



*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**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. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that the debate on this item was concluded at the 68th meeting of the General Assembly, on 15 November. This morning we shall be voting on the draft resolutions, and I shall now call on those representatives who wish to introduce them.

2. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): In the absence of Mr. Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I have the great honour, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce draft resolutions A/37/L.17 to L.22. These draft resolutions have been before delegations for several weeks and need little explanation. The result of extensive consultations, they are based on the report and recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/37/22] and are designed to respond to the grave situation in South Africa as a whole caused by the escalation of repression and aggression by the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria.

3. The sponsors have tried to reduce the number of draft resolutions this year and at the same time to emphasize meaningful action in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, for a democratic society in which all the people of the country will enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms.

4. The General Assembly has already had to adopt two emergency resolutions, one to save the lives of freedom fighters in South Africa who have been sentenced to death [resolution 37/1], and the other on the application by South Africa to IMF for a credit of one billion special drawing rights [resolution 37/2]. Those resolutions highlight the seriousness of the situation and the overwhelming conviction of the General Assembly that no assistance should be provided to the *apartheid* régime.

5. The General Assembly proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 36/172 B]. We take note of the activities of the Special Committee, of Member States and of organizations in observance of the Year. But much more needs to be done, and with a sense of urgency, to avert the danger of a wider conflict in southern Africa and to secure a just and lasting solution. The draft resolutions therefore propose that Governments and organizations be requested to continue activities in implementation of the programme for the International Year. They appeal for greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement and to the front-line States. They call for a wider campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners. They appeal to writers, artists, sportsmen and others to participate actively in the international campaign against *apartheid*, in co-operation with the United Nations. They endorse the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which has shown commendable dedication in the discharge of its mandate.

6. Before I conclude, I would also like to draw the attention of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Group of African States, to last night's aggression by the South African régime against Lesotho. We should like, as Africans, to express our full support for Lesotho and our condemnation of such barbaric aggression against a Member State of this Assembly and a member State of the Organization of African Unity.

7. Finally, on behalf of the sponsors, I express the hope that the draft resolutions will receive overwhelming if not unanimous support and that all Member States will co-operate in the implementation of their provisions.

8. Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados): On behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/37/L.23.

9. As stated in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/37/36], the members of the Committee continued consultations on a number of possible ways of finalizing article 10 of the draft Convention, the only article outstanding. The members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee are convinced that, with further consultations, it will be possible to arrive at a suitable conclusion. It is for this reason that the *Ad Hoc* Committee recommends that its mandate be renewed. That request is contained in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. In operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, the *Ad Hoc* Committee is authorized by the General Assembly to continue consultations, as required, with representatives of Governments and organizations concerned and with experts on *apartheid* in sports.

\* Resumed from the 93rd meeting.

10. It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the sponsors, to commend draft resolution A/37/L.23 for favourable consideration by the Assembly.

11. Mr. HELGASON (Iceland): On behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, contained in document A/37/L.27.

12. The principal objective of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, which the General Assembly established in 1965 [*resolution 2054 B (XX)*], is to alleviate the suffering caused by the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa and to assist the victims of *apartheid*. As the Secretary-General points out in his report on the Fund [A/37/484], it gives grants to voluntary organizations, to Governments of host countries of refugees from South Africa and to other bodies, for the following purposes: first, legal assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa; secondly, relief to such persons and their dependants; thirdly, education of such persons and their dependants; fourthly, relief for refugees from South Africa; and, fifthly, relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia.

13. The fight against *apartheid* is one of the few issues on which the international community stands united. Fortunately, while the situation of the opponents of *apartheid* has become increasingly difficult, the international community has responded positively to the growing need for assistance by the Trust Fund. Larger contributions are needed, however, and we hope that the appeal in the draft resolution for even more generous contributions will again be considered favourably. Furthermore, we trust that the General Assembly will again this year demonstrate its solidarity with the victims of *apartheid* by adopting this draft resolution unanimously.

14. Mr. ABADA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce draft resolution A/37/L.28.

15. This initiative is part of the global action by the international community, which seeks to impose comprehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime and to respond collectively to its policy of systematic defiance. The objective of the draft resolution is basically the determination of ways and means of strengthening the oil embargo against the *apartheid* régime. The sponsors of the draft resolution are convinced that this measure will contribute to checking the war machine of that régime and to weakening its repressive arsenal.

16. The draft resolution, while reaffirming in its preambular part the request to the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo on South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, stresses the need to ensure effective implementation of the embargoes on oil and oil products that have already been imposed by most of the oil-exporting countries against the *apartheid* régime.

17. To that end, the draft resolution proposes, in its operative part, actions to make the embargoes more effective. First, in operative paragraph 1, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is authorized to appoint a group of experts, nominated by Governments, to

prepare a thorough study on all aspects of the question of the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa. This study would serve as a basis for the consideration by oil-producing and oil-exporting countries of national and international measures to ensure the effective implementation of the embargoes that they have imposed against the *apartheid* régime.

18. In operative paragraph 2, the Secretary-General is requested to organize, in consultation with the Special Committee, meetings of permanent representatives to the United Nations of the oil-producing and oil-exporting countries, to decide, among other things, on all arrangements for an international conference on this subject and to consider, on the basis of the report of the Group of Experts, the question of participation in that conference.

19. Finally, the draft resolution requests and authorizes the Secretary-General to organize the international conference for the purpose of considering national and international arrangements to ensure the effective implementation of the oil embargoes against South Africa.

20. That is the action proposed in the draft resolution. The sponsors are convinced that by adopting it unanimously the international community will once more demonstrate its resolve to fight by every means possible for the complete eradication of the scourge that is *apartheid*. Above all, adoption of the draft resolution will be an act of faith, a commitment to the cause of freedom, peace and justice.

21. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): On behalf of the sponsors, my delegation has the honour to introduce draft resolution A/37/L.26.

22. With an increasing majority of votes, the General Assembly has since 1976 adopted resolutions urging the Security Council to consider steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in South Africa, as an economic sanction aimed at putting pressure on the Government of South Africa to dismantle its *apartheid* system. During this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, the need for additional measures to press for change in South Africa has been repeatedly underscored by the United Nations, as well as by other organizations and movements all over the world. We note with regret, however, that the Security Council, while seized of the question of South Africa, has so far been unable to reach agreement on steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. We repeated our appeal to the Security Council when the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/2 regarding South Africa's application for credit from IMF.

23. Since the General Assembly adopted resolution 36/172 O, on investments in South Africa, the motives for taking steps in this direction have remained equally pressing. A diminishing inflow of capital for investments into South Africa would mean effective pressure on the South African régime to change its racial and aggressive policies. Among other things, it would make it more difficult for that country to continue the increasingly costly buildup of its military and nuclear capacity and of its energy reserves for the purpose of withstanding internal and international pressure. The sponsors of the draft resolution there-

fore find it urgent to strengthen efforts to stem the flow of resources to South Africa for the purpose of investment.

24. Some countries may find the scope of the draft resolution too limited. However, as was the case in previous years, the sponsors have formulated the operative part of the draft resolution in such a way as to make it possible for the widest range of countries to vote in favour of it. Broadest possible support for this kind of action would be a clear signal to South Africa that the world community as a whole is reacting strongly against its inhuman and increasingly aggressive *apartheid* policy.

25. The draft resolution which we now introduce should be seen as one element in a broad and joint international effort to bring an end to the *apartheid* policies, and it is in this spirit that we commend it for adoption by the General Assembly.

26. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on any or all of the draft resolutions. Representatives will also have an opportunity to explain their vote after all the votes have been taken.

27. I should like to remind the Assembly that, under rule 88 of the rules of procedure, "The President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment".

