

11. Because of the deteriorating situation in South Africa, where the Pretoria régime is continuing to carry out its aggressive policy against the front-line States, the southern African continent has become the scene of an undeclared war and increasing resistance by the indigenous population. The situation in southern Africa threatens to give rise to a bloody explosion whose dimensions could extend beyond the African continent and which jeopardizes world peace and security. This situation led one well-known personality, Robert McNamara, the former United States Secretary of Defense and President of the World Bank, to refer during his visit to South Africa last month to the possibility of that explosion and to criticize the so-called constitutional reforms in South Africa as not dealing with the crux of the problem, namely, the political participation of the indigenous inhabitants.

12. The importance of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime has become clear to everyone. The Egyptian delegation emphasizes that, pending the imposition by the Security Council of such mandatory sanctions, the following action is necessary.

13. First, the countries that co-operate with the racist régime must end such co-operation and sever all political, economic, cultural, trade and sporting relations with it.

14. Secondly, those States must adopt legislative and administrative measures in respect of their nationals and the corporations subject to their authority that own or manage companies in South Africa.

15. Thirdly, all States must strive to keep Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and with that object in view the countries extending material and technological assistance to South Africa in the nuclear sphere must cease to do so, because a conflict in South Africa is inevitable and it is to be expected that the racist minority would threaten to use nuclear weapons.

16. We should like to draw attention to the first special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [A/37/22/Add.1], which emphasizes the importance of Israel and other countries refraining from co-operation with the racist régime in the field of nuclear weapons.

17. Fourthly, all possible material aid must be extended to the front-line States which defend themselves against the aggressive acts of South Africa aimed at destabilizing those countries and forcing them to stop helping the liberation movements in South Africa.

18. It is only logical that the specialized agencies and other organizations should participate in combating this hateful policy and we have therefore noted with satisfaction that many specialized agencies have expelled the racist régime and are extending, among other things, humanitarian and educational aid to the persecuted peoples in South Africa and to the national liberation movements. I say this because the basic philosophy that links the United Nations with the specialized agencies is that the United Nations is the parent body and consequently those agencies work within the framework of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, further-

more, must be guided by the decisions of the United Nations within their sphere of competence.

19. That is why the African countries were so disappointed when the International Monetary Fund [IMF] granted the loan recently requested by South Africa.

20. It cannot be claimed that IMF is a technical agency that can isolate itself from political problems, because it is common knowledge that there have been many precedents for political considerations playing an important role in such decisions by the Fund. Even if this were a purely technical matter, the officials of the Fund are well aware of the fact that the main cause of the deficit in South Africa's balance of payments is its increased military expenditure, since the expenditure of maintaining its occupation of Namibia amounts to \$675 million annually, in addition to its expenses resulting from its repeated acts of aggression against Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. It is indeed strange that the Fund should make this loan without any conditions relating to the adjustment of the expenditure structure in South Africa, despite precedents in which the Fund has required compliance with strict conditions before allowing any credit facilities.

21. This loan will help South Africa to strengthen its military might and continue its arrogant defiance of the will of the international community.

22. There is no logical justification for IMF acting against the international will as expressed in the relevant resolution adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of votes [resolution 37/2]. There is no doubt that the States that helped to ensure approval of this loan must bear the responsibility historically for the continued defiance by Pretoria of the international community. In order to avoid the issue of separate areas of competence in relation to the approval of the extension of credit facilities to South Africa, we call for an immediate review of the agreement on co-operation between the IMF and the United Nations.

23. The people and Government of Egypt reaffirm their support for the struggle of the people of South Africa, led by its liberation movements, and their commitment to extend moral and material aid until this inhuman policy is ended, the rule of the black majority is established in South Africa and Namibia gains its independence.

24. Once again I should like to emphasize that the racist régime will not give up its hateful policy voluntarily. Therefore, to ensure that it does so, mandatory sanctions must be imposed. This is not a new idea but it offers the only hope and is the only practical way in which we can express our solidarity with the peoples of the African continent and our sympathy with their aspirations. Such action would accurately translate into deeds the eloquent statements we make every year in support of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

25. Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of my country has reviewed the report submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and once again expresses its gratitude and appreciation to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, its members and its secretariat

for their serious and unstinting efforts to combat the evils of *apartheid* and to unmask the inhuman practices of the racist régime in South Africa.

26. The founders of the United Nations did not formulate the provisions of the Charter carelessly. They were convinced of the need for it, after two bitter world wars. The purpose of the second, the Nazi war, was to undermine the free world and confront it with a racist Nazi régime whose main characteristic was discrimination on the basis of race.

27. Regrettably, today, in this civilized world of ours, certain countries are employing the same methods and seeking the same Nazi, racist, egotistical objectives with which we are all familiar. In particular, I refer to the inhuman, barbaric practices of the white minority régime in Pretoria against the national majority in South Africa and in the southern part of the African continent.

28. The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations emphasizes fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. Article 1 stipulates that the United Nations must "develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights ... of peoples."

29. The conflict in South Africa is clearly one between good and evil. It is the struggle of a people seeking to attain its rights and realize its aspirations for a life in a society where love and peace will prevail, against a white racist usurper seeking injustice, aggression and exploitation. Over 19 million people, the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa, live in only 13 per cent of the territory of the country; 87 per cent has been reserved for the white minority. We must also remember that the 13 per cent reserved for the majority is not fertile but barren land. South Africa is a colonial State where a white minority usurps political and economic power. The racist policies of South Africa and the odious régime of *apartheid* are designed to deprive the majority of the population of the most fundamental political, economic, social and human rights. *Apartheid* creates cheap black labour for the service and comfort of the white racist minority.

30. *Apartheid* leads to injustice and is a great threat to the international community. Therefore *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity and a challenge to the international community as a whole. Consequently, it represents a danger to peace and security not only in Africa but in the whole world.

31. The General Assembly, conscious of that danger, has for over 20 years been calling on Member States to adopt—either separately or collectively and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations—concrete measures to put an end to the régime of *apartheid*. It has also called for the imposition of economic and other sanctions against South Africa. In recent years South Africa has ignored all the resolutions on this matter adopted by the General Assembly; rather, it has continued to pursue its racist policy with even greater vigour despite the efforts of the international community. Repression, oppression and racism have increased and intensified in South Africa. Over 3 million black people have

been displaced from their homes and over 13 million Africans have been arrested under the so-called pass laws. Seven million Africans have been deprived of their nationality and citizenship through the policy of bantustanization, designed to fragment and disperse the peoples in South Africa. The main objective of the establishment of bantustans is certainly the use of black collaborators to oppress African people.

32. South Africa has expanded its acts of aggression to other areas and has continued to occupy Namibia, implementing its racist policy there. It has also expanded the war against the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people and it has used Namibia as a springboard for the escalation of its aggression against neighbouring African countries. The dangerous situation in Africa resulting from the aggressive policy of the Pretoria régime is reflected in the continued violations of sovereignty and continuous attacks against independent African countries both near and far. The Pretoria régime has launched large-scale aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and has continued its attempts to destabilize the situation in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Lesotho. The racist régime in Pretoria recently planned and participated in the invasion of Seychelles by mercenaries.

33. The racist régime of South Africa could never perpetrate its criminal acts without the collaboration and collusion of the Western countries, the United States and Israel. The General Assembly and other bodies have repeatedly called on the Security Council to adopt mandatory measures against the racist régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, but because of the selfish position of some countries, especially Western ones, the capacity and the influence of the United Nations have been subjected to negative pressures. The Security Council has been completely paralysed by the use of the veto by Western countries, the United States in particular, whenever a proposal to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa has been submitted. The arguments of the Western countries that have relations with South Africa are indeed ironic. They claim that economic sanctions will be of no use in eliminating the racist régime in South Africa, that instead there should be political dialogue to find a solution to the conflict in southern Africa. But such claims are not made by the Western countries themselves when their own interests are jeopardized. On the contrary, we see that they make use of comprehensive economic sanctions in other circumstances. There is no doubt that there are many examples of this in the world political arena.

34. The many forms of aid and assistance extended to South Africa are aimed at strengthening the political and military capabilities of the racist Pretoria régime. The strengthening of its potential represents not only aggression against the oppressed peoples of South Africa but also aggression against all the peace-loving peoples in our civilized world and against the will of the peoples striving to achieve their aspirations and reinforce their independence.

35. The identical nature of the racist policy of South Africa and that of Israel strengthens the co-operation between these two racist régimes. That co-operation

constitutes a dangerous challenge to the United Nations and to the world as a whole. It was greatly intensified in all fields, including the political, economic, military and nuclear, after the visit of the South African Prime Minister, Vorster, to Israel in 1976, which resulted in Israel becoming a major supplier of military equipment to South Africa.

36. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in its report to the current session of the General Assembly, has pointed out that the present alliance between South Africa and Israel is part of the efforts of the *apartheid* régime to build alliances with unpopular régimes and thereby defy world public opinion. There is no doubt that the first special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/37/22/Add.1] refutes Israel's fallacious claim that it has no relations with the racist régime of South Africa. The report also un-masks the recent development of relations between Israel and South Africa in all fields—military, nuclear, economic, cultural, scientific, sporting—and even of relations with the bastards, which have been condemned by the whole world. We read there:

“South Africa and Israel have not only set up a diabolic axis or alliance, but are trying to forge a so-called sixth world alliance of outlaws and pariahs, which poses an enormous danger to international peace and security. The danger of these countries being enabled to engage in nuclear blackmail in this troubled world needs the urgent attention of the international community.

