

standing of the Namibian problem and make for progress towards a speedy and enduring solution of the Namibian question. In taking that initiative, his country was once again demonstrating its continuing and unreserved support for the South African liberation movements, which could always be assured of its assistance and solidarity.

46. The so-called policy of "détente" proclaimed by South Africa was unacceptable and would continue to be so until the Pretoria racists conceded equal rights to the population as a whole in a declaration to that effect and entered into negotiations with the liberation movements, which unquestionably represented the aspirations of the majority of the population.

47. It was the duty of the United Nations to make known all the crimes of the *apartheid* régime, and his delegation highly appreciated the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its objective and excellent report on that subject.

48. His delegation endorsed the Special Committee's condemnation of the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime, which was preparing to grant a semblance of independence to the Transkei and other "bantustans", hoping in that way to present the international community with a fait accompli. Senegal called upon all States Members of the United Nations to take effective measures to foil those manoeuvres, which deceived only those who were willing to be deceived.

49. The international community must support the struggle of the overwhelming majority of the South African population to exercise its right to self-determination. Senegal attached the utmost importance to the implementation by the international community of effective measures for the isolation of the South African racist régime in the military, economic, political, cultural, sporting and other fields. It endorsed the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Committee; the latter, while noting the progress achieved during the preceding year in the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa, also noted with regret that the Security Council had failed to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as requested by the General Assembly in resolution 3324 B (XXIX).

50. Nothing could stand in the way of the will of a people determined to regain its freedom and dignity. His country was convinced that the difficulties of the liberation movements would prove to be only temporary and that *apartheid* would disappear for ever as justice triumphed in that part of the African continent.

51. Mr. ARNELLO (Chile) noted that the item under consideration called for a further condemnation of racial discrimination and racism, as embodied in the policy of *apartheid*. Racial discrimination and racism were alien to Chile's humanistic traditions and its cultural and historical background; it therefore categorically rejected *apartheid* and had consistently supported the struggle against racism and racial discrimination within the United Nations. It wished to congratulate the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on its work, which had the full support of his delegation.

52. His delegation believed that it was important to reaffirm the unity which had been expressed in the Committee regarding its total rejection of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It would like to associate itself with the comment by one delegation to the effect that it was a mistake to give undue emphasis to differences of opinion within the Committee. To point out differences did not help the cause that the Committee was seeking to promote. A display of solidarity would enable the Committee to defeat the political manoeuvres by certain States which were using the Committee's work as a pretext for making political attacks on other States. For that reason, his delegation did not propose to answer some of the attacks directed at it but wished to point out that, of the 29 countries which maintained diplomatic relations with South Africa, only a few, including Chile, had been singled out. He wished merely to state that Chile had no accredited diplomatic envoy in South Africa and that its relations with that country had not changed for many years. In conclusion, Chile whole-heartedly supported the action taken by the United Nations regarding Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and against racial discrimination and *apartheid*; it had therefore supported the draft resolution A/SPC/L.324 and A/SPC/L.325, which had been adopted at the previous meeting.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

## 962nd meeting

Wednesday, 22 October 1975, at 3.10 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Roberto MARTINEZ ORDOÑEZ (Honduras).

A/SPC/SR.962

### AGENDA ITEM 53

**Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa**  
(continued) (A/10050-S/11638, A/10052-S/11641, A/10103-S/11708, A/SPC/174):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (A/10022);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (A/10281)

### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. BRIGHTY (United Kingdom) said that nobody who had listened to the debate on *apartheid* could fail to have been impressed by the way in which the international community had condemned that policy. His delegation had repeatedly expressed its repugnance against that pernicious system and would therefore confine itself to a few specific points.

2. First, he wished to restate the fundamental opposition of his Government to the racial policies of South Africa. Members of the Government had made it specifically clear in their contacts with South African leaders that in voting against the proposal to expel South Africa from the United Nations the United Kingdom delegation had been motivated by respect for the principle of universality and not by a desire to protect or condone *apartheid*.

3. In accordance with its position, his Government had taken certain positive measures in the past year. For example, at the end of 1974 the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had announced that the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa would be reimposed and that an overhaul of the licensing arrangements for arms sales had been completed to ensure that British policies were fully in line with its international undertakings.