28. Mr. AL-ASFOOR (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The position of the delegation of Oman, which has always expressed its condemnation of racial discrimination and the policies practised by South Africa, is well known to everyone.

29. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolutions before the General Assembly today on agenda item 33, concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

30. At the same time, however, we note that some of the draft resolutions condemn countries with which Oman has diplomatic and friendly relations. As a matter of principle, my delegation does not agree that those countries should be condemned by name. That is why our affirmative vote on the draft resolutions should not be interpreted as approval of those paragraphs in which some States or groups of countries with which we have friendly relations are condemned by name.

31. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): As we made clear in our statement during the debate on this item [68th meeting], Australia remains resolutely opposed to *apartheid* and is ready to lend its support to internationally agreed measures which will exert effective pressure on the South African régime to change its policies.

32. When we cast our votes on the draft resolutions in question, our votes should be seen as indicative of that firm commitment to the total eradication of *apartheid* rather than as support for all the individual elements of each of the draft resolutions.

33. We regret that the language in some of these draft resolutions—in particular A/37/L.17 and L.19—is more extreme than the language adopted last year. Given the almost universal condemnation of *apartheid*, we are disappointed that the authors of these draft

resolutions have not endeavoured to attract the broadest possible support by avoiding extreme and divisive language.

34. I should like to restate very briefly at this time a number of well-known Australian attitudes which are not affected by the votes we are about to cast.

35. First, Australia cannot condone the use of force to achieve political change in South Africa. Secondly, we are opposed to the practice of singling out specific countries for criticism with regard to their policies towards South Africa. This opposition extends to other areas as well. Thirdly, we support the independence and integrity of the international financial institutions and consider it to be inappropriate for the General Assembly to seek to undermine that independence. Australia adheres to the principle of universality of these international financial institutions and does not support attempts to breach this principle. Fourthly, and finally, I should like to reiterate Australia's resolute and continuing opposition to the repugnant policy of *apartheid* and our willingness to support proper and effective measures which will lead South Africa to change its policies.

36. Mr. LUCE (United States of America): In our statement during the debate on this agenda item [66th meeting], we reiterated our profound and long-standing opposition to *apartheid*. We also explained why we believe our policy of constructive engagement is more likely to bring about positive changes in South Africa than is the policy of all-out confrontation, punishment and isolation of South Africa which is the philosophical basis of these draft resolutions. Thus, while our objective—an end to racism in South Africa—is not fundamentally different from the objective the draft resolutions seek to promote, the means by which we think this objective can best be achieved are so profoundly different from those the draft resolutions advocate that we are obliged to vote against all of them except draft resolution A/37/L.27.

37. Beyond our fundamental difference in approach, there are many specific elements in the draft resolutions which we find unacceptable. At this time, I want to address only a few of them. First, the African National Congress is commended for intensifying armed struggle against the South African Government. Moreover, nowhere in the draft resolutions do we find any language urging reconciliation, negotiations, mutual understanding and the like. It is a sad commentary on the attitudes within this body when resolutions urge war and forget peace.

38. How can we ignore the first statement in Article I, Chapter I, of the United Nations Charter—that is, that the very first purpose of this Organization is:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: . . . to bring about by peaceful means,"—I repeat, by peaceful means—"and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;"

39. The "armed struggle" which these draft resolutions endorse is by definition not a peaceful means of solving what we all acknowledge is a morally repugnant and dangerous situation. These draft resolu-

tions, therefore, are directly contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the most fundamental principle on which it is based.

40. The United States is specifically denounced in the twenty-first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.17 for providing "comfort and encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa". That is a deliberate distortion of our policy, implying that my Government supports racism and racists. It does not; and we utterly reject such allegations. We therefore call for a separate vote on that paragraph.

41. Likewise, in operative paragraph 3 of the same draft resolution, "major Western Powers" are accused of encouraging South African aggression against its neighbours. That is another slander. The United States has in no way supported South African aggression against anyone. Quite the contrary, in fact: we were the first major country to impose an arms embargo against South Africa, in 1962; and we have been among the most stringent in enforcement of our arms embargo. As for economic and cultural sanctions, there is no reason whatsoever to suppose they would have any practical effect on South Africa's relations with its neighbours, except perhaps to heighten tensions and make armed conflict more likely.

42. In draft resolution A/37/L.20, the United States, Israel and "some other Western States" are denounced for assisting South Africa "in its nuclear plans". This also is simply not true. The United States is committed to a nuclear policy intended to prevent the development or acquisition of nuclear explosive devices by any non-nuclear-weapon State. Under United States law, no nuclear weapons materials, equipment or sensitive nuclear technology may be exported to any non-nuclear-weapon State unless all its nuclear facilities are covered by IAEA safeguards. Moreover, South Africa is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We have long insisted that adherence to that Treaty is also a pre-condition for the supply of United States nuclear fuel for South Africa's reactors. As a practical matter, no United States licenses for the export of nuclear materials or equipment to South Africa have been issued by the United States since 1975. We are actively engaged in a dialogue with South Africa designed to further the foregoing non-proliferation objectives in that country, as elsewhere around the world.

43. The United States is attacked for continuing and increasing what is called economic collaboration with South Africa. It is nowhere noted, however, that, according to statistics released by IMF, over 40 African countries carry on active trade with South Africa, in many cases in very substantial amounts.

44. In 1980, South African exports to the rest of Africa grew by 50 per cent over 1979, to more than a billion rand, and they remained over the billion rand level in 1981. South African imports from the rest of Africa increased by 10.1 per cent in 1980 and by another 10.3 per cent in 1981. There is also active trade between South Africa and countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [COMECON]—the Soviet and East European economic bloc—with South Africa importing \$51 million worth of goods from COMECON countries in 1981, as compared with \$38 million in 1980.

45. Regrettably, this hypocrisy, condemning the United States for trading with South Africa while continuing to do so oneself, is not limited to African and communist bloc countries. For example, in this year's general debate the Foreign Minister of Sweden called for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, yet trade figures for the first half of 1981 reveal that exports to South Africa continue to rise faster than those to any other country in Sweden's international trade and that South Africa ranks as Sweden's twenty-third biggest customer, up from thirty-fifth in 1978. Moreover, the South African Government's foreign trade organization lists Sweden as one of the country's ten most important suppliers.

46. IMF is condemned for making a loan to South Africa, while UPU is applauded for expelling South Africa. This attempt to turn the specialized agencies into political footballs can serve only to undermine their missions of real service to all countries and peoples. Indeed, to expel a country from UPU makes a mockery of that organization's very name and purpose.

47. Expanded assistance for South African national liberation movements by United Nations agencies is urged, while the legitimacy of the armed struggle of those movements is reaffirmed. Once again, this undermines one of the most fundamental principles of the United Nations—the peaceful settlement of conflicts. We have repeatedly stated our opposition to the use of any United Nations funds for the support of so-called national liberation movements, most specifically those engaged in armed struggle. In this connection, it should be noted that the United States Congress has passed legislation this year which forbids any funds provided for international organizations and programmes being made available for the United States' proportionate share of any programmes for the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] or the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. This clearly signals that our opposition to United Nations assistance to national liberation movements is no longer merely rhetorical. In the case of the PLO and SWAPO, we have already begun to take action to withhold our share of funds from United Nations programmes assisting those organizations. If United Nations aid to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress continues, the United States may well find it necessary to implement similar measures.

48. These are only some of the elements which we find objectionable in the draft resolutions on *apartheid*, and I hope that our discussion of them makes clear to the Assembly why we shall vote against them. Moreover, we find it regrettable that, on a matter of such widespread concern, the sponsors of the draft resolutions did not see fit to hold advance consultations on them outside their own group, or to make any real effort to bring about the widest possible consensus in favour of these draft resolutions. There is, after all, a very broad international consensus against *apartheid*, which we share, and it should be possible to pass anti-*apartheid* resolutions by consensus.