“We have reason to be alarmed that the so-called strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel—and the emergence of a similar relationship between the United States and South Africa—will reinforce the military relationship between the régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria.” [*Ibid.*, para. 4.]

37. I have nothing more to add to the detailed report on Zionist Israeli co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa. Kuwait, faithful to Islamic principles and values, which call for equality among human beings regardless of race or colour, has always imposed political, economic and other boycotts on the racist régime in South Africa. Kuwait believes in the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movement, as well as its right to resort to all available means including armed struggle to restore its independence and freedom.

38. Kuwait, which abides by the resolutions of the General Assembly supported, with its Arab brothers a resolution adopted by the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries on 6 May 1981 reaffirming the oil embargo against the racist régime in South Africa.² This decision compels companies working in the Arab countries to refrain from diverting all or part of their products to the racist régime. Kuwait, through individual and collective efforts, will fulfil its responsibilities and will oppose the racist régime in South Africa.

39. We appeal to the Western countries—especially the United States of America—which have strong relations with South Africa, to force that country to give up its *apartheid* policy and terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia. We call on the Security Council, if South Africa does not respond to this just

demand, to shoulder its responsibility and adopt effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with which comprehensive mandatory sanctions should be imposed against the racist régime in South Africa.

40. Kuwait is of the view that it is necessary to intensify international efforts to eradicate *apartheid* in order to achieve freedom, peace and security in the southern part of Africa.

41. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The policy and practice of *apartheid* by South Africa have for years now aroused the justified indignation of the international community. On a number of occasions the United Nations has adopted virtually unanimously decisions which condemn the policy and the abominable practice of *apartheid* and describe it as a crime against humanity and one of the most brutal forms of flagrant and massive violation of human rights. This policy is one of the most cruel manifestations of oppression and a challenge to the conscience of mankind. It shows contempt for the will of the international community and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

42. The Bulgarian delegation, which has always supported and continues to support the efforts of the world Organization to eliminate this inhuman policy once and for all, would like to deal with some of the main reasons for the existence of this anachronistic racist régime, which has for so long been doomed to perish.

43. It is a secret to no one that the policy of *apartheid* is based on the comprehensive and generous support which is lavished on the racist régime in Pretoria by imperialist forces, in particular by certain member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], with the United States in the forefront, so that they can achieve their own selfish strategic interests. It is for this reason that they have not only failed to put an end to, but have indeed stepped up, their political, economic and military co-operation with Pretoria. Further evidence of this is to be found in the reports 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, as well as the report which was drawn up by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. It is through this strategic co-operation, particularly in the military and nuclear areas, that South Africa has been able to build up a tremendous military potential that will permit it to manufacture nuclear weapons itself. This turn of events is a serious threat both to the African continent and to international peace and security in general. Furthermore, this threat is increasing alarmingly as a result of the acts of aggression which have been committed by the racist régime of South Africa against sovereign neighbouring States.

44. This entire policy is intended to destabilize the progressive Governments in those countries and to stifle the national liberation movements in that part of the world. The co-operation between certain Western countries and Israel with South Africa has materially contributed to strengthening the *apartheid*

régime. It is the close co-operation between a large number of transnational corporations belonging to the imperialist Powers and the racist régime of Pretoria that virtually makes possible the continuance of the policy of oppression. The transnational corporations, through their tremendous economic power, not only make immense profits by unscrupulously exploiting the black and Coloured population of South Africa and Namibia, but exercise effective control over the principal natural resources of these countries.

45. Very convincing proof of this can be found in the reports I have referred to. The fact that more than 2,000 Western companies—most of them American—and also foreign banks and trade institutions maintain and are even expanding their business relations with the racist régime, is convincing proof of the hypocrisy of the policy of those countries which in words claim to be the champions of human rights, whereas in practice they support one of the most ignoble and cruel systems in the world, which has been described as a crime against humanity, the system of *apartheid*.

46. Mention should also be made of the most recent example of this, which was the decision of IMF to grant the Republic of South Africa a sizeable loan, despite the strong protests voiced by the international community and despite the clear cut decision adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 37/2.

47. The continuing alliance between the imperialists and the racist régime in South Africa is a blatant violation of the decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and is at variance with the longstanding desire and demands of the international community that an end be put to any kind of co-operation with the *apartheid* régime. Nevertheless, representatives of certain prominent countries in the Security Council have frequently blocked the adoption of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

48. The Bulgarian delegation has always expressed a logical position in favour of the complete and final eradication of the base and inhuman policy of *apartheid* practised by South Africa against the South African and Namibian peoples, as well as the unconditional and immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria racist régime. The Namibian people, whose sole authentic representative is SWAPO, which has been recognized as such by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations, must achieve the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It is imperative that the aggressive actions of the racist régime against sovereign African States be halted immediately.

49. The Bulgarian delegation believes that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly and OAU, as well as the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Special Committee on decolonization, are an appropriate basis for the solution of the problem of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government. It is essential that we ensure strict respect by all States for the sanctions that have been imposed against South Africa by the

Security Council and adopt mandatory comprehensive sanctions against that country in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

50. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate my delegation's solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their just and heroic struggle against the racist colonial Pretoria régime and express its deep conviction that their just cause will be crowned with success. As the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, stated in an interview published in the 19 July to 1 August edition of the magazine *Afrique-Asie*:

“... We are unreservedly on the side of those peoples struggling for their national independence. We provide them with political, moral and material assistance. This support is the expression of our sense of justice, our internationalism and our humanism. In our Constitution, the spreading of racial hate was declared to be a crime even before the United Nations adopted the international Convention on this matter.”

51. The Bulgarian delegation is convinced that the Namibian people will achieve the exercise of its legitimate right to self-determination and independence, despite the attempts of certain Western countries to remove the search for a solution to this question from the framework of the United Nations and link it to inadmissible and unacceptable conditions. The Bulgarian delegation is firmly convinced that the base and inhuman policy of *apartheid* will be eradicated once and for all and declares its readiness to co-operation actively for the speeding up of that process.

52. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The problem of *apartheid* in South Africa has been a major issue preoccupying the people of Africa and the whole world. This is not only because the very existence of the racist régime of South Africa is a mockery of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations but also because in recent years, with the connivance and support of imperialism, this régime has not only not shown the slightest restraint in its reactionary arrogance but has even intensified its Fascist suppression of the just struggle of the South African people against racism. It has continued to keep Namibia under its illegal occupation and made repeated armed provocations against, and military incursions into, neighbouring countries, thereby posing a serious threat to the security and stability of southern Africa and the world at large. It is the view of the Chinese delegation that such a state of affairs must not be allowed to continue any longer.

53. This infamous racist régime has long pursued a barbaric policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and has turned South Africa into a veritable hell on earth. In order to tighten its rule, the white racist régime has strengthened its machinery of suppression by lavish military expenditures and arms procurements. It has illegally pushed through hundreds of racist decrees or ordinances denying freedoms and civil rights to 20 million Africans, who make up 70 per cent of the population. The white minority occupies over 80 per cent of the more fertile land of the coun-

try and controls industrial centres as well as rich mines and raw-material-producing regions, while confining Africans to inhospitable "black homelands" or using them as a source of cheap labour, which the few racist capitalists and farm-owners may exploit with lucrative profits.

54. At the same time, in order to deceive the Africans and world opinion, the South African authorities have stepped up bantustanization with all its phony "independence". On the other hand, Pretoria staged farcical "elections" in which only white people participated. But, as has been pointed out by world opinion, as long as the system of *apartheid* is not completely abolished, Pretoria's rhetoric about "racial reconciliation" or "improving racial relations" is nothing but deceptive talk.

Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

55. The South African authorities have long pursued a policy of brutal racial oppression characterized by arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and murder of leaders of nationalist movements and ordinary Africans. According to news agency reports, several hundred thousand Africans are being held in prison, the majority of them having been arbitrarily arrested for participating in the struggle against racism. In the secluded Robben Island prison alone, there are 1,000 so-called political prisoners, including leaders and activists of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] and other nationalist organizations. The South African authorities have not only wilfully ill-treated and tortured these "political prisoners" but also subjected many of them to capital punishment on trumped-up charges. These are heinous acts. Nelson Mandela, a leader of South African nationalists, has been held for some 20 long years and has not yet been released. Even as we meet here today, three young patriots still in their twenties are awaiting execution in South African prisons. They were incriminated by the South African authorities simply because they had participated in activities to free their country and people from minority rule and oppression.

56. World opinion has time and again pointed out that the struggle of the South African people for freedom and liberation is a just struggle. The South African authorities must immediately and unconditionally release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

57. Pretoria seems to believe that by means of guns and imprisonment it can force the people to give up the struggle against racism. But wherever there is oppression there is bound to be resistance. The people of South Africa have carried on a protracted struggle for freedom and liberation. Pretoria seems to believe that by putting Mandela and others in prison it can bring the people to their knees. Facts, however, point to the contrary. The names of Mandela and his comrades have been a source of inspiration to hundreds of thousands of people, impelling them to join in the struggle to overthrow the system of *apartheid*. In recent years, a mass movement with students and workers as its main force has been developing vigorously. The struggle against oppression has grown both in scale and in strength, and there

has also been a new development in the armed struggle. These struggles enjoy not only the support of the Coloured people but also the sympathy and support of an increasing number of white people. This has clearly demonstrated that the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination and *apartheid* cannot be put down by any force whatsoever and that it will ultimately be crowned with success.