4. The United Kingdom Government had also announced, late in 1974, that it intended to review the question of the Simonstown Agreements, since it was nearly 20 years since they had been signed and some of their provisions were no longer appropriate. On 16 June 1975 those Agreements had been terminated, thereby ending any special relationship which might have existed between the two countries in the naval sphere. At the same time it had been made known that in future there would be no joint exercises of the South African Navy and the Royal Navy.

5. In the field of sporting exchanges, the United Kingdom had adopted a position consistent with its general attitude to *apartheid*. That position had been explained in September 1975 in a letter addressed to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

6. With regard to investments by foreign companies in South Africa, the United Kingdom Government had made contact with all British companies which had subsidiaries or joint venture companies in South Africa, reminding them of their special duty to non-white workers who were prevented by *apartheid* regulations from defending their interests. The Government felt that the stresses of economic growth were a powerful force for change within South Africa. Economic expansion was already obliging—and would increasingly oblige—the white population to accept that black South Africans must be allowed to perform more skilled and better-paid jobs if expansion was to be maintained.

7. With regard to the appeals to the international community to provide development assistance to the countries neighbouring South Africa, his Government was proud of its record of help to the countries concerned, and, in addition, had indicated its willingness to provide assistance to the newly independent State of Mozambique.

8. He hoped that his desire for brevity would not be taken as a sign that his Government did not disapprove of the politics of racial segregation. If that was true it would not be contributing to the various United Nations funds for southern Africa. It was clear that all members of the Committee agreed that *apartheid* should be eliminated; they disagreed only on the methods for achieving that object.

9. Mr. BAH (Guinea) said that both the observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners and the statements made during the debate had demonstrated the profound dedication of the international community to the ideals of liberty, justice and independence and its unshakable determination to spare no effort to end the situation prevailing in southern Africa.

10. It was clear that the South African rulers continued to be unrelenting and that on both the political and administrative levels the South African Government had taken a whole series of extremely strict measures against the opponents of the sinister policy of *apartheid*. The leaders of the liberation movements had been the first victims and everyone knew what tortures they were subjected to.

11. At the same time, the social situation of the rest of the black population was extremely critical, for although Vorster proclaimed that the inhabitants of South Africa had the highest standard of living, the sad truth was that the infant mortality rate among the black population of South Africa was the highest in the continent. It was enough to recall, on the other hand, the wretched situation of the black workers in the South African gold-mines. In the meantime, the population in the “bantustans”, which made up 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa, was being decimated by epidemics and hunger. It was unnecessary to recall that blacks were not entitled to move freely in the cities and that their children were educated—when they received any education at all—according to a system that sought to undermine from the tenderest age their feeling of belonging to one single nation.

12. Against that background Vorster was now proclaiming that the Transkei was going to achieve independence. It was unfortunate to see some tribal chiefs acting as accomplices in those manoeuvres, whose sole aim was to perpetuate racial segregation. Nevertheless, he was firmly convinced that the liberation movements would not tolerate that duplicity and would take every step that was needed. Meanwhile, he appealed to all peace-loving countries not to recognize those puppet States.

13. Now Vorster and Ian Smith were trying to make people believe that they were prepared to introduce changes in southern Africa, their sole intention being to divide the African States and weaken OAU. It sufficed to recall that Vorster had advised Smith to agree to meet with the representatives of the liberation movements to discuss majority rule, while in his own territory he was resorting to every conceivable stratagem to prevent that majority from coming to power.

14. With regard to Namibia, it was clear that Vorster continued to consider it as South West Africa and, despite all the United Nations resolutions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,<sup>1</sup> “bantustans” continued to be created in Namibia in accordance with a plan to destroy the country’s territorial integrity. The measures of the racist régime to consolidate

<sup>1</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.*

Namibia's annexation by South Africa constituted another challenge to the international community, since only the United Nations was entitled to watch over the interests of Namibia until power was transferred to the Namibian people, whose sole authentic representative was the South West Africa People's Organization.

15. Unfortunately, the exploiters were not alone; they had the moral, economic, financial and military support of the great Powers, whose monopolies turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the United Nations. Their attitude was disappointing.

16. As President Sekou Touré had said, it was clear that the time had come for the international community to face up to its responsibilities in respect of the crimes committed by South Africa. The international community must take energetic steps and present a united front to the minority which had challenged it. In the middle of the twentieth century there should be no place for *apartheid* and racial segregation. Guinea for its part would continue its struggle until that scourge, which the Guinean people detested with unparalleled hatred, was eliminated once and for all.