49. With regard to draft resolution A/37/L.27, concerning the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, my delegation is pleased to join the consensus



in favour of it. Our support, moreover, is more than rhetorical: we have given \$400,000 annually to this Fund. A related example of concrete support for South African blacks is our \$1 million annual contribution to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. On a bilateral basis, we have established a programme which will in 1982 spend \$4 million to bring to the United States for university training 117 black South Africans who would otherwise be disadvantaged by the *apartheid* education system. A similar effort is planned for 1983. Also for 1983, \$2.3 million has been earmarked for assisting South African blacks in such fields as small-business management training, and so forth.

50. In closing, I want to emphasize again that our negative vote on nine of the 10 draft resolutions in no way diminishes our commitment to continue working, in a practical and effective way, for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of racial justice in South Africa.

51. Mr. ULRICH (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

52. The Ten heard with deep regret of the tragic loss of civilian life in Maseru last night as the result of a South African commando raid. We strongly condemn this flagrant violation by South Africa of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho.

53. In the debate on item 33, we strongly condemned the policy of *apartheid*. The entire system of *apartheid* must be eliminated and must give way to a government based on truly representative democracy. In our view, the United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*.

54. The debate on this item has demonstrated the unanimous opposition of the Assembly to *apartheid*. Against this background, the Ten think that a greater effort should have been made in the draft resolutions before us to give expression to the Assembly's total rejection of *apartheid* in a way which could have been supported by all. They regret that once again divisive elements have been introduced into certain draft resolutions.

55. The Ten maintain that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the division of competence between the General Assembly and the Security Council must be respected.

56. The Ten wish to reaffirm their adherence to the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. The specialized agencies also should retain their universal character, and their statutes should be taken properly into account.

57. The Ten believe that opposition to *apartheid* is not a struggle against a colonial Power, but is intended to establish a multiracial, free and democratic society. The attitude of the 10 member States of the European Community to endorsement of armed struggle in resolutions of the General Assembly is well known and has frequently been expressed in the Assembly. I do not need to repeat it now. The Ten are conscious that the continued existence of *apartheid* policies in South Africa suggests to many that these will be ended only through armed struggle. However,

the Ten believe that the United Nations has, above all, the obligation to encourage peaceful solutions.

58. The Ten do not support demands to cut off all relations with South Africa. They believe that existing channels of communication should be used to permit free expression of views on all political, social and economic matters of concern to the people of South Africa.

59. We remain dedicated to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination, and we reject any form of *apartheid* in sports. We must point out, however, that sport is organized on a private basis in our countries. Sporting organizations in our countries are aware of the opposition of our Governments to sporting contacts in violation of the Olympic principle. The Governments of the Ten will continue firmly to discourage sporting contacts involving racial discrimination.

60. The Ten reject all arbitrary and unjustified attacks on Member States. They regret that, for the reasons that I have indicated, it will not be possible for them to give their support to all of the draft resolutions on the subject before the Assembly. The Ten reaffirm their commitment to continue efforts to bring about the ending of the system of *apartheid* in South Africa.

61. Mrs. DAES (Greece): In addition to the common statement of the 10 member States of the European Community just made by the representative of Denmark, the Greek delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolutions A/37/L.17 to L.23 and L.26 to L.28.

62. The long-standing and strong opposition of Greece to the policy and practices of *apartheid* is well known to all organs and bodies of the United Nations system; therefore, we need not elaborate on it today.

63. My delegation would, however, like to stress once again that we unreservedly condemn any form of racism or racial discrimination, and in particular *apartheid*, as an odious offence to the conscience of mankind. The complete eradication of *apartheid* is therefore not only a moral but also a legal and political imperative, and it is the responsibility of the entire world community—and especially of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and all the organizations and institutions of the United Nations system—to exert their best efforts to put an immediate end to all manifestations of *apartheid*.

64. Consequently, we will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.18, L.21 to L.23 and L.26 for the reasons that I have just explained. We would also have voted in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.17, L.19, L.20 and L.28, because we support the general principles and positions incorporated therein. We feel compelled to abstain, however, because of the language of certain of their paragraphs.

65. We fully support the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, particularly its publications on the aggression, terrorism and destabilization carried out by the racist régime of South Africa against independent African States and its attention to the implementation of United Nations resolutions for the elimination of *apartheid*.

66. We also endorse draft resolution A/37/L.26, on investments in South Africa, because we are of the opinion that it provides practical means of vital importance that would constitute some sort of pressure on the Government of South Africa.

67. Finally, we are a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/37/L.27, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. We are convinced that humanitarian, economic and legal assistance to the victims of the abhorrent system of *apartheid* and to their families contributes, at least to some extent, to the alleviation of their suffering and constitutes a token of solidarity with their struggle for freedom, justice and independence.

68. Mr. DORR (Ireland): I had the opportunity to explain in detail the views of the Government of Ireland on the policies of *apartheid* during the debate on this item [66th meeting].

69. Ireland has co-sponsored two of the draft resolutions that have been submitted on this issue. We will vote in favour of six of them, abstain on three and vote against one.

70. Our votes on these draft resolutions give expression to Ireland's serious concern at the situation in South Africa. The dangers of that situation are again evident from South Africa's outrageous and unacceptable attack yesterday on the capital of its independent neighbour, Lesotho. We regret, however, that because some of the draft resolutions contain formulations and ideas that are not consistent with the approach taken by my Government to the *apartheid* issue, we will not be able to support all of the draft resolutions. I should also mention that we share the reservations held in common by the member States of the European Community set out by the representative of Denmark in the statement he has just made.

71. I turn first to the draft resolutions that we support. Ireland believes that the international community should apply pressure on South Africa in a careful, graduated and co-ordinated manner to bring it to change its *apartheid* policies. Accordingly, we will support three of the draft resolutions dealing with sanctions against South Africa.

72. We have co-sponsored draft resolution A/37/L.26, in which the Security Council is once again urged to take effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in, and financial loans to, South Africa.

73. We will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.18, in which, *inter alia*, the Security Council is invited urgently to give thorough consideration to the ever-growing threat to the peace in southern Africa and to take effective measures under the Charter.

74. We will also support draft resolution A/37/L.28, which paves the way for an international conference on an oil embargo against South Africa. I wish to emphasize, however, that Ireland continues to believe that the Security Council itself should consider imposing a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. Such a decision by the Council remains, in our view, the most effective means by which an embargo can be imposed.

75. Ireland will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.23, concerning *apartheid* in sports, in which the

*Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports is requested to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention to the Assembly as soon as possible. We will, of course, carefully examine the international convention when it is completed. I must put on record, however, that we will have to study the draft convention at that stage to see whether it would give rise to problems of a legal or constitutional nature for Ireland.

76. Ireland is co-sponsoring and will support draft resolution A/37/L.27, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. We feel that it is important to promote humanitarian and legal assistance for those who suffer under South Africa's discriminatory legislation and to give assistance to their families and to refugees from South Africa.

77. We will also support draft resolution A/37/L.21 on the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contained in its report [A/37/22, paras. 466-476]. However, our attitude to the recommendations in the report must be understood in accordance with the general policy of my Government regarding *apartheid*, which has been outlined in this and previous statements. While not wishing to detract from the important work of the Special Committee in promoting the international campaign against *apartheid*, we do have reservations on the decision in operative paragraph 7 of this draft resolution to make a special allocation of \$400,000 to the Special Committee. We feel that a somewhat more selective approach to activities of the Special Committee in 1983 could have involved a more modest special allocation from the United Nations budget without seriously impeding the objectives of the Special Committee, with which we are in general agreement.