58. Not only have the South African authorities subjected the people to brutal oppression and exploitation but they have continued their illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. They have used various pretexts to obstruct the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia. Pretoria has intensified its suppression of the armed struggle waged by the nationalist organizations in Namibia and fostered puppet forces there. At the same time it has used Namibia as a base to carry on constant military provocations against and armed incursions into African countries such as Angola and Zambia, and has carried out unbridled threats and subversive activities against neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. Last year it even master-minded a mercenary attack against the Republic of Seychelles. All these acts of aggression by the South African authorities have grossly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those African States, threatened their stability and security and caused heavy losses of life and property to their people, thereby menacing the peace and security of the world at large.

59. The South African racist régime has been so reckless because it has had the support and connivance of certain Western countries, especially of a certain super-Power. In order to maintain their vested interests in southern Africa, particularly their economic interest, certain forces in the West have offered the South African régime economic assistance, military equipment and even collaboration in the nuclear field, in total disregard of the just demands of the African people and the international community. By so doing they not only have placed themselves in opposition to the African countries and peoples, inflated Pretoria's arrogance and further destabilized the situation in southern Africa, but have also provided an opportunity for outside forces to meddle in the affairs of that region.

60. The just struggle of the people of South Africa has always drawn support and attention from the international community. In order to support the South African people's struggle and win independence for Namibia at an early date, the African countries, especially the front-line States, have made unremitting efforts and even endured heavy national sacrifices. Their dauntless spirit in upholding justice has won the appreciation of the peoples of the world. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, of which Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria is Chairman, has done a great deal in mobilizing world opinion to support the just cause of the South African people and has put forward many recommendations and proposals as regards the measures to be taken by the United Nations to combat the policies of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa. The Chinese delegation appreciates and supports the work of the Committee and will

render it full co-operation. I should also like to point out here that the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid*, held last May in the Philippines, was a success. As an Asian country, we should like to pay a tribute to the Government and people of the Philippines for their contributions in combating the policies of *apartheid*.

61. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia for freedom and liberation and have always strongly condemned the policies of *apartheid* pursued by the South African authorities, their illegal occupation of Namibia and their subversion and incursion against neighbouring countries. The Chinese Government adheres to its principled position, that is, that it will never have any relations with the South African authorities in the diplomatic, political, economic and other fields. We are of the view that the United Nations is duty-bound to contribute to the struggle of the people of South Africa to eradicate the system of *apartheid* and win freedom and liberation. The current session should adopt effective measures to strengthen the arms embargo against Pretoria. We support the demand of a large number of African States that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions be imposed against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

62. We are convinced that, with the solidarity and support of the countries and people of Africa and the rest of the world, the people of South Africa will win final victory in their struggle against racism and for freedom and liberation.

63. Mr. DJALAL (Indonesia): As we approach the end of the twentieth year of tireless work by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, my delegation has mixed emotions. We laud the accomplishments by the Special Committee in mobilizing the international community not only to oppose the hateful concept of *apartheid* but also to work actively together in eliminating its practice. The question of *apartheid* has brought together the voices of diverse peoples from all corners of the world into one harmonious crescendo in an expression of the noblest values of humanity. However, the very fact that international efforts continue in this regard reminds us that equality and justice still remain an elusive goal for the long-suffering people of South Africa. It should be recalled that it was as long ago as 1948 that the racist régime of South Africa institutionalized *apartheid*, when the National Party came to power, and in 1952 the heroic people of South Africa initiated the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. In that year the United Nations first became seized of the problem of *apartheid* and over the course of the last 30 years has amassed an impressive record in the struggle against this inhuman policy practised by the Pretoria régime.

64. It is significant that this year has been designated the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, which underscores the sense of urgency in promoting collective action to oppose the intensified oppression of the South African people by the Pretoria régime. This International Year is the natural outcome of the highly successful International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May 1981, which stressed the need to impose comprehensive mandatory

sanctions and to reinforce the voluntary sanctions already in existence. Thus, over the course of this year the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has undertaken an extensive programme of activities, such as the sending of missions to Africa, Europe, the Middle East and Asia, and the holding of seminars, conferences and meetings, giving special attention to promoting observance of the International Year.

65. My delegation is pleased to note that the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid*, held at Manila from 24 to 26 May 1982, was very successful, as reflected in the Manila Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* adopted at the end of the deliberations [see A/37/265]. Most important, the Declaration emphasized the need for the full implementation of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo against South Africa; the effective enforcement of the embargoes imposed by oil-producing and oil-exporting States to prevent supplies of oil to South Africa; cessation of loans to and investment in South Africa; the implementation of the other economic measures recommended by the United Nations; and the implementation of sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa. The Conference served to remind the world that the Member States from Asia speak with one voice in their commitment to the eradication of *apartheid* and that they have made their policies effective by abiding by the mandatory and voluntary sanctions and boycotts called for by the United Nations. The importance which my Government attached to the Manila Conference is reflected in the message to the Conference by President Soeharto, which, *inter alia*, states:

“This Conference will constitute another milestone in supporting the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, especially in the light of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against *Apartheid*. In the past, the people of Asia have always demonstrated their solidarity and support for their brothers in Africa who fought for freedom and equality. And at present these people, who are consistently faithful to the spirit of Bandung and its 10 principles, are continuing to support the struggle against *apartheid*, a system which is condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity.”³

66. My delegation welcomed the visit by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to our country last May and his expression of appreciation, on behalf of the Special Committee, to the Government and people of Indonesia. During his talks with President Soeharto, Mr. Maitama-Sule was reassured that Indonesia, in close co-operation with the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations as well as other countries in Asia and Africa, would continue to contribute to its utmost to the just struggle of the people of South Africa.

67. As a member of the Special Committee, my delegation is fully aware of the fact that the international community's solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa has not been enough to force the Pretoria régime to abandon its *apartheid* policy. We believe that the only remaining means to that end is the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. This has been our position in the past and it continues to be so today. Therefore, my Government

consistently supports the efforts of the international community to impose sanctions against the Pretoria régime and fully abides by all relevant United Nations resolutions. Furthermore, Indonesia welcomes the proposal to hold an international conference of States committed to the oil embargo against South Africa with a view to ensuring the most effective implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions.

68. The racist Pretoria régime's continued flouting of the most elementary principles of humanity, its intensification of repression, its continued implementation of the heinous bantustanization policy, and its refusal to abide by Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on independence for Namibia should leave no room for any Member State to justify opposition to mandatory sanctions. In the light of these developments and since we are now in the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, my delegation was shocked to learn that despite the adoption of a resolution at the current session of the General Assembly requesting IMF to refrain from granting any credit or assistance to South Africa, IMF has decided to provide a loan of over US \$1 billion to South Africa, which will have a great negative impact on the strengthening of sanctions and thus prolong the suffering of the people of South Africa.

69. At this stage, my delegation strongly believes that we must continue to intensify our efforts to convince those countries which have not done so to join with the overwhelming majority of Member States in observing the voluntary sanctions against South Africa called for by United Nations resolutions and various international conferences, such as the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. At the same time, we appeal to the permanent members of the Security Council not to block the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations because opposition to sanctions has only encouraged the racist régime to pursue its inhuman policy indefinitely.

70. Finally, I wish to express the deep concern of my delegation that this Organization might once again allow a crisis situation to become exacerbated, which could lead to catastrophic hostilities if we are not able to fulfil our obligations under the Charter by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

71. Mr. JANKU (Albania): Three decades have gone by since the General Assembly first undertook discussion of the problem of *apartheid*, a problem that has continuously preoccupied international public opinion.

72. Many have been the decisions taken and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other international organizations condemning the hateful policy of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa. The same can be said for the measures taken by many peace-loving and progressive countries and peoples in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa, fighting strongly to do away with *apartheid*.

73. But the situation has not changed, because the racist Pretoria régime continues to practise more arrogantly and obstinately its odious racial discrimi-

nation policy of *apartheid* against the long-suffering broad masses of the Azanian and Namibian peoples, a practice that has rightly outraged and continues to outrage world public opinion. Even during this year a large number of killings, imprisonments and acts of repression against students, freedom fighters and workers struggling for their legitimate rights have been added to the countless crimes committed by the racist régime of Pretoria. In a word, the opponents of *apartheid* are being killed en masse. Numerous facts presented here by the representatives of many countries, as well as various reports and documents of the United Nations, are clear testimony to this. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania strongly condemns, as it has in the past, the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as well as the oppression and exploitation carried out by the racist régime of South Africa against the Azanian and Namibian peoples.

74. We wish to reiterate once again that the racist régime of Pretoria would not dare and would not be able to practise its abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and continue illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia if it did not have all-round economic, political and military assistance and support of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, in particular the United States of America. The racist régime of South Africa is an ardent supporter of the interests of the imperialist Powers in that region of the world. It is for this reason that it enjoys their all-round support and collaboration in brutally oppressing the Azanian and Namibian peoples and unleashing acts of aggression and threats against sovereign African countries.

75. The policy of *apartheid* of the racists of Pretoria incessantly threatens peace and stability in the southern part of the African continent. The imperialist Powers bear the responsibility for this and for sabotaging the efforts exerted by the peoples of that region to compel the racist régime to bring to an end its policy of *apartheid* and to grant independence to Namibia.