*Mr. Tellmann (Norway), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

17. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) said that on celebrating its thirtieth anniversary, the United Nations could be proud of what it had achieved in the sphere of colonialism, since, with its help, the third world had gradually liberated itself from that evil and there now remained only a few strongholds such as Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Currently, the main purpose of the United Nations was to fight the régimes that still practised racial discrimination and to isolate them from the international community.

18. Unfortunately, as was clear from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (A/10022), the situation in South Africa had not improved and although Pretoria had sought to give the impression that it wanted détente it was clear that it was only trying to divide the ranks of its opponents. That was understandable following the defeat of colonialism in the neighbouring countries. Finding itself isolated, the *apartheid* régime was resorting to propaganda to persuade the international community that it was changing when, in fact, with the help of the imperialists, it had doubled its military budget in less than one year, and was developing nuclear technology and trying to produce uranium—all of which developments were exceedingly dangerous.

19. The international community had condemned the racist régime of South Africa on countless occasions. Following its expulsion from the General Assembly at the twenty-ninth session, the racist régime had not dared to appear at the current session, and would be prevented from participating until the legitimate representatives of South Africa were able to occupy their seat in the Organization. It followed that the participation of the representatives of the two liberation movements in the Committee's debates was no more than a natural step towards the achievement of the desired objective. Nevertheless, the United Nations should not be satisfied with rejecting the credentials of the representatives of the racist régime of Pretoria, since the

only method of confronting that régime was to implement the provisions of Chapters II and VII of the Charter.

20. Apart from that, it was obvious that the racist régime would not have dared to defy the United Nations without the support of various imperialist countries and racist entities which resembled it. Those countries, led by some of the great Powers which were permanent members of the Security Council, had ignored the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and had set themselves up as defenders of the racist régime. Furthermore, they had abused the privileges originally conferred on them by the Charter to facilitate the fulfilment of their special responsibilities with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security. The fact that they had used their right of veto on more than one occasion to protect racist, expansionist and aggressive régimes and to prevent the admission of free and activist States should be taken seriously by the United Nations, inasmuch as those Powers had exploited their prerogatives in order to serve colonialist and racist interests.

21. The great Powers, however, were not the only ones aiding the racists. It was sufficient to note that the General Assembly, in its resolution 3324 E (XXIX), had condemned the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa, despite which Israel had continued to increase its co-operation with the racist régime to such a point that the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in an eighteen-month period, had prepared three reports on the matter, issued as documents A/AC.115/L.383, A/AC.115/L.396 and A/AC.115/L.411, dated 29 April 1974, 14 October 1974 and 23 July 1975 respectively.

22. The figures quoted in document A/AC.115/L.411, paragraph 7, on the export-import trade between South Africa and Israel were particularly revealing. Even more serious, however, was the fact that Israel was offering certain elements of the European Economic Community the opportunity of benefiting from evasion of trade sanctions (paras. 9 and 10). With respect to the military co-operation between Israel and South Africa, there were innumerable examples both in the reports he had mentioned and in various press articles.

23. There should be no amazement at the co-operation between the Tel Aviv régime and that of Pretoria, since both were racist régimes. The white invaders in South Africa had gained control of the majority through cruel means, in the same manner as the Jews in Israel. The Palestinians in Israel, like the Africans in South Africa, were third-class citizens. Furthermore, in order to exist, both régimes needed the support of the great imperialist Powers. If the United Nations wished to eliminate racism, it should condemn that connivance and inform public opinion of the relations between the two régimes.

24. The Syrian Arab Republic had always opposed all racist régimes wherever they existed and its policy reflected the solidarity of the Arab peoples with the oppressed people of South Africa. The Syrian Government was fighting on all fronts against racism and, together with the other Arab countries, had advocated the imposition of an embargo against supplying oil to South Africa. Despite the

difficult situation it was facing owing to its conflict with Israel, the Syrian Arab Republic had contributed to the United Nations Special Fund. Furthermore, it had signed and ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and supported all the draft resolutions on the racist policies of South Africa. It condemned South Africa's "bantustan" policy, favoured international action against the Pretoria régime and supported the Security Council resolutions on the arms embargo. The Syrian Arab Republic appealed to the Committee to seek the expulsion of South Africa so that it could not continue working within the United Nations.