78. I now turn to the resolutions on which my delegation will abstain.

79. We will abstain on draft resolution A/37/L.17, on the situation in South Africa. In deciding to do so, we balanced the positive elements in the draft resolution against other formulations which we consider inappropriate—in particular, the explicit endorsement by the Assembly of armed struggle, the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, and the somewhat arbitrary naming and condemnation of the policies of particular States. There are many elements in this text which do not accord with the approach of my Government to the problem. But we decided nevertheless to abstain rather than vote against the draft resolution. We did this principally because it contains a formulation which we think important. This is in operative paragraph 23, which reaffirms the commitment of the United Nations to the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, will enjoy equal and full human rights and fundamental freedoms and participate freely in the determination of their destiny. This is a concept we strongly support. We hope that at our next session a general resolution on the situation in South Africa will be phrased so as to command the support of all members of the Assembly.

80. We will abstain on draft resolution A/37/L.19, on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against

South Africa. As I said earlier, Ireland supports the application of selected sanctions by the Security Council, and we would have been able to support many of the specific measures listed in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, which are in accord with the policy on sanctions I mentioned earlier. We believe that the right policy for the international community is one of steady and graduated pressure for change through carefully chosen, selected sanctions measures which will be properly implemented by all. But we must continue to question whether it is wise or realistic for the Assembly to call on the Security Council to impose immediately all-out and comprehensive sanctions on South Africa. I should add that my delegation would not wish to support operative paragraph 6, which seeks to orchestrate a campaign to deny South Africa's right to membership of UPU.

81. We would have wished to vote in favour of a draft resolution calling for an end to military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. However, we are obliged with reluctance to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.20 because of certain formulations, including, in particular, the unfair singling out of a number of States in a rather selective and arbitrary manner. This practice is, in our view, unlikely to further attainment of the basic goal of the draft resolution, which is the total cessation of all co-operation with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields. Apart from this, however, there is much in the text of the draft which we could have supported.

82. As in previous years, Ireland will vote against the draft resolution on relations between Israel and South Africa, contained this year in document A/37/L.22, because we believe it singles out one Member State of the Assembly for selective condemnation in an inappropriate manner.

83. Mr. JELONEK (Federal Republic of Germany): The recent events in Maseru prompt me to make the following statement.

84. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has learned with deep concern about the commando attack on members of the African National Congress in the capital of Lesotho, which originated in South Africa and has claimed many lives, including those of women and children. My Government has always rejected the use of force to achieve political aims, no matter who is concerned. It condemns this attack as showing contempt for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of one of South Africa's neighbours and as thus yet another breach of international law. Such deliberate violations of national borders must cease immediately or they may dangerously exacerbate tensions in southern Africa and thus pose a serious threat to peace.

85. Turning now to the draft resolutions before us, my delegation would like to make the following observations.

86. The representative of Denmark, speaking on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, has already commented on the draft resolutions we are about to adopt, recalling essential political principles shared by the countries of the Community, including my own. The Federal Republic of Germany, too, strongly rejects the *apartheid* policy of South Africa as an institutionalized system of racial

discrimination, and fully endorses the statement made on behalf of the Ten. Peaceful change in favour of the oppressed majority of South Africa is urgent, mandatory and necessary, for the benefit of all sections of the population of that country. Hence, the Federal Republic of Germany agrees with the main thrust of the draft resolutions. It is therefore with much regret that, because of certain formulations in the draft resolutions, my delegation is not in a position to support all of them.

87. My delegation has regularly voiced its opposition to singling out individual Member States, as is done in draft resolution A/37/L.17. In particular, we fail to understand the unfounded criticism in that draft resolution directed against Western countries, suggesting that they are encouraging South Africa to undertake criminal acts against its neighbouring States.

88. The same observation applies to draft resolution A/37/L.20, on which the Federal Republic of Germany will abstain. Furthermore, although we fully agree with the general thrust of this draft resolution, which is to ensure the full implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), we cannot associate ourselves with the practice of the General Assembly in endorsing declarations of meetings with limited participation of Member States. The Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa<sup>1</sup> unfortunately contains certain propositions to which my Government could not subscribe.

89. It goes without saying that the Federal Republic of Germany agrees in principle with the aims of draft resolution A/37/L.21, concerning the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We feel that this Committee is carrying out a most important task and should be supported in its valuable efforts in so far as they aim at peaceful change in South Africa. My delegation will, therefore, vote in favour of this draft resolution. However, because of the considerable administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution, my delegation is obliged, to its sincere regret, to make reservations in that respect.

90. Finally, let me express the wish of my delegation that the General Assembly will be able at its thirty-eighth session to intensify its efforts aimed at resolutions on this subject which will eventually make possible support by all members of the Assembly.

91. Mr. TANÇ (Turkey): My delegation will support all the draft resolutions concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, contained in documents A/37/L.17 to L.23 and L.26 to L.28. My delegation is also pleased to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/37/L.26 and L.27.

92. Our views on the *apartheid* policies of South Africa and our strong commitment to the efforts being made to eradicate these infamous policies of racial discrimination and oppression in southern Africa were expressed in detail in the statement we made at the 66th meeting.

93. Our firm support for the draft resolutions before us is an indication of our commitment to those efforts. In our consideration of these draft resolutions, we have also noted with satisfaction the valuable efforts of

the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to make them concise and more effective. We are confident that those efforts will contribute to the effectiveness of the international campaign being waged to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

94. However, in expressing our support for all these draft resolutions, I should like to put on record the reservations of my delegation with regard to several references in the draft resolutions to a particular region and to countries in that region. Also, a few exceptional provisions in these draft resolutions may not entirely conform to existing Turkish laws. Such provisions have been referred to in the statements of my delegation on previous occasions. Therefore, we support and accept such exceptional paragraphs to the extent that they conform to existing Turkish laws and regulations.

95. Mr. RAM (Fiji): My delegation will once again this year vote in favour of all the draft resolutions on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa except for draft resolution A/37/L.22, on which we will abstain.

96. We support the draft resolutions because my delegation deplores South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity and poses a threat to international peace and security. Our support also stems from our belief that maximum pressure should be exerted on the racist régime of South Africa to make it abandon its policy of *apartheid* and thus to enable a peaceful process to take place in which all peoples of that country could take part. However, our support for these draft resolutions is tempered by the introduction of divisive elements that in our view stand in the way of the unified front that the United Nations could effectively present towards a common goal.

97. We likewise reserve our position, as we have done in previous sessions, on paragraphs in those draft resolutions that would endorse armed struggle as an alternative to dialogue and peaceful negotiations.

98. My delegation would also like to reserve its position on the selective singling out of countries and institutions, since this detracts from the main purpose of the draft resolutions and does not assist our objective of obtaining as large a measure of support as possible to exert maximum pressure on South Africa to abandon its racist policy. Such extensive support would indicate to South Africa that the international community does not condone, but is totally against, its policy of *apartheid*. Faced with isolation by the international community, South Africa may realize that a speedy transition to majority rule is a more desirable alternative to its present abhorrent policy of *apartheid*.

99. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions that will be voted on shortly. It will do so as an expression of Brazil's commitment to international efforts to eradicate *apartheid* and all forms of racism. We do, however, have doubts about the usefulness of the language used in some of the draft resolutions. It seems to us excessive and not totally necessary.

100. Mr. DUPRAS (Canada): At the outset, I should like to add Canada's voice to the condemnation of South Africa by the international community for the raid last night by South African forces on Maseru

during which many innocent lives were lost. In the past, the Canadian Government has deplored operations by the South African Defence Forces on the territory of its sovereign neighbours, and it will issue a statement on this incident.