76. Actually, in Africa, as in many other regions of the world, as a result of the rivalry and the expansionist and hegemonist activities of the imperialist Powers, a grave and disruptive situation has been created, thus endangering even those victories which have been won through great efforts and sacrifices. The two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union—not to mention social-imperialist China—in fierce and open rivalry with one another, do everything possible to penetrate ever deeper into the African continent, to establish military bases there and to secure markets and zones of influence.

77. In recent years, as a consequence of plots and intrigues hatched by the imperialist Powers, there have been many armed conflicts and wars in Africa, including many *coups d'état*, and old national disagreements have been revived to keep the continent divided and thus deepen the dependence of its countries. This situation serves as a great encouragement to the racists of South Africa, who exploit every opportunity to the detriment of the African peoples. Therefore the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, as well as the other peoples of that continent, are resolutely fighting to bring to an end the ferocious policy of

apartheid in South Africa and at the same time to oppose the colonial and neo-colonial policy of the imperialist Powers, which are ardent supporters of racism and *apartheid*.

78. The peoples of that continent can no longer live in such conditions. Life has already shown them that only by means of a determined struggle will the Azanian and Namibian peoples win their rights and their national freedom and independence, and that only through such a struggle will the African peoples be able to uproot racism and the hateful system of *apartheid* from their own continent.

79. We are fully convinced that, in the face of this determined and uncompromising struggle undertaken by the Azanian and Namibian peoples, the racist policy of *apartheid* of South Africa is doomed to fail, as are all the intrigues, bargaining and activities of the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and all the other enemies of the African peoples.

80. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania wishes to reiterate once again that the Albanian people and its Government have been and remain sincere friends and strong supporters of the just cause of the African peoples. They have condemned and will continue strongly to condemn the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African régime. At the same time, they will support the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples for their freedom and independence, which will without any doubt bring their final victory.

81. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): South Africa is the only country in the world where racism is institutionalized and established as a State policy, the only country where the colour of the skin determines the status of a category of nationals in the social hierarchy. More than four fifths of the South African population are victims of this policy. South Africa today remains a veritable concentration camp for more than 20 million blacks, who are forced to live in a kind of collective slavery. The suffering and hardships experienced by the South African people under the odious and iniquitous policy of *apartheid* constantly outrage international public opinion, which severely condemns that policy.

82. But, in spite of the recommendations, injunctions and condemnations of the international community, the racist régime of Pretoria constantly escalates its policy of repression, oppression and terrorism, so that the situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate.

83. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* depicts a truly grim picture of this policy of cruel exploitation, wanton violence and arbitrary repression by the white racists against the immense majority of the population of the country. According to the report, of 10.7 million workers in South Africa, 9 million are Coloured; more than 64 per cent of the sum total of wages is paid to 1.7 million white workers and the remaining 36 per cent is paid to 9 million non-white workers, while 75 per cent of the non-white population lives below the poverty threshold. South Africa's economy rests on the outright exploitation of the non-white population.

84. Together with the intensification of its policy of exploitation and repression, the racist régime of

Pretoria has created the system of "bantustans", into which the blacks are herded, so that they can serve as a kind of reservoir of cheap labour for the economy of the white minority and a concentration camp for the unemployed and the hundreds of thousands of homeless who are daily driven forcibly from the urban areas.

85. Such bantustans, which with rare cynicism and thinly veiled hypocrisy are called "independent States", have by and large been created on arid and barren land. There, 80 per cent of the population is forced into 13 per cent of the land area, whereas the whites, who make up barely 20 per cent of the population, occupy 87 per cent of the national territory. Nearly all the rich land goes to the white minority, which controls all the country's resources. At the same time, the rank injustice of the bantustan system is made even more blatant; with even more inhumanity, families are separated and the Africans are alienated and dispossessed of their lands, with the aim of making them a mere pool of migrant workers forced to sustain the privileges of the white minority.

86. What is particularly disturbing in terms of the peace and stability of Africa and of international peace and security is the fact that South Africa is continuing to increase its military potential with the assistance of its Western allies, in particular the United States, which have defied the embargo on the sale of weapons imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). South Africa's military self-sufficiency has now reached 90 per cent. It is estimated that for fiscal year 1981-1982 Pretoria's military expenses will reach \$3.5 billion. *The New York Times* of 13 August 1981 reported that "The South African Government today increased its military spending by 40 per cent in 1981-82 to counter what it described as external threats." In fact, these enormous sums are being used to crush the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, to commit acts of aggression and subversion against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other front-line States and thereby to intimidate the peoples of those countries and force them to stop their assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

87. Another source of deep concern for the international community is the military and nuclear collaboration of the racist Pretoria régime with the Zionist régime of Israel. According to an article in *Militaria*—an official technical publication on South African defence forces—which appeared in February 1982, South Africa is building or has purchased Israeli frigates equipped with Gabriel missiles and torpedoes and helicopters. Similarly, according to the London *Sunday Times* of May 1982, "Israel and South Africa are developing a cruise missile with a range of approximately 2,400 kilometres, a neutron bomb and other nuclear delivery vehicles." Equally disturbing are the attempts by the imperialist circles to turn South Africa into a centre for a new military pact, which would be known as the South Atlantic Treaty Organization and which would play the same role in the southern part of the Atlantic as NATO.

88. Similarly, in the economic and financial fields South Africa enjoys the support of certain Western countries and certain international financial institutions, without whose support the South African econ-

omy could not survive. We might mention here the recent decision of IMF to grant South Africa a \$1.1 billion loan, in direct contradiction of the recommendations of the General Assembly. That support has also been expressed in the vetoes of the permanent Western members of the Security Council of draft resolutions advocating sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. That has only served to encourage the Pretoria régime to harden further its policy of *apartheid* and to commit new crimes.

89. In short, it is clear that a hotbed of colonialism and racism in the southern part of the African continent survives today because it suits the long-term political, economic and strategic interests of the United States and certain other NATO countries. They consider South Africa to be a bridgehead in the fight against progressive African countries and as a secure military base in a strategically important region. Those Powers are striving to create conditions favourable to the exploitation of the natural resources of South Africa, conditions that make it possible for them to reap enormous profits by exploiting the indigenous inhabitants. In fact, there is a fusion of South African and Western capital.

90. Since the massacre of innocent persons in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Soweto in 1976—horrible acts that are still vivid in all our memories—a new reality has surfaced in South Africa, that of a long-subjugated people that is asserting its will to put an end to the odious and loathsome system of *apartheid*.

91. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Pretoria authorities to perpetuate the present situation and to intensify repression, the massive resistance to *apartheid*, and in particular the increasingly broad-based struggle by the patriotic forces under the banner of ANC, has reached new heights and greater effectiveness in South Africa. The longer *apartheid* persists in its criminal acts, the greater will be the anger of the South African people, who are rising up, determined to win back their freedom and dignity. Young people, labour-union organizations, religious and university groups and non-governmental organizations have all mobilized their forces throughout the world, and even within South Africa, to expose the nature and gravity of the situation there. By committing deliberate violations of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pretoria racist régime has entered into open conflict with the entire international community.

92. In this context, the Lao Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples is tirelessly waging, both within and outside our country, a vigorous campaign against the odious system of *apartheid* and thus helping to fulfil the objectives of the International Year for Mobilization of Sanctions against South Africa proclaimed by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session in its resolution 36/172 B.

93. As a signatory to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has fully supported all United Nations efforts in this field. My delegation is convinced that so long as South Africa pursues its policy of *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination in that country, human

rights and dignity will continue to be grossly violated and international peace and security constantly threatened.

94. That is why the international community has a duty to reaffirm and renew its commitment to the struggle against *apartheid* so that the peoples of southern Africa that have been oppressed and exploited for so long can finally enjoy freedom and exercise their own responsibilities. My delegation vigorously condemns what is called the bantustan system, whose purpose is not only to weaken the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population of South Africa fighting to win equal rights in social, educational and other spheres, but also to erode the unity of the country and to confirm domination by the white minority. We also condemn all assistance given to the minority racist régime, be it political, military, economic or financial, because that contributes to the crime of *apartheid*.

95. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the leaders and the valiant fighters of ANC and PAC for their courageous struggle against the barbaric régime of Pretoria and for the complete liberation of their countries. The Lao People's Republic also wishes to reaffirm its solidarity with the valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO in its struggle for liberation and a democratic society based on principles of humanity and justice.

96. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my delegation, it gives me great pleasure to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to the President of the General Assembly.

97. We also thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, chaired by Mr. Maitama-Sule, who has introduced the report of the Committee. This report is complete and refers to all of the aspects of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination as practised by the racist minority Government in South Africa. They also refer to the activities and the various undertakings of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* during the past year, and contain in addition a number of important and decisive recommendations put forward to the international community by the Committee in an attempt to eliminate the inhuman policies of South Africa.

98. Our delegation wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Reddy, Director of the Centre against *Apartheid*, and to all the staff members of the Centre for their unstinting efforts in the service of the international campaign to do away with the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa.