25. The Syrian Arab Republic recognized the liberation movements as the sole legitimate representatives of the South African people. Furthermore, it believed that the cause of peace and freedom was indivisible and required the freedom of all oppressed peoples. Its position on the problem of South Africa was motivated by its own struggle against discrimination and colonialism and the need to confront imperialism and racism, whatever they were called and wherever they arose.

*Mr. Martínez Ordóñez (Honduras) resumed the Chair.*

26. Mr. HAYNES (Guyana) said that it was important to underline the fundamental fact that in South Africa, racism had been elevated to a political philosophy and that on the basis of the colour of their skin, the majority of the South African people were condemned to a life of degradation and serfdom and deprived of their humanity and fundamental freedoms. In the late twentieth century, when mankind had long advanced to the recognition of the right of peoples everywhere to freedom and dignity, it was a glaring anomaly that an inhuman system such as *apartheid* still persisted in South Africa. It was an affront to mankind and a challenge to the international community. The condemnation of *apartheid* was universal and had been reflected in the Committee's adoption by consensus of the two draft resolutions contained in documents A/SPC/L.324 and A/SPC/L.325 (960th meeting). However, resolutions were not enough; firm action by the entire international community was needed to wipe out forever that blot on the conscience of mankind. The time was opportune: the United Nations was observing its thirtieth anniversary and progressive forces everywhere, within South Africa itself as well, were clamouring for justice. The Pretoria régime, even though it had been forced to recognize that change was inevitable, now wore a double face: so-called détente abroad but the most ruthless repression within South Africa. Its objectives remained the same: the consolidation of the inhuman system of *apartheid* within South Africa and its extension beyond its borders. It was therefore time for certain Members of the Organization to match their words with deeds that were in keeping with their proclaimed support for the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. It was time for them to ignore the attraction of great short-term economic benefits and, in concert with the rest of the international community, take the necessary steps to rid the world forever of that brutal system which was also a serious threat to international peace and security.

27. The Government of Guyana remained unwavering in its denunciation of *apartheid* and white minority rule and condemned the herding of the masses of the population into "bantustans", the promotion of tribal rivalry and the exploitation of man by man. The tide of history had overtaken the racists of Pretoria; the Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria axis had been shattered and the end was inevitable. History demonstrated that no force on earth could keep in check forever the will of a people to regain their humanity and their freedom.

28. The Government and people of Guyana would continue to participate fully in international action designed to dismantle the institutions of oppression and repression in South Africa. On 11 October 1974, they had joined the world community in observing the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, renewing and reaffirming their solidarity with the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to free themselves from the inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

29. Mr. ZENKYAVICHUS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his country regarded the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa as a serious threat to international peace and security and a flagrant violation of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Furthermore, the Pretoria régime practised *apartheid* not only in South Africa but also in Namibia, ignoring the United Nations resolutions which required that it end its illegal presence in that Territory.

30. Obviously, the racist South African régime could not continue to apply its policies without the moral, political and economic support of certain Western countries, especially the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the foreign economic interests that continued to plunder the natural resources of South Africa and exploit the black population with the consent of Pretoria.

31. The South African régime had resorted to a series of stratagems to confuse world opinion, to divide the African countries and to conceal its true intentions. It had promised that there would be changes and had proposed to embark on a dialogue with other African States, but the facts of the matter were that it had doubled its military budget, modernized its military bases and constructed new bases and had purchased arms from member countries of NATO.

32. The Soviet Union maintained no diplomatic, consular, commercial or other relations with the South African régime, implemented United Nations resolutions and recommendations relating to South Africa and supported those who were fighting against colonialism, imperialism, racism and *apartheid*. Colonialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid* were totally opposed to Leninist principles of foreign policy and the ideals of the Socialist state; consequently, the Soviet Union had supported the African liberation movements and had endeavoured to step up the action in the United Nations against the evils of *apartheid*.

33. From the time when the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had

been adopted 15 years ago, many resolutions and decisions had been adopted the implementation of which would make it possible to put an end to colonialism and *apartheid*. The positive changes which had taken place at the international level—the relaxing of tension, the normalization of relations and the historic decisions of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, concluded at Helsinki on 1 August 1975—made it possible to entertain fresh hopes that those objectives would be attained. In spite of the fact that many former colonial countries had achieved independence, decolonization was not over, and although it was a very complex process, victory was at hand.