101. The Canadian Government has repeatedly condemned the policy and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. We have characterized it as abhorrent and as a gross violation of fundamental human rights. Furthermore, we have voiced our support for peaceful change, while expressing the conviction that change must—and will—come.

102. Canada has taken concrete measures to signal to South Africa its opposition to *apartheid*. In 1963, Canada voluntarily imposed an embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa. Fourteen years later, in 1977, the Security Council, of which Canada was then a member, took the decision to apply an arms embargo against South Africa [resolution 418 (1977)], a decision which Canada supported.

103. In addition, in 1977, the Canadian Government decided to end the active promotion of trade and investment in South Africa. Trade commissioners previously assigned to South Africa were withdrawn. The use of the Export Development Corporation's government account for financing and insuring trade with South Africa was suspended, and investment insurance facilities were withdrawn. These measures were extended in 1981, when the use of the Export Development Corporation's corporate account for South Africa was also suspended.

104. In 1978, the Government issued a code of conduct for Canadian companies operating in South Africa. The purpose of this voluntary code is to indicate to Canadian companies the manner in which they are expected to conduct their operations in South Africa, with particular emphasis on actions designed to improve the working conditions for non-white employees.

105. In January 1980, the Canada-South Africa Trade Agreement, which accorded South African exports preferential tariff access to the Canadian market, was terminated.

106. Action has also been taken in the area of sporting contacts. The Government has actively discouraged sporting contacts between officially representative Canadian and South African athletes. Since 1972, the Government has refused to give funds to Canadian sporting bodies for competitions in Canada to which South African representatives are invited, or for Canadian athletes to compete in South Africa.

107. Following the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977,<sup>2</sup> the Government imposed a visa requirement for all South Africans visiting Canada. Since July 1978, the Government has refused to issue visas to South African sportsmen or officials who intend to visit Canada to participate in competitions or meetings on a nationally representative basis.

108. These measures have clearly signalled Canada's views on *apartheid*. The Canadian Government's objective has consistently been to promote change in South Africa through peaceful means, not through destructive violence. The Canadian Government considers that totally isolating South Africa would serve



only to retard fundamental reform in that country. It believes that continuing contacts provide a means of communicating to the South African Government, and to the white minority there, Canadian opinion about the unacceptability of *apartheid* and the need for change. This requires a non-polemical and frank dialogue. Given the Canadian Government's views on the *apartheid* question and its approach to the issue, we regrettably have difficulty with a number of aspects of the draft resolutions concerning *apartheid* before the Assembly.

109. For example, in draft resolution A/37/L.17, we cannot support the presentation of decisions relating to international peace and security which go beyond the competence of this body under the Charter. We do not endorse armed struggle at the expense of peaceful change. We are opposed to the naming of specific States Members for their alleged collaboration with South Africa. This is, by clear implication, alleged to be in support of that Government's policies. We consider unsubstantiated rhetoric to be counter-productive, as it only detracts from the seriousness of the issue and from valid points which can be made.

110. These remarks apply equally to a number of other draft resolutions. Unacceptable references in them include calls to terminate cultural and other relations with South Africa and an objectionable commendation of UPU for an unconstitutional decision to expel South Africa. Canada believes strongly in the principle of universality in multilateral organizations, a principle which, in one respect or another, is violated by a number of the draft resolutions.

111. Canada supports some draft resolutions in principle but, at the same time, cannot endorse the means proposed for achieving the end. For example, Canada will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.21, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, notwithstanding serious reservations regarding the open-ended extension of the implementation of the programme of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa and the request for a so-called special allocation of \$400,000, to be used at the discretion and convenience of the Special Committee. Similarly, while Canadian policy largely accords with the principle underlying the attempt to draft an international convention against *apartheid* in sports, domestic legal and constitutional obstacles may preclude Canada from becoming a party to any eventual convention.

112. With respect to draft resolution A/37/L.28, I must state that Canada has not supported restrictions on trade in peaceful goods with South Africa. We are concerned that the effect of this draft resolution may go beyond its stated intention by establishing a *de facto* embargo, when the Security Council has not taken such a decision.

113. We believe that the Assembly could adopt draft resolutions against *apartheid* unanimously if they were more realistic and pragmatic. Extraneous passages and gratuitous and unsubstantiated condemnations only serve to divide the international community. The Canadian voting pattern reflects not a lack of commitment to the eradication of *apartheid*, but the presence of extremes of language, jurisdictional problems and a lack of realism in the draft resolutions.

114. As in the past, we express regret that the drafters have not chosen, as they could have, to build on the presence in the Assembly of unanimous opposition to *apartheid* by putting forward draft resolutions more relevant to the issue and more likely to be of some effect.

115. Mr. WYATT (United Kingdom): The views of my Government have been accurately and extensively reflected in the explanation of vote delivered by the representative of Denmark on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community. I shall therefore add only a few points to explain briefly why my Government cannot support most of the draft resolutions.

116. The British people abhor *apartheid*. It is wholly alien to our way of life. Successive British Governments have publicly expressed this profound abhorrence. They have consistently sought to use the most effective means to bring *apartheid* rapidly and peacefully to an end. *Apartheid* is far too important a subject to be treated as a political football. It is a matter on which, if they are to be effective, members of the Assembly should make every effort to reach consensus; otherwise, the impact of the strong feelings which we hold in common will be lost.

117. Consequently, my delegation regrets that most of the draft resolutions now before the Assembly are of a nature which will inevitably provoke division. We regret that in many respects the draft resolutions pursue lines which are not realistic and will not help to end *apartheid*. I have in mind, for example, the gravely misleading references to Western States in several of the draft resolutions. The United Kingdom cannot in any sense endorse such assertions. We would ask, in what way can unfounded allegations possibly contribute to our common objective of ending *apartheid*?

118. Similar objections apply to the reference to Western members of the Security Council in draft resolution A/37/L.18. This draft resolution does not, in any event, accord with a realistic policy on international action aimed at ending *apartheid*. I would also observe, with regard to operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/37/L.17, that the external trade of Brunei is a matter for the Government of Brunei, not for the Government of the United Kingdom.

119. If we are to persuade South Africa to respect the provisions of the United Nations Charter, we must show similar respect ourselves. We must respect the division of responsibilities between the General Assembly and the Security Council. This is not the case in some of the present draft resolutions, including draft resolution A/37/L.28, which apparently tries to establish machinery to promote an embargo under the auspices of the United Nations, but outside the Security Council. My Government considers that the action proposed in this draft resolution is ill-advised and that it is not appropriate to lay an additional burden on the budget of the United Nations in order to duplicate or circumvent the functions of the Security Council. The same budgetary reservations apply also in the case of draft resolution A/37/L.21.

120. If the General Assembly's plenary debate on *apartheid* becomes no more than a ritual, if the resolutions are used to set Member States at odds with each other, we can only give comfort to the supporters

of *apartheid*. May I dare to hope, in conclusion, that the General Assembly will be able to act next year in a more realistic and effective manner and in a spirit of unanimity.

121. Finally, as regards the events reported today from Lesotho, we condemn the flagrant violation of Lesotho's sovereignty, and we greatly regret the loss of life involved and extend our sympathy to the bereaved families. We deplore violence, from any quarter, in the search for solutions to the problems of southern Africa.

122. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Political Constitution of Ecuador, which resulted from a popular referendum in keeping with the democratic institutions of my country, stipulates in article 4 that: "The Ecuadorian State condemns all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination or segregation. It recognizes the right of peoples to liberate themselves from these oppressive systems". Article 19, paragraph 4, stipulates that: "All forms of discrimination for reasons of race, colour, sex, language, religion, filiation, political or other opinions, social origin, economic position or birth are forbidden".