99. The issue of the racist policy in South Africa is one of the basic issues related to human rights. It has caused grave anxiety to the United Nations and the international community as a whole for over 30 years; it merits international concern and universal denunciation because it is indeed a crime against all of humanity. The policy of the racist régime adopted by the white racist minority in South Africa is a blot and a mark of shame for humanity as a whole because of the flagrant violation of human rights and the persecution and appalling exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the original inhabitants of that land. This tragedy not only affects millions of human beings persecuted in the southern part of our conti-

ment, it also constitutes a threat to peace and security in Africa, the regions of the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic, and the whole world. Therefore all peace-loving peoples and Governments that cherish peace, freedom and human dignity must take all the necessary measures in the support of international solidarity to isolate the racist South African régime and to impose all sanctions against it, in addition to lending support and aid to all the liberation movements in South Africa until the right of sovereignty, freedom and independence is restored to the majority of the inhabitants.

100. Sudan has followed with great concern the deteriorating situation and tension in South Africa as a result of the escalation of the policy of arbitrary suppression and barbaric torture of the overwhelming majority of the original inhabitants by the racist régime. That régime continues its fierce campaign of pursuit, detention, torture and annihilation of all the honest militants who reject the policy of racism.

101. Not satisfied with the imprisonment, detention and banning of revolutionaries, the racist régime has also resorted to the assassination of several militants. In February 1982 the criminal racist hand reached out to torture Neil Aggett, a labour leader in the Transvaal. It also machine-gunned and mowed down the students and workers who took part in the revolt against racism.

102. Statistics point to the painful fact that the racist régime, since its inception and its advocacy of racist policy, has so far uprooted over 3 million black inhabitants from their homes and subjected over 13 million black inhabitants to detention, their only crime being their rejection of the policy of *apartheid* and of permit laws restricting their freedom of movement.

103. The suffering and the inhumane conditions experienced by the political prisoners in South Africa, impose on the members of the General Assembly an obligation to seek the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which call on Member States to exert their utmost to secure the release of these prisoners, led by the militant hero, Nelson Mandela, who has been detained on Robben Island since 1964, and all other political prisoners, and end the arbitrary trials conducted by the Pretoria authorities against them.

104. Here I should like to inform the international community that the University of Juba in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has bestowed an honorary doctorate degree on the militant African, Nelson Mandela, in December, when it celebrated the graduation of its first batch of students. That comes within the framework of the international campaign to seek the release of the political prisoners led by Mandela and his colleagues and to extend material and moral aid to them and their families.

105. The racist régime in South Africa is clearly carrying out its stated policy, for despite the ever-increasing international denunciation and condemnation of its policies, the Pretoria régime continues to promulgate racist laws and legislation and to set up the so-called independent states known as bantustans.

106. We in this and other international forums have warned against the dangers and consequences of South

Africa's scheming, the latest example being a new method whereby it is attempting from its position of control and domination, to prolong the existence of the régime of the racist minority. What South Africa calls gradual change are merely cosmetic alterations that do not touch on the crux of the hateful *apartheid* régime, which guarantees perpetual domination and control for the white minority and subjects the majority of the indigenous inhabitants to a life of suppression in their homeland. What is more, it is merely a manoeuvre by which the ruling white minority attempts to make the international community believe that there will be an improvement in its inhuman policy.

107. The racist gang in Pretoria must realize that the situation in South Africa and the *apartheid* policy do not require marginal or gradual changes but radical changes which would root out the racist régime and create a just and democratic society guaranteeing the majority its legitimate rights, freedom and sovereignty, rights that will be restored, however long it takes, through the heroic struggle and national resistance launched at the present time by the people of South Africa.

108. The past year saw a great event, which is indeed a historic turning-point in the escalation and intensification of international action to do away with *apartheid* policies in South Africa. We are referring to the convening in Paris of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. The Paris Declaration¹ emphasizes the importance and the necessity of implementing international sanctions against the racist South African régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to ensure that South Africa abides by the resolutions of the Organization, and notes that the choice is between an escalation of the conflict and the imposition of international sanctions, if all other attempts to reach a settlement fail. The Declaration also urges those Powers that have thus far opposed sanctions to heed the views of the majority of the international community, to change their policies towards the racist régime in Pretoria, and to conform to United Nations resolutions. The objective of imposing sanctions against South Africa is to oblige the South African Government to put an end to its racist policy and to set up a non-racist society where all have equal rights, without distinction of race, colour or religion. As an urgent step in the direction of the intensification of international solidarity with a view to dealing with the deteriorating conditions in South Africa, the General Assembly endorsed the Paris Declaration in resolution 36/172 B and also announced that 1982 would be the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa and called on all Governments, organizations and bodies to give effective and positive support to implementing the programme and objectives of the International Year, in collaboration with the United Nations.

109. My country's delegation is of the view that the various activities and efforts that have been carried out at international, regional and national levels within the framework of the celebration of the International Year have helped to enlighten world public opinion about the terrible effects of the situation in South Africa and to mobilize the efforts and support needed to remedy the deteriorating situation.

110. This year has also witnessed several important international and regional conferences aimed at the intensification of efforts against *apartheid*, especially the International Conference on Women and *Apartheid*, held at Brussels in May and the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid*, held at Manila, also in May. At the national level many Governments and bodies have proclaimed their observance of the International Year and in this respect Sudan's delegation would like to point out that the People's National Assembly in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, and a number of regional people's Assemblies, held special sessions in June 1982 to celebrate this International Year. The Sudanese information media have intensified their campaigns against the *apartheid* régime in South Africa.

111. Over the past 36 years, since the creation of our Organization, the realization has been imposed upon us that the racist régime in South Africa will not give up its racist policies voluntarily so long as it is receiving political, moral and economic co-operation and military aid from some Members of our Organization. These countries, through their mounting co-operation and increasing support to the racist régime, are encouraging it to proceed with its barbaric and inhumane policies. If there is any genuine desire or determination to do away with the racist régime of South Africa, then all States should abide by their responsibilities to bring all forms of pressure to bear on this régime, to implement the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa, concerning the immediate imposition of sanctions against South Africa. They should also put into effect a boycott against South Africa in all fields and activities.

112. The Government of South Africa still continues its threats and attacks by air against neighbouring countries, especially the front-line States. This year it has attacked Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Seychelles, causing heavy losses in life and property. It has also pursued the militants who have sought refuge in some of the neighbouring countries. The African front-line States, which are heroically shouldering their responsibilities in supporting the African liberation movement in South Africa, need all forms of aid from the international community in order to safeguard their independence and territorial integrity and to compensate them for their losses and for the damage inflicted on their economies and natural resources as a result of these barbaric raids.

113. Here we should like to emphasize our total support for the consideration of any attack or threat by the racist South African Government against any of the front-line States as an attack on the whole international community and against the noble principles and the very purposes of the United Nations.

114. Our delegation would like to draw attention to the importance of the International Conference in solidarity with the Front-line States and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa which is scheduled to be held at Lisbon in March 1983 and in which many countries and organizations will participate with a view to examining and assessing the situation of the front-line States resulting from the repeated attacks by South Africa and to drawing up

a practical strategy to extend assistance to those States. We hope that that conference will succeed in drawing attention to the need to extend material and moral aid to the front-line States and to the liberation movements in southern Africa, and in enlightening public opinion about it, especially in Western Europe.

115. In concluding my statement I should like to draw the attention of this body to the increasing danger of the mutual co-operation between the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel. The first special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/37/22/Add.1] has revealed to us the recent developments in the relations and sinister co-operation between Israel and South Africa in the political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields, as well as the exchange of visits by official and unofficial delegations. The coincidence of the intensification of both the inhuman racist attacks on African nationalists by the Pretoria régime and the racist practices of Tel Aviv sheds further light on the unholy alliance between the two régimes and has rightly been denounced by the whole world. We should like here to appeal to the international community to proceed with its efforts to use all sorts of measures and pressure to deter these two racist régimes and to make them abide by the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations in order to restore the right of freedom and self-determination to the peoples of Africa and Palestine.

116. Mr. ISSYNALYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union, speaking from this high rostrum of the General Assembly, would like to state that at present the Soviet people, and indeed all progressive mankind, is celebrating the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, an era of social renewal for the world, and of the downfall of the system of colonial repression and the enslavement of peoples. The victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 became a guiding light for the broad mass movement of all repressed peoples to put an end to all forms of colonial dependency. The State of workers and peasants formed by the October Revolution proved itself from the very outset a staunch ally of the national liberation movements. Lenin's policy of nationalities meant that in a short space of time backward parts of Russia were turned into flourishing socialist republics and that equitable relations were established between the peoples and different ethnic groups in the country, thus providing a very important example for the peoples struggling for national independence, their sovereign rights and the right to determine their own political and social structure.

117. Today our country is developing amicable relations with dozens of young liberated States.

118. In recent decades the oppressive world colonial system has suffered severe blows. On the African continent changes have occurred which have radically altered the political map of Africa. At present one of the most important and urgent items on our agenda concerns the task of bringing about the speedy elimination of that shameful phenomenon of our time, the remaining enclaves of colonialism and racism and its most repugnant manifestation, *apartheid*, which is

based on terror and violence against the 20 million Africans that form the majority of the Republic of South Africa.

119. The United Nations can be credited with a number of useful decisions supporting the struggle against the inhuman policy of *apartheid* pursued by the despotic régime of South Africa. The United Nations has made a sizeable contribution to exposing the crimes of the South African racists and mobilizing world public opinion in all the countries of the world in favour of action against *apartheid*.

120. The Soviet delegation would like to commend the great work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule. We hope that the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* will continue to be successful. The call to battle against the inhuman policy of *apartheid* practised by South Africa must never be silenced.