34. A previous speaker had endeavoured to minimize the value of détente and its effects. Nevertheless, the debates in the General Assembly had shown that the overwhelming majority of the international community was in favour of détente and had welcomed the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. That speaker had said that détente was impeding the struggle for national liberation, but the facts gave the lie to that statement. During the cold war, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire would have been inconceivable. The independence of Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tomé and Príncipe was proof of the positive influence of détente, as were also the victories of the people of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The isolation of South Africa and its exclusion from any participation in the work of the United Nations would also have been not only impossible but unthinkable during the cold war.

35. His delegation supported the appeal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that decisive measures should be taken to achieve the eradication of the evil of *apartheid*. It also agreed with the African States and OAU that it was necessary to adopt new measures against *apartheid* on all fronts in order to put an end to that régime and to racism and colonialism in southern Africa.

36. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia) said that the United Nations had been dealing with the problem of *apartheid* and racial discrimination for 25 years and had adopted numerous resolutions and decisions, but the situation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia had remained unchanged. The racist régime in South Africa was resorting to increasingly brutal measures against the majority of the population; international action was not commensurate with the magnitude of the problem and its ramifications not only in Africa but also in the world at large.

37. However, in two major aspects, there had been changes. In the first place, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire and the subsequent profound anti-imperialist developments—both in the former colonial Territories and in Portugal—had changed the political map of Africa and the deployment of pressures round southern Africa, and had opened up new possibilities of action. Secondly, the struggle of the national liberation movements in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe had intensified owing to increased support and recognition by the international community. Those two positive aspects had caused the racist régime of South Africa to endeavour by all means to break out of the isolation in which it found itself as a result of the suspension, at the twenty-ninth session, of

its right to participate in the work of the General Assembly (2281st plenary meeting). Before that step had been taken, the representatives of the Vorster régime had declared that they were in favour of détente and were ready to negotiate with the liberation movements and the representatives of some neighbouring countries, with a view to improving the situation of the majority. Nevertheless, the international community had soon had an opportunity to test the racists' real intentions.

38. The Pretoria régime had remained closely linked with international imperialism and reaction and continued to receive economic and political support from some transnational corporations which exploited the oppressed people and the natural resources of South Africa. The news that a Frankfurt company had offered to build a nuclear reactor in South Africa, in collaboration with some other Western countries, was particularly disturbing. His delegation hoped that the respective Governments would prevent that action, which would have unforeseeable repercussions on international peace and security.

39. In the Security Council debates on South Africa and Namibia, attempts had been made to deny that the situation in those Territories constituted a threat to international peace and security; that argument had been used to justify the triple veto. But the data on military co-operation between some Western countries and the Pretoria régime and the important military role assigned to South Africa in a strategic region bounded by three oceans, clearly revealed the real reasons why those countries had opposed the mandatory embargo on the sale of arms. There had been steps in the right direction, such as the termination of the Simonstown Agreements by Great Britain and the French decision to limit supplies of arms to South Africa, but, in general, the situation was becoming increasingly dangerous. Co-operation between the Israeli and South African authorities, besides revealing to the world the true nature of their policies and collusion, constituted another dangerous element with wider implications.

40. His delegation believed that the international community could no longer tolerate the existence of the South African racist régime and should demonstrate its effective solidarity with the oppressed people and their national liberation movements. In accordance with the recommendations made by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, his delegation endorsed the view that the liberation movements recognized by OAU should be granted the status of permanent observers in the General Assembly and that the seat of South Africa should remain vacant until it was taken by the genuine representatives of the South African people. It also considered that an embargo should be placed on supplies of petroleum and other raw materials to the South African régime; the argument that the embargo would harm the oppressed people themselves and therefore should not be applied was unacceptable, since it was the people themselves who had repeatedly asked for the struggle to be intensified in order to put an end to their tragic situation. The argument that the embargo was harmful to world trade and development was also false and was inadmissible because it hindered the use of an effective weapon against the régime of oppression.