123. In our country, which is proud of its human resources, which have emerged from a melting-pot of races and cultural contributions, all racial discrimination is illegal and *apartheid* is considered a crime against humanity and one of the most shameful forms of discrimination, because it is institutionalized and because it has been adopted in a country that considers itself to be civilized and whose present leaders descend from those who penetrated foreign lands in Africa under the banner of what they claimed were ideals of civilization and justice.

124. Ecuador vigorously condemns the use of force and the violations of the sovereignty of the sister country of Lesotho by South Africa that have taken place according to recent reports.

125. Ecuador is party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex] and was the first State to accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex].

126. In addition, my country, together with other Latin American States, has for 20 years always endorsed the support for our sister peoples of Africa expressed in resolutions on the question that reflect not only a painful tragedy for the people of South Africa, but also a serious and growing threat to international peace and security which deserves attention and should be the object of sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

127. For these reasons, Ecuador maintains no official relations with the Government of South Africa and refrains from promoting any form of trade. It has supported the idea of an oil embargo, which is being considered in the Assembly on the initiative of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule.

128. We support draft resolutions A/37/L.17 to L.23 and L.26 to L.28. We do so primarily in the spirit of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/37/L.18, to contribute to the establishment of a democratic society

in which the people of South Africa can enjoy human and political rights and decide their own destiny, and to ensure peace in the region.

129. Ecuador does not agree with selectivity in matters of human rights, and thus we believe that we should criticize all States that ignore United Nations resolutions and continue to collaborate with the racist régime of South Africa in the military and nuclear spheres, as well as the many countries, large and small, which, despite such resolutions and recommendations, continue to engage in significant commercial transactions with South Africa. Hence, we shall vote for draft resolution A/37/L.22 only because of the anti-discrimination principles that it invokes, but we do not accept the idea that some countries and not others should be referred to when the circumstances are similar. We would have preferred a separate vote on each paragraph so that we could express the appropriate abstentions.

130. My delegation appreciates the tireless work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and in particular the work done by Mr. Maitama-Sule, and it repeats its support for the struggle of the African peoples against all situations of neo-colonialism and discrimination and for democracy, human rights and social justice throughout the world.

131. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): First, I join other delegations in expressing deep concern at the raid by South African forces into Lesotho last night, during which many innocent people were killed. That sort of action clearly violates the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and cannot be condoned by Members of the Organization.

132. The New Zealand Government's attitude to *apartheid* is clear: we believe that it is wrong and we want to see it ended. *Apartheid* is wrong because it legalizes racial discrimination and seeks to make discrimination the basis of a whole social order. Such legalized discrimination is contrary to the United Nations Charter.

133. New Zealand is willing to co-operate with other countries in working out how to end a system that can be regarded only as an offence against the dignity of man. Measures directed towards this end are unlikely to be effective, however, unless they are accepted, and carried out, by all the countries directly concerned. Unfortunately, this approach is not reflected in all the draft resolutions at present before us, and New Zealand is unable to support a number of them.

134. We have particular difficulty with draft resolution A/37/L.21. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* quotes a statement made by its Chairman which misrepresents the attitude of the New Zealand Government to the tour of New Zealand by a South African rugby team last year. The New Zealand Government has honoured the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977,<sup>2</sup> and it seeks to prevent sporting contacts with South Africa by persuasion.

135. This year, as on previous occasions, my delegation is a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/37/L.26. We continue to contribute to the various trust funds set up to help the victims of *apartheid*, and we systematically enforce the arms embargo against South

Africa, as we did long before it became mandatory. These actions demonstrate that New Zealand is prepared to join in measures agreed on by the international community to end the *apartheid* system.

136. Mr. SHRESTHA (Nepal): My country's total commitment to the struggle against the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of Pretoria is well known. Because of that commitment, we shall, as in the past, vote in favour of the draft resolutions before us. However, we would have preferred a different formulation of certain paragraphs of the draft resolutions, a formulation more consistent with my Government's policies and perceptions.

137. Mr. HALEEM (Maldives): I wish to put it on record that the Maldives supports the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with draft resolution A/37/L.19. However, because of certain references in the formulation of that draft resolution, my delegation will be constrained to register an abstention in the voting on it.

138. Mr. SEWRAJSING (Suriname): The delegation of Suriname wishes to associate itself with previous speakers who have condemned the commando raid by South African forces into Lesotho, which resulted in many casualties. That premeditated action by the racist régime is further proof of its hostile attitude towards the neighbouring States and its policy of terror in the region.

139. My delegation wishes to explain its vote before the voting on the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly under agenda item 33. The delegation of Suriname supports the underlying principles and concepts in the draft resolutions and therefore will vote in favour of all those now under consideration. However, it wishes to express its reservations with regard to the wording of operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/37/L.17 and the seventh preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.20. If a separate vote were taken on those paragraphs, my delegation would abstain.

140. Mr. LOULICHKI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Since its earliest years, the United Nations has been committed to the struggle against all forms of discrimination and to ensuring that, in relations between States, international ethics based on respect for human dignity and on equality of political, civil and civic rights for all, irrespective of sex, colour or religion, shall prevail.

141. The authorities in Pretoria continue obstinately and blindly to oppose those noble principles and laudable objectives, by denying the great majority of the people of South Africa the enjoyment of the most elementary rights recognized by the United Nations Charter and by pursuing a policy of aggression against the security and integrity of independent neighbouring States, a policy to which Lesotho has recently fallen victim.

142. In this respect, it is at the very least amazing that the racist régime of Pretoria continues to enjoy the support of certain circles and financial organizations, as reflected in the granting of a credit by IMF in spite of world-wide opposition.

143. We believe that the recent development of the situation in southern Africa should impel the international community to commit itself to concerted and determined efforts to put an end to the anachronistic system of *apartheid*, which continues, in spite of the Charter, to enslave and humiliate thousands of men, women and children.

144. For its part, Morocco, which is fundamentally opposed to any type of discrimination, whatever its basis or manifestation, reaffirms its unconditional support for the fraternal people of South Africa in the struggle it is courageously waging for the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian society.

145. It is with that conviction that my delegation will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions submitted, including draft resolutions A/37/L.18 and L.21 to L.23, of which Morocco is a sponsor.

146. With respect to draft resolutions A/37/L.17, L.19 and L.20, although my delegation does not agree with the language of some paragraphs, it will reflect its position of principle in an affirmative vote.

147. Mr. de La GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation would like to add the following points to the statement made on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community by the representative of Denmark.

148. France, as everyone knows, unreservedly condemns the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. We have said that here in the most clear-cut fashion and have proven it by our actions. The strong support of my country for all those who work for the establishment of justice in South Africa and the recognition of the dignity of all the people there was confirmed a few days ago when the great poet Breyten Breytenbach, after finally being freed, came to Paris, where he has chosen to live.

149. In the same spirit, France gives its full support to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, whose Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, visited Paris last spring.

150. My delegation does not approve of all the items of the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, bearing in mind the financial difficulties of the Organization, we regret the excessive increase in the Committee's budget. But in its desire to give concrete form to the excellent relations which the French authorities have with the Special Committee at this time, my delegation will, for the first time, vote in favour of the draft resolution setting out its programme of work, draft resolution A/37/L.21.

151. Similarly, while reserving our position concerning some of the possible provisions of the future draft convention, the French delegation will this year support draft resolution A/37/L.23 to indicate its rejection of any discrimination in sports. But my delegation will have to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.18 because of the unacceptable language contained in operative paragraph 3.

152. In more general terms, France expresses the hope that in the future closer co-ordination among members will make it possible for the Assembly to express its condemnation of *apartheid* unanimously or almost unanimously.

153. Finally, I should like to express France's strong condemnation of the raid that took place last night by South African forces against Lesotho. My delegation deeply deplores that flagrant violation of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the loss of life caused by that unjustified attack.