121. The despotic policy of *apartheid* has been branded by the United Nations a crime against humanity. Firmly condemning the racist régime in South Africa for its massive repression of the opponents of *apartheid*, the General Assembly has confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movement to use all the means available to it, including armed struggle, to seize power and, in the name of the people, put an end to the *apartheid* régime and ensure the exercise of their right to self-determination by all the peoples in South Africa. At the same time, the General Assembly has called upon all States to give all necessary aid to the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movement in the just struggle for its rights.

122. In its resolution 473 (1980), adopted on 13 June 1980, the Security Council emphasized that the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African racists "is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

123. The Security Council also strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation, for its massive repression against all the opponents of *apartheid* and for the killing of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees, and once again recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid* and for the establishment of a democratic society.

124. However, despite the frequent protests which have been expressed by the international community, the criminal *apartheid* régime continues its policy of cruel exploitation, atrocities and repression against the indigenous African population of the country. Poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease and constant danger are the conditions in which the black African population of South Africa has to live. These Africans are deprived of any possibility of education or medical or other social services. The imperialist monopolies make tremendous profits through their predatory exploitation of the black-skinned workers, which

constitute 80 per cent of the South African population. Super-profits are in the final analysis what determines the entire State policy of the South African Republic, which is based essentially on colonialism and racism, and this is reflected in the so-called system of separate development of races and the creation of bantustans. In regions covering 13 per cent of the territory of the country approximately 70 per cent of the population of South Africa will be settled. The bantustans are being turned into tremendous reservoirs of cheap labour, and millions of those who live in them become virtually foreigners in their own country. At the same time, the policy of bantustanization is designed to preserve the real political power in the hands of the white minority. The only way that the racist system, with its super-exploitation of the labour of black workers, can exist is by relying on the use of force.

125. For that reason, the *apartheid* régime is spending more and more money on police and the repressive military apparatus. Any action taken against the inhuman system of *apartheid* meets with increased repression on the part of the South African régime, which has resorted to firing on unarmed people, torture and imprisonment of patriots, and the prohibition of the activities of the national organizations of the oppressed people.

126. However, despite this severe oppression, the struggle of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* is growing in strength, and the vanguard of this struggle is ANC.

127. The Pretoria racists could not have ignored the numerous decisions of the United Nations, persisted in their policy of *apartheid*, continued to occupy Namibia illegally and increased their acts of armed aggression against independent sovereign African States without the staunch support and connivance of Western States, above all the United States, which are attempting to maintain racist South Africa as an advance post for their fight against the national liberation movements on the African continent.

128. The African countries have firmly declared that support for the *apartheid* régime is tantamount to encouraging the policy of institutionalized terrorism, which is practised by the South African racists. However, in their relations with the Pretoria régime the United States of America and certain other Western countries act at complete variance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The United States used its veto when the Security Council draft resolution condemning the aggression against Angola⁴ was put to the vote, thus clearly showing that it was an accomplice of the aggressors. The Pretoria régime's aggressiveness grows as increased assistance is given to it by its overseas patrons. The intensive build-up of military might reflects the aspirations of South Africa to play the role of regional policeman, a part which has been allocated to it by Washington.

129. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* points out, the actions of the United States not only indicate its reluctance to co-operate in applying the sanctions and other international measures aimed against *apartheid* but also reveals other dangerous trends. That report states:

“That country has based its policy on the premise that South Africa was its traditional ally... It has sought to describe the freedom fighters, risking their lives in a legitimate struggle for the principles enshrined in the Charter ... as ‘terrorists’, while embarking on a so-called policy of ‘constructive engagement’ with the racist régime;

“It has vetoed the draft resolution in the Security Council on 31 August 1981 condemning the massive aggression by the South African régime against Angola, and thereby paralysed any Security Council action on continuing acts of aggression by that régime;

“It has relaxed its implementation of the arms embargo, as well as its former decisions to suspend co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field, and increased its economic and other relations with South Africa.” [A/37/22, para. 329.]

130. It was emphasized by *Transafrica News*, published in June 1982 at Washington, that:

“Clearly, South Africa’s system represents the extreme antithesis of the values espoused by American democracy.

“Nevertheless, the Reagan Administration has only encouraged South African intransigence on the issue of power sharing by calling it a friendly country and treating it as an ally ... The United States has continued to broaden its friendship with this régime by: defending it in the United Nations; violating the mandatory United Nations Arms Embargo; ... offering to renew nuclear co-operation with South Africa; ...” [*Ibid.*, para. 331.]

131. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has expressed serious concern at United States and United Kingdom co-operation with South Africa, since that is inducing the Pretoria régime to persist in its efforts to perpetuate *apartheid* and making it more difficult for the oppressed people of South Africa to wage its legitimate struggle.

132. In this connection the Declaration of the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa¹ stated that:

“The continuing political, economic and military co-operation of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia.”

133. South Africa’s nuclear ambitions are particularly alarming. South Africa, by circumventing the international system of safeguards, has created its own, nuclear potential, which, specialists have determined, has placed it on the very verge of manufacturing its own nuclear weapons. In this connection it should be recalled that, as recently as 1977, South Africa was nearing the culmination of its work on creating a nuclear weapon and carrying out immediate preparations to test it. South Africa’s blank refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and place all its nuclear activities under the

control of the International Atomic Energy Agency bears out these misgivings. In addition, we should also take into account the fact that the South African authorities last year said that they would maintain their “right” to use atomic weapons against neighbouring States.

134. The military industry in South Africa, which has been created with the support of the imperialist Powers, is working flat out. It manufactures modern military weapons under Western licences. At the same time, the South Africans are continuing to purchase military technology from abroad on a large scale. Despite the United Nations embargo, certain Western countries continue to supply Pretoria with various types of weapons. For this purpose, use is sometimes made of third countries, particularly Israel.

135. South Africa’s military budget for 1982-1983 envisages a considerable increase in defence spending. It is 24 per cent higher than that for 1980-1981. The 1983 military budget will allocate more than 106 million rands towards funds for atomic energy research.

136. The efforts of Western Powers to strengthen and give comprehensive support to the racist régime in South Africa is undoubtedly part and parcel of more far-reaching plans by imperialism to win back lost ground in Africa, deprive the African people of the victories they have won in their national liberation struggle and shackle them with a new type of neo-colonialist dependency.

137. Three main accusations can be levelled by mankind against the South African régime: its ignominious system of *apartheid*, its colonial occupation of Namibia and its continued aggression against neighbouring independent African countries. Any one of these would be quite sufficient reason for the United Nations to take extremely forthright action against this criminal régime—a demand which has been voiced by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

138. The rulers of that country, which is the real testing ground for *apartheid* and racism, persist in practising their anti-people policy, which is an intolerable affront to the elementary foundations of contemporary international, legal and political thinking and the rights, conscience and dignity of mankind. In the eyes of the peoples of the whole world, this is a misanthropic policy of black deeds by the white Africans in that country.

139. There has long been an urgent need for the international community to adopt effective sanctions against South Africa. It is important to note that the General Assembly proclaimed this year, 1982, the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

140. The Soviet Union fully endorses the proposals of the African countries to have the Security Council adopt comprehensive sanctions against South Africa as stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We favour strict observance by all States of the sanctions already imposed by the Security Council against the Pretoria régime.

141. The Soviet Union maintains no relations with South Africa in the diplomatic, economic, trade,

military or any other fields. Accordingly, it has no treaty or licensing agreements with Pretoria.

142. The USSR firmly opposes the continuing co-operation between the countries of NATO and certain other countries and the South African régime, despite the numerous resolutions of the United Nations on the subject, particularly in the nuclear field, which takes the form of transfer of technology, supplying material, equipment and technical assistance for the South African nuclear programme and the purchase of its uranium.

143. The international community can no longer accept the existence of this *apartheid* régime. The United Nations should take effective steps to put an end to this source of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. That is its bounden duty towards the militant African peoples.

144. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the current session of the General Assembly should express its condemnation of those States which have not as yet terminated their co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other areas and provide it with political and diplomatic protection and even go so far as to proclaim it their strategic ally. It is essential that we ensure that all States observe the embargo established by the Security Council on arms supplies to the South African régime, that an end is put to any sort of co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field and that steps are taken by the Security Council to prevent South Africa from having access to the possession of nuclear weapons.

145. The Soviet Union unswervingly pursues the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples, as defined in the Programme of Peace for the 1980s adopted by the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is at one with those who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We have in the past provided and we will continue to provide in the future, the assistance necessary for the just struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

146. We stand also with those African States which aspire to dispose freely and at their own discretion of their national wealth and to achieve economic independence and genuine equality in international economic relations. That is our fundamental policy. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, emphasized in his statement at Baku on 26 September:

“The Soviet Union, generally speaking, favours enhancing the role in international affairs of those States which have been liberated from the colonial or semi-colonial yoke and have embarked on the course of independence and progress. We are persuaded that the policy of those countries can have a very beneficial effect on the world situation.”