41. The draft resolutions adopted by the Special Political Committee (960th meeting) were in harmony with the objectives of the Decade of Action to Combat Racial Discrimination and *Apartheid* and his delegation fully supported them. During the Decade, great efforts were being made in Yugoslavia to inform the public about the evils of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa, about the struggles waged by the national liberation movements and about United Nations activities in that connexion. All the resolutions relating to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the boycott of the racist régime were being strictly enforced. Yugoslavia had ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and was lending support and material assistance to the African liberation movements and to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Such activities were consistent with Yugoslavia's declared policy.

42. Mr. PINTÉR (Hungary) said that in the 30 years the United Nations had been in existence, it had never been more clearly evident that the political efforts aimed at the artificial maintenance of the South African racist régime were meant to serve certain economic and strategic interests. Some countries regarded the existence of the South African régime as a guarantee for the realization of their political concepts and plans regarding the African continent. For that reason, special attention must be paid to a problem which constantly arose, namely, that although the Member States were united in condemning the racist régime while considering the humanitarian aspects of the matter, several States declined to take due account of the political motivations involved.

43. It was an established fact that, were it not for external support, South Africa would not be able to continue its policies of *apartheid*; as they grew more aware of that fact, an increasing number of States were demanding more effective measures. Thus, the United Nations resolutions which previously had been limited to fact-finding and condemnation, had come to include sanctions and measures to isolate the South African régime. Similarly, the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* offered an effective instrument and Hungary hoped they would be endorsed by the General Assembly.

44. Hungary had been a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* since its establishment and its position on the question under consideration was well known. Hungary had been one of the first States to sign the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and the first to ratify it. The earliest possible ratification of the Convention would be a significant step towards the international isolation of the South African régime.

45. His Government's official position on the questions of racism and colonialism enjoyed mass support, a fact demonstrated by the statement issued by the Hungarian Committee of Solidarity and the Hungarian United Nations Association on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. The document expressed indignation at the violations committed by South Africa and demanded the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions which called on Member States to discontinue the sale of

weapons to the South African régime and to apply diplomatic and economic sanctions. It also deplored the fact that, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France continued to regard South Africa as a NATO outpost in the southern hemisphere.

46. At the meeting in which the Special Committee against *Apartheid* had been awarded the Frederic Joliot-Curie Gold Peace Medal by the World Peace Council, his delegation, on behalf of the group of Eastern European States, had recalled the important role played by the World Peace Council, in common with other non-governmental organizations, in the implementation of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Those organizations were conducting an intensive campaign aimed at bringing about an end to military co-operation with the South African régime.

47. The Hungarian People's Republic, which fully agreed with the recommendations of the Special Committee, had always done its utmost to give political, moral and material support to OAU, the liberation movements and the progressive forces of Africa in their struggle for the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*.

48. Mr. ALEMAN SALVADOR (Ecuador) extended a most cordial welcome to the representatives of Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea, who would undoubtedly make a positive contribution to the work of the Committee. Similarly, he welcomed the participation in the Committee's deliberations of the liberation movements of Azania, authentic representatives of the oppressed people of that region.

49. *Apartheid* was a problem which had been considered since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946; it could not have been otherwise, since that hateful practice was contrary to all the purposes and principles of the Organization and violated the solemn commitment entered into by States Members to ensure universal respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race.

50. The work of the United Nations in that respect had gone beyond mere words to the point where concrete objectives were being achieved. Thus, the many resolutions of the United Nations and the intensive campaign conducted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* were encouraging landmarks in the unremitting struggle against that shameful form of racism, which could be compared only to the Nazi doctrine.

51. However, the Organization was still far from reaching the goal sought. To do so, it had to increase its efforts to obtain the total liquidation of that harmful practice, since there could be no compromise with or concession to *apartheid*. *Apartheid* would disappear either by persuasion or through the means which the people of Azania were legitimately using, with the support and sympathy of the concerned segment of the international community, which could not continue to be an idle witness to the increased measures of repression and persecution inflicted by a racist régime on those who aspired to live in freedom within the borders of their own country.