154. Mr. BLUM (Israel): As we had occasion to reiterate in the course of the debate on the agenda item before us, Israel unequivocally and unreservedly rejects racism and racial discrimination in any form and has made this clear both to the Government of South Africa and to the Assembly. The sponsors of draft resolution A/37/L.22, as well as of some other draft resolutions before us, have, however, seen fit to ignore official communiqués from my Government, contained in official documents of the United Nations, and instead have relied on tendentious and unsupported claims, contained in speculative press reports, to throw sand in the eyes of the world and divert attention from the real problems of *apartheid*.

155. This approach has seriously undermined the purpose of this debate and once again debased the high purpose of our concern for those who still suffer racial discrimination.

156. It is high time that a serious assessment of the perennial incantations against my country took place and that a single, honest and impartial standard be set in the matter of attitudes to racism and racial discrimination.

157. Because Israel has been singled out as the only country in the world for specific condemnation based on patent falsehoods, my delegation will not participate in the voting on this item. I request that this non-participation and its reasons be reflected in the record.

158. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Guyana will vote in support of all the draft resolutions now before us on the question of *apartheid*.

159. A number of delegations have expressed concern about the singling out in the draft resolutions of individual countries by name. As a general rule, in the drafting of resolutions on *apartheid* and on questions of this type, the Guyana delegation prefers an approach that does not single out by name individual countries for condemnation or denunciation. Yet we have in the past not allowed such individual mention to affect the manner in which we express ourselves regarding what we feel is the more fundamental question, which is the political statement that the draft resolutions in question seek to make.

160. In this particular case, the sponsors are making a statement of their abhorrence of the *apartheid* system and of their desire to see that system come to an end and to see States end all co-operation or contact with the *apartheid* régime in South Africa.

161. My Government is irrevocably committed to the eradication of *apartheid*. We have no relations whatsoever with the Government of South Africa, and we would wish that all Governments would adopt a similar approach to the *apartheid* régime, because we believe that, at a time when the General Assembly is engaged in activities for the total isolation of South Africa, contacts or co-operation with that régime by

individual countries do provide some measure of comfort and encouragement to that régime.

162. The United States delegation has requested a separate vote on the twenty-first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.17. That delegation charges that the United States is specifically denounced for providing comfort and encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa. According to my delegation's reading, the twenty-first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.17 does not do that. Rather than denouncing, the paragraph merely expresses grave concern. Furthermore, that paragraph does not seem to my delegation to be denouncing the United States for providing comfort and encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa. It merely expresses grave concern at those policies, pronouncements and actions of the United States which have provided comfort and encouragement to the *apartheid* régime; to my delegation that is a completely different matter.

163. As I have said before, the very fact of maintaining contacts with South Africa inevitably has the effect of providing comfort and encouragement to that régime. It is that effect about which the paragraph in question expresses concern. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the paragraph.

164. Miss QOANE (Lesotho): May I start by thanking all those who have expressed concern and sympathy and offered condolences to my Government on the sad events which took place in my country last night.

165. The item under consideration by the General Assembly, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, is of paramount interest—indeed, of concern—to the United Nations. For more than 30 years, the world community has been seized of the question of *apartheid* in South Africa. Our position on this subject is well known to the General Assembly, and it is unnecessary for me to restate it. I shall therefore confine myself to the draft resolutions on which the Assembly is about to take action.

166. First, I wish to refer briefly to draft resolutions A/37/L.19 and L.28.

167. My country, Lesotho, finds itself constrained by circumstances emanating from the practical realities of economic survival, which are further compounded by its geo-political position *vis-à-vis* South Africa. We shall do everything possible within our limited means to aid the victims of *apartheid*, bearing in mind our primary responsibility, which is the survival of our nation.

168. My delegation's abstention on these draft resolutions does not signify any loss of faith in the measures proposed or any lessening of resolve on the part of Lesotho to work hard for the total elimination of *apartheid*. It is a position which, as I have said, is taken in the light of serious and practical constraints. However, we would be greatly displeased if our reasons for abstaining on this important matter were to be used by others as a convenient and ready-made excuse to shed their responsibilities in dealing with the critical matter before the Assembly today.

169. Our positive vote on the other draft resolutions should not be taken as signifying an endorsement of some of the sentiments expressed therein with which we are not in agreement. My delegation is particu-



larly concerned about operative paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of draft resolution A/37/L.17. It should be noted that Lesotho does not support direct condemnation of any country with which it has diplomatic relations, no matter how strongly we disagree with its policies.

170. Mr. Van LIEROP (Vanuatu): On the instructions of the Government of Vanuatu, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolutions on *apartheid*. In doing so, we emphasize that we are voting against the cruel and inhuman system of racism and State terror as organized and practised by the Republic of South Africa. Our condemnations are directed against South Africa and should not be interpreted as being directed against anything except the criminal actions of the South African régime and the victimization of the African people.

171. We regret that some will object to some of the language of the draft resolutions. However, to us it is even more regrettable that South Africa's people are still prisoners in their own land, as are the people of Namibia, and it is even more regrettable that neighbouring countries are still being subjected to military attacks by the *apartheid* régime even as we are sitting in this Hall. By these arrogant and unwarranted attacks, South Africa is mocking all of us, even those of us who would contend that these draft resolutions go too far.

172. We share with other delegations an abhorrence of armed conflict; however, we cannot understand how armed conflict can be welcomed, and even encouraged, in other regions but discouraged when waged against the international pariah, South Africa. We, like all rational people, would prefer to see an immediate and peaceful end to *apartheid*. South Africa has, by its actions and its laws, made both impossible. It is regrettable that South Africa has, by its actions, decreed armed struggle to be the only way by which the African National Congress and SWAPO can free their respective countries.

173. In voting for these draft resolutions, we are mindful of the great patience exhibited for so many years by the opponents of the *apartheid* régime, and we salute their commitment to justice and peace. If there should exist another effective way of freeing South Africa and Namibia, we will join in supporting such an initiative, but we do not believe that we or anyone else can tell the people of a country, any country, how they could or should free themselves. Accordingly, we stand with the people of South Africa and Namibia, and we recognize that in opposing the *apartheid* régime they are acting for all of us at great risk to themselves. In doing so, they remind us of our responsibilities to all mankind under the Charter of this great Organization.

174. Mrs. CASTRO DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Costa Rica learned with great sorrow today of the raid carried out by South African commando forces against Lesotho, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and all resolutions of the Organization concerning the persistent and defiant attitude of South Africa and its policy of *apartheid*. We deplore the loss of life and the suffering which South Africa has caused to Lesotho in violation of international law.

175. Costa Rica has always strongly condemned the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa, a policy which has been described by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. We deplore and condemn the indiscriminate repression and torture of those who oppose *apartheid*, whether they be students, workers, professional people or anybody else. We also protest the death sentences passed upon freedom fighters. We therefore support the draft resolutions submitted under item 33 of the agenda. However, we have reservations concerning some paragraphs which, as in previous resolutions adopted by the Assembly on this subject, single out some States Members of the United Nations for their political, economic and military collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

176. We consider that these draft resolutions do not reflect the real situation concerning collaboration of any kind with South Africa. We therefore have reservations concerning the paragraphs in draft resolutions A/37/L.17, L.19 and L.20 which refer to such collaboration.

177. We also consider that it would be a good idea to search for other ways of achieving a practical, concrete solution to this problem, instead of repeating every year the same unilateral condemnations.

178. Regarding draft resolution A/37/L.22, since it refers only to Israel we shall be unable to participate in the vote because, in addition to repeating what has been said in other draft resolutions, which we can support, although with reservations concerning those paragraphs which single out certain countries, it is both unnecessary and discriminatory. Therefore, we shall not participate in the vote on that draft resolution.

179. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): I should like to begin by reiterating my country's well-known position on the policies of the Government of South Africa. We are against *apartheid*.

180. In the debate on this item, my delegation stated our stand against this policy:

"The situation within South Africa is fast deteriorating because of the rigid application of racial policies. The international community should never lose sight of the depth of human suffering that *apartheid* has brought to South Africa. The exclusion of the black population from political power-sharing in the country of their birth has brought resistance from those oppressed people. This resistance to injustice has resulted in wanton detentions, killings, imprisonment and banning of their leaders. This kind of response can only serve to heighten the danger and consequently lead to a general breakdown of law and order which in itself would destroy any possible chance of peaceful national reconciliation that might still be left." [67th meeting, para. 134.]

181. My delegation was shocked to learn, from the reports it has received, of the tragic situation that has developed in the sister country of Lesotho. We very much regret and condemn the loss of innocent lives and the violation of the territorial integrity of a neighbouring State.

182. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland recently made a statement reiterating the Swaziland Government's well-known position and policy of

good-neighbourliness. He stated that Swaziland will continue its policy of good-neighbourliness and to that effect will not allow its territory to be used as a launching pad against any of its neighbours. He said that Swaziland has obligations under the United Nations Charter to welcome genuine refugees and give them humanitarian assistance.

183. Swaziland believes in peaceful negotiation as provided for in the United Nations Charter. This being the case, we would find it difficult to endorse elements that acknowledge the use of arms as an instrument for effecting change in our region.

184. We do not support the use of force either by Governments or by movements. Certain elements in the draft resolutions before us present difficulties. The singling out of States, for example, is considered by my delegation as not helpful in winning broad support.

185. The Government of Swaziland has on many occasions drawn the attention of the international community to the sensitivity of our geographic position, which was imposed on us by events of colonialism and history. Some of the measures proposed in these draft resolutions would impose severe economic difficulties on my country. This vulnerability has been acknowledged by studies conducted by the Organization; such being the case, the Assembly will understand our abstaining on certain draft resolutions and paragraphs which call for economic sanctions and an oil embargo against South Africa.

186. We should therefore like to put on record our reservations on the following draft resolutions: the last preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.17; operative paragraphs 6, 10, 12 and 16 of that draft resolution; and subparagraph (a) of operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/37/L.19. We will abstain on draft resolutions A/37/L.19, L.26 and L.28 for the reasons I have already stated.

187. It is important, however, to note that my delegation will vote for most of these draft resolutions because their main thrust is opposition to the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

188. Mr. DEL ROSARIO CEBALLOS (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Dominican Republic deplores and condemns the situation that exists in South Africa in connection with the practice of *apartheid*, as this practice constitutes a flagrant violation of fundamental human rights, which must exclude discrimination among human beings on any grounds.

189. The Dominican Republic reaffirms its condemnation of the continuation of this policy, which runs counter not only to human rights but also to all the norms proclaimed by the United Nations through its bodies and, in our case, also runs counter to the provisions of the constitution of our State.

190. Our delegation similarly condemns the flagrant violations of the principles of international law carried out against the sister country of Lesotho.

191. We will vote in favour of the draft resolutions condemning the racist régime of South Africa, but we have reservations concerning certain operative paragraphs which refer indiscriminately to some States Members of the Organization.

192. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the vote. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the various draft resolutions before it. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of these draft resolutions is contained in document A/37/713.

193. We turn first to draft resolution A/37/L.17 and Add.1, entitled "Situation in South Africa". A separate vote has been requested on the twenty-first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, which reads:

*"Gravely concerned at the pronouncements, policies and actions of the Government of the United States of America which have provided comfort and encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa,"*

Another separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 4. As I hear no objection to those requests, the General Assembly will vote first on the twenty-first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/37/L.17 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon,<sup>3</sup> United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Bahamas, Bangladesh, Botswana, Burma, Central African Republic, Colombia, Comoros, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Nepal, Niger, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Thailand, Upper Volta, Uruguay.

*The twenty-first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution was adopted by 73 votes to 26, with 31 abstentions.<sup>4</sup>*

194. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/37/L.17 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Burma, Central African Republic, Colombia, Comoros, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Haiti, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Nepal, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Thailand, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution was adopted by 68 votes to 26, with 36 abstentions.<sup>5</sup>*

195. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.17 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United

Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Japan,<sup>6</sup> Malawi, Singapore, Spain, Sweden.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 118 votes to 14, with 11 abstentions (resolution 37/69 A).<sup>7</sup>*

196. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.18 and Add.1, entitled "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Portugal.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 135 votes to 3, with 8 abstentions (resolution 37/69 B).<sup>7</sup>*

197. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/37/L.19 and Add.1, entitled "Comprehensive and mandatory sanction against South Africa". A separate, recorded vote has been requested on the seventh and ninth preambular paragraphs together.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Bangladesh, Central African Republic, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gambia, Greece, Haiti, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Nepal, Niger, Philippines, Senegal, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Zaire.

*The seventh and ninth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution were adopted by 74 votes to 21, with 32 abstentions.<sup>8</sup>*

198. The PRESIDENT: A separate, recorded vote has also been requested on operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/37/L.19 and Add.1.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Botswana, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Greece, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Niger, Senegal, Solomon Islands, Swaziland, United Republic of Cameroon.

*Operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution was adopted by 103 votes to 21, with 12 abstentions.*

199. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution A/37/L.19 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Botswana, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Maldives, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 114 votes to 10, with 19 abstentions (resolution 37/69 C).<sup>7</sup>*

200. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution A/37/L.20 and Add.1, entitled "Military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa". A separate,



recorded vote has been requested on the seventh preambular paragraph.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Bangladesh, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Niger, Philippines, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Zaire.

*The seventh preambular paragraph of the draft resolution was adopted by 81 votes to 22, with 29 abstentions.<sup>9</sup>*

201. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.20 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania,

Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 120 votes to 8, with 16 abstentions (resolution 37/69 D).<sup>7</sup>*

202. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/37/L.21 and Add.1, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Malawi, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 142 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions (resolution 37/69 E).<sup>10</sup>*

203. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/37/L.22 and Add.1, entitled "Relations between Israel and South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Burma, Chile, Fiji, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Portugal, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Uruguay.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 113 votes to 18, with 10 abstentions (resolution 37/69 F).*

204. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/37/L.23 and Add.1, entitled "Apartheid in sports". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran

(Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 138 votes to 1, with 7 abstentions (resolution 37/69 G).<sup>10</sup>*

205. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.26 and Add.1, entitled "Investments in South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Botswana, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Swaziland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 134 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions (resolution 37/69 H).<sup>19</sup>*

206. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution A/37/L.27 and Add.1, entitled "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa". Since there is no request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 37/69 I).*

207. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.28 and Add.1, entitled "Oil embargo against South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United

Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Luxembourg, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Botswana, Canada, Greece, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lesotho, Malawi, New Zealand, Portugal, Swaziland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 125 votes to 6, with 13 abstentions (resolution 37/69 J).<sup>10</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20-27 May 1981 (A/CONF.107/8), paras. 200-275.

<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth statement on *Apartheid in Sport*. See *Final Communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London, 8-15 June 1977* (London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1977), pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the twenty-first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

<sup>4</sup> The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the twenty-first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

<sup>5</sup> The delegation of Botswana subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, and the delegation of Samoa, that it had intended to abstain.

<sup>6</sup> The delegation of Japan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against the draft resolution.

<sup>7</sup> The delegations of Samoa and Seychelles subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>8</sup> The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the seventh and ninth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution.

<sup>9</sup> The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the seventh preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

<sup>10</sup> The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.