147. Speaking on the eve of the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, our delegation declares that the Soviet Union will continue consistently and unflinchingly to

pursue the policy of supporting the national liberation movements, giving a firm rebuff to the aggressive machinations of imperialism and favouring the adoption of decisive steps to bring about the swift eradication of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

148. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): This year the General Assembly is considering the question of the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa in a context characterized on the one hand by the strengthening and widening of the struggle against the inhuman régime of Pretoria in southern Africa and throughout the rest of the world and on the other hand by the serious concern of the international community over the criminal actions of South Africa, which stubbornly redoubles its efforts to maintain its *apartheid* régime and to threaten the independence of sovereign countries and peace in the area. This situation is characterized by grave concern over the deliberate acts of the United States of America and other international reactionary forces which continue to strengthen their collaboration with the South African administration, helping it to bolster its military and economic and even its nuclear potential.

149. My delegation wishes to thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its very informative report, which has supplied many facts, proofs and figures concerning the seriousness of the situation not only for southern Africa but for the world as a whole.

150. The crimes committed by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa are monstrous, and the great danger this warlike régime represents reaches far beyond the confines of southern Africa. Representatives who have spoken before me, in commenting on the report of the Special Committee, have already exhaustively analysed the situation, defined its origins and the responsibility for it, considered the consequences, drawn conclusions and recommended certain actions and measures which the United Nations should take to eliminate once and for all the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

151. My delegation fully supports all those views and would now like to make a modest contribution to the debate with the following considerations.

152. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity. It is a colonialist policy of a régime devoted to domination, exploitation, repression and intolerable humiliation of the vast majority of the people of southern Africa. It is a brazen policy of institutionalized racism. *Apartheid* is also a crime against peace. The *apartheid* régime is not only responsible for the unspeakable hardships imposed upon the people who are directly under its domination but also a constant source of disturbances, acts of aggression and destabilization in other countries in neighbouring areas.

153. What is particularly serious is that the monstrous régime of *apartheid* in South Africa has deliberately and insolently committed those crimes for decades, and indeed does so even today, notwithstanding the opposition and unanimous condemnation of all those devoted to peace and justice. The question is, how is it that this régime has calmly defied the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, continuing to occupy Namibia; how has it managed to get away with those acts of aggression and invasion against neighbouring sovereign countries; how has it managed to continue to

occupy part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and send its mercenaries to commit just recently an act of aggression against the Republic of Seychelles?

154. My delegation believes that the answer to this question lies in the complicity and support accorded to Pretoria by forces having a stake in maintaining the *apartheid* régime for political, economic and military reasons. Indeed, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is explicit in this connection:

"Several Western countries and Israel have provided the racist régime with an enormous arsenal of military equipment and technology, as well as assistance in its nuclear plans. They ...

"... have greatly increased their investments in South Africa [and]

"... have greatly increased their trade with South Africa, thereby frustrating the sacrifices of many developing countries." [A/37/22, paras. 313-315.]

155. As is well known, those Powers, primarily the United States, which, individually or collectively, have already imposed sanctions against a number of other countries, have constantly opposed similar measures against the racist régime of South Africa and have even strengthened their collaboration with it. By their abuse of the right of veto, those Powers have reduced the Security Council to impotence in the face of the Pretoria régime's repeated acts of aggression, thus undermining United Nations authority and aggravating the situation in southern Africa.

156. The Special Committee has even gone so far as to express its "dismay over the policy of the United States Government in that connection" [*ibid.*, para. 325].

157. In addition, as a leader of ANC has recently declared, the present peril is posed by the Pretoria-Washington axis. This alliance, which has been proclaimed "strategic" but which also shows certain ideological affinities, has manifested itself, *inter alia*, in the realm of nuclear arms and in the concept of a new South Atlantic alliance along the lines of the notorious NATO.

158. In this connection, it is significant that the United States and certain other Western Powers opposed the resolution adopted not long ago by the General Assembly which condemned the \$1.1 million loan by IMF to South Africa, for the most powerful Western countries reap enormous profits from their investments in South Africa. Hence responsibility for the maintenance and strengthening of the inhuman régime in Pretoria rests squarely with the imperialist, colonialist, racist and hegemonistic forces, which have common interests on a number of economic or strategic aspects.

159. That handful of countries are particularly dangerous because of their great economic and military potential and their ability to abuse their disproportionate influence in certain international economic and financial organizations.

160. To put the matter in perspective, let me cite the following passage from the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa:¹

"The continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia."

161. It is actually a small club of kindred countries with similar interests and identical philosophies—those of colonialism, racism, war-mongering and neo-fascism. Thus it is that the South African criminal practitioners of *apartheid* are firmly supported by their imperialist accomplices in the United States and by their Zionist accomplices in the Middle East, as well as by the hegemonists. Together they bear the heavy responsibility for encouraging to this day the genocidal criminals in Kampuchea and Lebanon, as well as the racist criminals in South Africa and elsewhere.

162. It is precisely those forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism that have thus far obstructed United Nations efforts to impose effective sanctions on the Pretoria régime. It is those very forces which are directly responsible for the ineffectiveness of our Organization and its inability to do anything about the Middle East or South-East Asia.

163. However, we are moved to optimism by the various liberation struggles under the respective leadership of SWAPO and ANC, as well as by the growing international support for their just cause. Fortunately, these are factors which have played and will continue to play a decisive role in eliminating the *apartheid* régime. The justice of these liberation struggles is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the blood that has been shed by South African and Namibian patriots on the battlefield and by the voices of their representatives from this rostrum, as well as by the unflagging support shown by peace-loving and justice-loving peoples all over the world.

164. My delegation is of the view that the United Nations is duty-bound to mobilize ever more vigorous support and ever more effective assistance for the national liberation movements—SWAPO and ANC—and for the front-line States that support and assist them directly. Their struggle is our struggle, for we are unanimous in regarding *apartheid* as a crime against mankind and peace.

165. Consistent with our traditional policy of militant solidarity with all peoples fighting for their inalienable fundamental national rights, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will unreservedly and until final victory support the patriotic national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of ANC, and the struggle of the Namibian people under the aegis of SWAPO, against the Pretoria *apartheid* régime—that inhuman colonialist scourge—for human dignity and the independence and freedom of their respective countries.

166. Together with the international community, the Government and people of Viet Nam condemn with ever greater indignation the reprehensible racism of the South African *apartheid* régime, its monstrous crimes against the South African and Namibian people

and its policies and acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line and other African countries—in particular, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Seychelles—sabotaging and seriously threatening peace and security in southern Africa and in the entire world.

167. The United States, the other Western Powers and other countries that have co-operated with Pretoria and helped it to maintain its *apartheid* régime and enhance its military and economic might in defiance of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must bear the brunt of the responsibility for the aforementioned criminal policies and acts of the South African Administration.

168. The Government and people of Viet Nam take this opportunity to reiterate their great appreciation for the firm support rendered by the front-line States and OAU to the armed struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for their right to self-determination and for the complete emancipation of Africa. We consider that those countries are entitled to receive multilateral assistance from the international community to strengthen their defence capacity against the aggressive designs of Pretoria and in some measure to compensate them for the sacrifices that they have voluntarily made in this noble cause.

169. During the current year, the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, many activities in support of the struggle against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa have taken place throughout Viet Nam. Organizations of the people in Viet Nam have arranged meetings in support of the patriotic struggle of the people of South Africa and of Namibia on the occasion of days of solidarity with those peoples. The mass media in Viet Nam have given wide coverage to these activities and those in the international arena.

170. The work and declaration of the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid* held at Manila in May of this year, met with a warm response from public opinion in Viet Nam.

171. At the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam—the most important political event in Viet Nam—which was held in March 1982, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Lê Duân, stressed the following in his political report:

“Our people express their deep sympathy and warm support for the Namibian people and the people of South Africa who are fighting against domination by the racists of South Africa and for national independence, freedom and equality.”

172. Through its Council of Ministers, Viet Nam has this year frequently affirmed its militant solidarity with the people of South Africa and the people of Namibia: on 15 June 1982, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa; on 9 October 1982, on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners; and, very recently on 26 October 1982, on the occasion of the Week of Solidarity with People of Namibia and their Liberation Movement SWAPO organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia.

173. On each of these occasions, in telegrams sent to the Chairman of the Special Committee against

Apartheid and to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the President of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam invariably expressed in vigorous terms the resolute support of the people and Government of Viet Nam for the just, heroic struggle for independence and freedom of the South African people, under the leadership of ANC and for the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO. At the same time, the President of the Council of Ministers of Viet Nam sent his warm brotherly greetings to those two peoples and to the militants of ANC and SWAPO, reaffirming the militant solidarity and ardent desire of the Vietnamese people for the final victory of their struggle for their fundamental national rights.

174. In this spirit, my delegation welcomes the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* aimed at a redoubling in 1983 of the efforts of the international community to encourage campaigns for the complete isolation of the South African racist régime, unreserved support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia, the unconditional release of all imprisoned South African patriots, solidarity with the black labour movement, the boycotting of educational, cultural and sports activities sponsored by the *apartheid* régime and the attainment of other objectives approved by the General Assembly.

175. My delegation wishes in particular to express its strong support for the recommendations of the Special Committee concerning the monitoring of the implementation of recommendations on military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa and the mobilization of public opinion against such collaboration. My delegation wishes to stress the need for the Security Council to impose a mandatory embargo on oil supplies to South Africa and to grant prisoner-of-war status to the combatants of ANC and SWAPO captured by the *apartheid* régime, in keeping with the relevant provisions of the 1977 Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 regarding the protection of victims of war.

176. It is also in this spirit that my delegation is prepared to support any draft resolution advocating effective action to support the liberation movements in this last bastion of colonialism in southern Africa and the elimination of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, that shameful blot on world civilization.