52. It had been clearly demonstrated that peoples fighting for their dignity could not be shaken in their resolve; that justice did not submit to political, military or economic power; and that, as a result of their pride and their faith, societies fighting to regain control over their destiny succeeded in overcoming the aggression or violence to which they were subjected. The few countries which failed to see or did not wish to see that reality should understand the serious responsibility which they were incurring by co-operating with and helping to maintain the racist régime, which was responsible for the cruel mistreatment suffered daily by the large majority of the population of Azania because of the colour of their skin. It was to be hoped that those Powers which were indifferent to the tragic situation in South Africa would place their noble traditions above the defence of secondary interests of an economic or other nature and add their voice effectively to the universal demand for the final and speedy eradication of *apartheid*.

53. In the United Nations, Ecuador had always rejected the policy of *apartheid* and had fully supported all resolutions on the question. Ecuador would never accept that a country which claimed to be "civilized" should seek to raise to the category of a crime the colour of a person's skin, or to convert into a philosophy and State policy the oppression and exploitation of the majority of its population. Consequently, his country maintained no relations whatsoever with the racist Pretoria régime and would support any measure designed to isolate that régime from the international community until it abandoned its odious practices. Ecuador had been one of the first countries to sign the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and one of the eight countries which had so far ratified that instrument. Moreover, it endorsed the recommendations and conclusions of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* contained in its report (A/10022).

54. Mr. ZEMAN (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that although the question of *apartheid* had been on the General Assembly's agenda since the establishment of the United Nations, there had been no great change in the situation in South Africa. South Africa not only ignored the appeals and resolutions of the Organization, but had improved the machinery of *apartheid*, a policy which his country condemned as contrary to the Charter and as a threat to international peace and security. However, the peoples of Africa who were fighting against *apartheid* and colonialism had been able to obtain powerful allies, including the Socialist countries.

55. Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)), considerable changes had taken place on that continent and free Africa had been extended to the very borders of South Africa. It was for that reason that the racist régime was seeking to strengthen its ties with the Ian Smith régime and, in order to break out of its isolation, claimed it was opening a dialogue with free Africa and promised to "liberalize" the régime of *apartheid*. At the same time, it was attempting to take advantage of the policy of détente, divesting it of its true nature; but it would not succeed because there could be no détente with the racist régimes of Vorster and Smith. It was now essential to support the peoples of Africa who

were fighting to achieve the complete and final liberation of that continent.

56. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as other documents of the United Nations, showed clearly the true situation in South Africa and the growing resistance of the South African people; it also contained proposals which would accelerate the process of liberation. One of the most important resources for the struggle against the racist *apartheid* régime was the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. It was necessary to establish a general boycott and to achieve the total isolation of the racist régime in all spheres, as called for in the resolution in question.

57. Czechoslovakia noted with regret that various States Members of the United Nations, some of them members of NATO, were not respecting the United Nations resolutions, as could be seen clearly from paragraphs 70 to 77 of the report of the Special Committee. Not only did co-operation with South Africa in the military field harm the struggle of the South African people for their freedom, but it also endangered the security of the neighbouring African countries and frustrated efforts aimed at eradicating *apartheid*.

58. The foreign firms which exploited the African workers and thus obtained huge profits were collaborating willingly with the *apartheid* régime. The cases of close co-operation with South Africa were numerous and the issue was essentially political in nature. A way must be found to induce Governments to put an end to all forms of economic and military co-operation with South Africa. The problem which the Committee had to face was therefore that of implementing existing United Nations resolutions and adopting new measures capable of compelling the Vorster régime to abandon its policy of *apartheid*.

59. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic complied with all its obligations and implemented all the decisions of the United Nations aimed at eradicating *apartheid* and assisting the oppressed people of South Africa. That conduct was in line with the policy of his Government with regard to the struggle against colonialism. In 1975, Czechoslovakia had signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. In response to the appeal issued by the United Nations in 1963, his country had severed all links with South Africa and it would continue to support the liberation struggle of the African people of South Africa by providing moral, political and material assistance. In 1975, for example, it had provided fellowships for students belonging to the oppressed peoples. His Government and non-governmental organizations in Czechoslovakia had provided material and humanitarian assistance to the peoples of southern Africa and contributed with every means at their disposal to the struggle for the elimination of *apartheid*.