177. We are convinced that the just cause of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, the front-line States and Africa as a whole, with the firm support of all progressive mankind, will certainly be crowned with success. This will also be a victory for the noble struggle of the international community as a whole for the independence of peoples, peace, democracy and human dignity, a struggle in which the United Nations must shoulder its heavy responsibilities under the Charter.

178. Mr. TURBANSKI (Poland): The policies and practices of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa represent an intolerable challenge to all mankind and constitute a threat to international peace and security. They arouse the indignation and condemnation of the entire international community.

179. Opening our deliberations on this item of the General Assembly's agenda, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* pointed out that for 30 years now the Assembly has debated the problem of *apartheid* and rightly stressed that the records of the Assembly and of the Organization fully documented the crimes of the *apartheid* régime.

180. Thus I should like to concentrate in my statement on some aspects only of the situation with which we are faced.

181. *Apartheid* has been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. Numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and other authoritative international bodies, *inter alia*, the non-aligned movement and OAU, give expression to the firm opinion of the peoples of the world that the policies and actions of South Africa's racist régime are incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as with the fundamental principles of international law. However, all the resolutions of the United Nations have been persistently ignored by the racist régime in Pretoria.

182. During the past year the situation in South Africa has continued to be a matter of great concern. As can be seen from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, there has been no improvement in the situation. The racist régime has neither changed its attitude nor shown any intention whatsoever of changing its policy. On the contrary, it has reinforced its repressive measures against the opponents of *apartheid* and persisted in the policy of bantustanization. The only changes were further attempts to modify the face of *apartheid* and to introduce so-called gradual reforms, with the aim of adjusting and improving the *apartheid* system so that it might better serve the needs of economic development in the interest of the white minority and the perpetuation of its rule.

183. It is indeed both saddening and shocking that some Governments consider this a constructive action by Botha's régime and suggest that such gradual improvements should be encouraged by the Assembly as the effective way of bringing about non-violent changes in South Africa.

184. The oppressive character of the system of *apartheid* finds its extension in the policy of a position of strength, the policy of threats and destabilization pursued by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring African States. In the period which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, the aggressions of the racist régime have increased in both scope and frequency. The People's Republic of Angola has continued to be the primary object of the aggression, but Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other States were also the victims. Thus the *apartheid* régime constitutes a permanent source of tension and instability in the southern part of Africa. The territory of Namibia, which the South African régime continues to occupy illegally, resorting to every possible manoeuvre to maintain its colonial rule over it, has been used as a springboard for most of these aggressive actions.

185. The question is being asked more and more frequently: how, despite the demands of progressive mankind, can the Pretoria régime continue its policies, why has the international community not succeeded in its efforts to eliminate *apartheid* in South Africa? The answer is quite obvious. It is the support and protection given by South Africa's Western friends and partners, and, above all, by the United States, which make it possible. Without this support, without the broad political, economic and military co-operation, including nuclear co-operation, of a number of Western States, without the support of some multinational corporations, banks and international financial institutions, all in defiance of United Nations resolutions, the régime of *apartheid* would long ago have been compelled to abandon its inhuman policies.

186. It is well known who is opposing the application of sanctions against South Africa and, as the President of the General Assembly stated last Friday when opening the special meeting of the General Assembly devoted to the observance of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, "universally applied sanctions are the only peaceful means available to the world community to end the criminal system of *apartheid*." [56th meeting, para. 3.]

187. Poland wishes today to reiterate again its firm commitment to the struggle against any form of racial discrimination, particularly against *apartheid*, the disgrace of our times, and to the struggle for the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence, and for their human rights.

188. We stand and call for full and universal implementation of and respect for the provisions of all pertinent United Nations resolutions. Poland also supports the just demand of the African States for the application of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

189. We reaffirm our full solidarity with and support for the struggle of the South African people and of the people of Namibia, a struggle whose legitimacy is reaffirmed by numerous United Nations resolutions, and our solidarity with and support for their organizations, ANC and SWAPO. We are confident that with the support of the progressive peoples of the world the resistance they are leading will be victorious.

190. We fully share the opinion of the African countries that as long as millions of Africans are still living under the oppression of the racist *apartheid* régime, and as long as this régime illegally occupies Namibia, and until the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples for the accelerated social development and economic independence of the continent under conditions of peace and security are fulfilled, Africa can hardly be regarded as truly free.

191. Before concluding, my delegation wishes to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its tireless efforts to stimulate and promote concerted international action in combating *apartheid*. In our view, the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee, as contained in its report, deserve most serious consideration and support by the General Assembly.

192. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

193. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly this morning [61st meeting] heard a traditional Israeli statement, and when my delegation speaks tomorrow it will have an opportunity to talk on the aspects of the item under discussion. In this brief reply it is sufficient that we make some observations.

194. The arrogant attacks of the Israeli representative on the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* are neither new nor surprising. The representative of Israel has succeeded in creating his own image of the international Organization and a particular way of dealing with it, and I can assure him that no one wishes to compete with him in such a reputation.

195. The steadfast policy of the Israeli representative in this Organization is to create an atmosphere of polemics and to deprive the United Nations of its dignity, replacing facts by demagoguery. The fact that the Israeli representative and that country's leader have resorted to attacking every Head of State, every State and every delegation that dares utter any criticism against Israel reveals an attempt to suppress the truth as well as to impose a new form of political blackmail and intellectual terrorism.

196. I should like to assure the Israeli representative that the hateful reputation that now accompanies his country in every forum is not due to Arab propaganda campaigns hostile to Israel. We would, to be frank, have been proud had we succeeded in creating that reputation as a result of our information policies. What is really responsible for this reputation is its racist creed, its behaviour, its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices and its crimes against the Palestinian people, the Arab peoples and Africa. Israel's odious reputation is recognized by everybody, even those that played a part in its creation. For example, the late Nahum Goldmann, who was President of the International Zionist Organization, said, in an interview on French television on 18 March 1981, in answer to a question on the subject of Israel, "With its present attitude, Israel has no future." I do not know how the late Nahum Goldmann would have commented had he witnessed Israel's recent crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian people, the appalling massacres at Sabra and Shatila, the siege of Beirut and the blowing up and bulldozing of the Palestinian refugee camps.

197. In his statement this morning, the Israeli representative once again began playing the old record, boasting about the so-called social ethic of the Jewish people, reflected in what he referred to as a universal message at the dawn of our history. He went as far as to claim that the Jewish people and the State of Israel were in the vanguard of every struggle against the evil of racism, recalling the Nazis, their Jewish victims and so on.

198. Israel no doubt believes that the strongest weapon it has is emotional blackmail, and over a period of three decades it has exploited the guilt complex about what it calls the holocaust, guilt which it wishes to impose on all the peoples of the world. The intel-

lectual terrorism that it continues to practise is so extreme that any criticism of Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies is said to constitute anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism.

199. As far as principles are concerned, there is no difference between the Zionist claim of the superiority of the Jewish people as the chosen people and the Nazi Hitlerite theory of the master race. That similarity is not affected or changed in any way by the fact that the Zionist theory relies on religion while the Nazi theory relies on a secular concept. Hitler's aspirations and the Zionist myth stem from racial arrogance and the racist concept.

200. When Shlomo Smelzman, who survived the holocaust and is now 53 years of age, began a fast in protest against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon outside Yad Va-Shem, the Israeli memorial to the victims of the holocaust, he said:

"Begin's language when he talked about 'Peace for Galilee', 'tightening the siege', 'purging', 'destroying', 'crushing to a subhuman level', 'two-legged animals', reminded me of what I used to hear at the time of the holocaust."

201. The crimes perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinian people and the other Arab people; and the racist arrogance displayed by Menachem Begin enable us to state unequivocally that Zionism is an identical copy of Nazism and that Menachem Begin is a "Jewish fuhrer".

202. In Israel today there is an institutionalized system of racism, based on the biased Zionist theory of the establishment of a pure Jewish State, where the Jews alone would have the right to full citizenship. Racial discrimination in Israel is not directed only at the original inhabitants—that is, the Palestinian people—but also extended to the Oriental Jews, who are regarded as second-class citizens. I do not know on what basis the Israeli representative has the audacity to claim that Israel fights racism. Is it in its system and its racist creed, in its crimes against humanity or in its relationship and collusion with the racist Pretoria régime?

203. Mr. KOR BUN HENG (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I am sorry to have to speak now, but during his statement at this meeting the representative of Viet Nam was so arrogant as to slander my country once again. If there is any analogy to be drawn between the question now being discussed in the General Assembly and another situation in the world, it is without doubt in relation to the policy of the Vietnamese Government.

204. In the first place, the Government of Viet Nam has applied and continues to apply a policy of racial discrimination against the population of Kampuchean origin at present in South Viet Nam and also against the population of Chinese origin, forcing the latter to leave Viet Nam in hundreds of thousands.

205. Secondly, Viet Nam continues to invade and occupy Kampuchea, just as the South African authorities continue the illegal occupation of Namibia.

206. Thirdly, the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea constitutes a threat to peace, stability and security in South-East Asia and is similar to the policy of aggression of the racist Pretoria régime against the

neighbouring independent African countries, which jeopardizes peace and security in the region of southern Africa.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/CONF.107/8.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1981*, document S/14750.

³ See A/AC.115/L.573.

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14664/Rev.2.