60. Mr. GUTIERREZ MACIAS (Mexico) noted that the item under discussion had been on the agenda of the General Assembly since its first session. The numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations had, however, not succeeded in preventing the leaders in Pretoria from firmly implanting their discriminatory policy—a failure which diminished the prestige of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion. The Pretoria régime con-

tinued to flout the resolutions which expressed the condemnation of its policy by almost every country, while its power was being reinforced with the support and assistance it received from a number of Powers. Such support had once again been demonstrated in the triple veto in the Security Council which had, in that instance, constituted a denial of the most basic principles of international democracy. The Powers concerned maintained trade relations with South Africa, while a number of firms under their jurisdiction were increasing their involvement in the South African economy. Transnational corporations were also continuing to intensify their activities in South Africa. Thus, foreign economic interests were becoming increasingly involved in the perpetuation of *apartheid*.

61. Mexico vigorously and emphatically condemned the policy of *apartheid*, the conduct of South Africa and all other forms of racial discrimination in any part of the world. Countries which, like Mexico, sought to strengthen the United Nations could not ignore the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly condemning the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Moreover, they had an obligation to denounce the injustice suffered by the peoples of southern Africa so as to hasten the day when a universally condemned and repugnant policy would cease to exist.

62. Miss BENNATON (Honduras) said that her country's opposition to the racist system of South Africa was a direct consequence of the provisions of its own legislation and social structure, since the people of Honduras were racially mixed. Honduras had not maintained, and did not now maintain, relations of any kind with the Government of South Africa. Its people and Government condemned any policy which, like the "bantustan" policy, sought to reinstitute slave labour. Honduras had become independent in 1821 and the first action of its Congress had been to abolish slavery. At that time the freedom of every human being in Honduras had been proclaimed and the defence of the freedom of slaves from Belize had led to numerous armed confrontations with the forces of the Governor of Belize.

63. She drew attention to General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) which was, in her opinion, an historic landmark, and to the resolutions adopted in previous years by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs, in which South Africa was called upon to release all persons imprisoned for their opposition to *apartheid*. The Pretoria régime's response to those resolutions had been to enact increasingly repressive legislation and to broaden the scope of its persecution of the opponents of *apartheid*. Nevertheless, the system of *apartheid* remained an anachronism and there was no doubt that its days were numbered.

64. Her Government identified itself increasingly with those who were struggling to obtain the right to self-determination for the people of South Africa and to put an end to *apartheid*. It shared their sufferings and hopes and was convinced that the people of South Africa would soon be free.

65. Mr. DE PRAT GAY (Argentina) pointed out that the equality of all human beings had prevailed in Argentina

since the very beginning of its history. His Government had repeatedly condemned racism as an isolated practice. When racism was institutionalized as an abhorrent State policy, however, it was necessary to go beyond mere statements of intent and to act on one's belief. Thus, at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly (2281st plenary meeting), Argentina had voted with the majority to suspend South Africa's right to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly.

66. The Government of South Africa must comply totally and absolutely with the mandatory resolutions of the United Nations, since only thus could the international community be based on the rule of law. His Government attached great importance therefore to the activities of the United Nations and, in particular, to those of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which it firmly supported. In that spirit, his Government had signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* on 6 June 1975. In June 1975, the Argentine authorities had also received the visit of a mission of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, at which time important talks had taken place with his country's President and with representatives from all areas of national life. As a result of that visit, in September 1975, Parliament had approved a declaration condemning the policy of *apartheid*, and urging the Government of South Africa to abandon its practice of *apartheid* in accordance with the principles and rules set out in United Nations resolutions. The members of the House of Deputies had placed on record their firm opposition to *apartheid*, which constituted an affront to justice, to democracy and even to world peace and security.

67. His delegation stressed that the members of the Security Council had a special responsibility with regard to the struggle against *apartheid*. The non-permanent members of that organ must continue to work diligently and with resolution and imagination to find ways and means to strengthen the rightful position of the United Nations, and the non-aligned countries should be in the vanguard of that struggle. Finally, he expressed the hope that in the coming year the Security Council would take a genuine step forward by adopting mandatory measures the application of which would convince the South African régime that time was working inexorably against racism and inequality.

68. Mr. MARMULAKU (Yugoslavia) said he was pleased to introduce a draft resolution entitled "Special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa", which would be circulated the following day as document A/SPC/L.326. The draft resolution, which had received the support of the group of non-aligned countries, expressed the objectives of the Programme for the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which had been proclaimed three years earlier.

69. The main purpose of the draft was to consolidate all the forces combating racism, a task which had assumed greater importance than ever on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*