



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 28; Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa: (a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ; (b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against <i>Apartheid</i> in Sports; (c) Reports of the Secretary-General .....	975
Agenda item 18: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declara- tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (b) Report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fourth Committee (Parts I and II) ...	984
Agenda item 84: Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 <i>e</i> of the Charter of the United Nations: (a) Report of the Secretary-General; (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declara- tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples Report of the Fourth Committee .....	
Agenda item 85: Question of East Timor: (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declara- tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (b) Report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fourth Committee .....	984
Agenda item 86: Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Coun- tries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Ter- ritories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, <i>apartheid</i> and racial dis- crimination in southern Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Im- plementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples Report of the Fourth Committee .....	985
Agenda items 87 and 12: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international insti- tutions associated with the United Nations: (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declara- tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (b) Report of the Secretary-General Report of the Economic and Social Council Report of the Fourth Committee .....	
Agenda item 88: United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fourth Committee .....	975

CONTENTS (continued)

	Page
Agenda item 89: Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fourth Committee .....	

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

AGENDA ITEM 28

**Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:**

- (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: This morning the Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 28. Before calling upon the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item should be closed tomorrow, Wednesday, 12 November, at 12 noon. If I hear no objection it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. B. Akporode Clark, of Nigeria, to present the reports of the Special Committee which appear in documents A/35/22 and A/35/22/Add.1-3.

3. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria) Chairman, Special Committee against *Apartheid*: Today is Remembrance Day. As we solemnly remember the fallen in the poppy fields of Flanders, our minds must also turn to the tragedy that is *apartheid* South Africa. In that unhappy but flourishing country, extreme inequality and injustice continue to brutalize the lives of 21 million black Africans. It is against that sombre background that I introduce the annual report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22].

4. The report reviews the activities undertaken by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* during the past year. Those activities included the constant follow-up of developments in all aspects of *apartheid*, including military, economic, nuclear, cultural and all other types of collaboration with that régime. As the report points out, the Special Committee has organized a number of important seminars, held special hearings, and co-sponsored several confe-

rences with non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid movements in order to continue to promote international mobilization against apartheid. We have worked very closely with the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the two South African liberation movements—the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—as well as with an increasing number of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

5. The past year has witnessed the victorious struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, which culminated in that country's independence last April. That historic event has not only further isolated the apartheid régime but also decisively altered the balance of forces for good within South Africa itself. Consequently, the liberation struggle of the South African people has intensified, leading one to expect that a fundamental change will take place in South Africa, restoring the dignity of man to all, perhaps within the next five years. Otherwise, there would be a catastrophe of major and tragic proportions. As the report points out, there has been greater unity of action and a great increase in political consciousness and the mobilization of all segments of the population, reflecting the determination of the people to destroy and abolish apartheid. There was a nation-wide uprising by students of all races, encompassing wider areas and larger segments of the student population than ever before. There were strikes by workers and mass demonstrations by the people, including traders and businessmen, as well as clergymen. That nation-wide struggle was clearly expressed to the apartheid régime by a series of other actions in the nature of armed resistance, including co-ordinated attacks on the South African Oil, Coal and Gas Corporation, Ltd. (SASOL) oil-from-coal plants on 1 June 1980.

6. Instead of redressing the legitimate grievances of the 21 million enslaved blacks of South Africa evidenced by those warning signals of unrest and resistance, the apartheid régime has further escalated its policies of repression and has again begun killing school children and arresting thousands of students, workers, churchmen and other opponents of apartheid. That heavy-handed response considerably affronted the conscience of the international community. It also prompted the Security Council to adopt resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980 in which it strongly condemned the racist régime for further aggravating the situation and called for an end to violence against the African people and for the cessation of repression and the elimination of apartheid. Once again, the apartheid régime has failed to heed that resolution.

7. It is against that background that the Special Committee against Apartheid is submitting to the General Assembly the recommendations contained in its report in paragraphs 273 to 438 dealing with all aspects of the problem of apartheid. In the view of the Special Committee, the prevailing situation in South Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. In the view of the Special Committee, any collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, which strengthens its capacity to repress its African majority population constitutes a threat to international peace

and security. Failure by the Security Council to act in the past because of obstruction by three of its permanent members has often encouraged the racist régime to pursue its suicidal course and to escalate its criminal actions. The Special Committee repeats that the Security Council must act—and act without delay—to consider appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. There should be an imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions with an effective monitoring system. The Committee recommends urgent action to strengthen the machinery for supervision of the arms embargo and asks that the General Assembly stress the urgent need for total cessation of any collaboration in the nuclear fields with South Africa by Governments, corporations, institutions or individuals and request all States to enact legislative and other measures for this purpose.

8. The Special Committee also emphasizes the need for an oil embargo against South Africa and the establishment of national legislative and other measures to ensure its effectiveness. In that connexion, it warmly welcomed the decision of the OAU [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I] to send seven Foreign Ministers to participate in any future meeting of the Security Council which might be convened to review the turbulent situation in South Africa with a view to adopting effective measures and sanctions, including an oil embargo, under Chapter VII of the Charter so as to arrest further deterioration of the situation.

9. The report, which I have the honour of presenting, contains a number of other recommendations which the Special Committee hopes will be studied thoroughly at this session of the General Assembly. However, the Special Committee firmly believes that the imposition of total economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa is the most effective and peaceful means by which the international community can assist the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for liberation and thus avert a catastrophic conflict in Africa. The alternative is to support the position of those friends of South Africa whose policies of collaboration with that country unwittingly encourage violence and armed conflict there. Members may wonder why they do so. The answer is because those friends of South Africa only react cynically when there are unconscionable massacres of Africans as at Sharpeville and Soweto. It is a Catch-22 situation: The inaction of the friends of South Africa breeds violence; violence demands their concern. It is all very weird and provocative.

10. Before concluding, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to three other special reports prepared by the Special Committee. The first special report, entitled "Implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid by Governments and intergovernmental organizations", is contained in document A/35/22/Add.1. The report was prepared by the Sub-Committee on Implementation of the United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa at the request of the Special Committee and reveals the increasing and continuing collaboration by certain Western countries with the racist régime of South Africa. It notes that the military

budget of that régime has increased tremendously and that it has been able to secure large quantities of arms and other materials needed for its forces and military industry in spite of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). We hope that the General Assembly will see its way clear to requesting the Security Council to take immediate effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to terminate all flows of materials, technology and information to and from South Africa which are likely to enhance South Africa's military capability and, particularly, to assist it in its nuclear capability. In this connexion, the General Assembly must warn South Africa that the Security Council stands ready to implement its binding obligation under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] with enforcement measures in the event of South Africa's acquiring or testing nuclear weapons on the continent of Africa, where a substantial majority of the States parties to the Treaty are situated.

11. The first special report also notes that loans to and investment in South Africa have assisted the *apartheid* régime in the development of its military and nuclear capabilities. The Assembly must therefore declare that such assistance to the *apartheid* régime is a hostile act under the terms of the resolutions of the United Nations and, in fact, counter to the purposes and ideals of this Organization.

12. The report, further, emphasizes that the situation in South Africa constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security and that, accordingly, the response of the United Nations must be forceful and effective enough to deal with that régime.

13. The second special report, entitled "Recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa", is contained in document A/35/22/Add.2. Members may recall that the General Assembly, in its resolution 34/93 P of 12 December 1979, strongly condemned Israel's continuing and increasing collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, and requested the Special Committee "to keep the matter under constant review and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate". This report, which was prepared in pursuance of that request, reflects the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the military and nuclear fields, as well as in the economic, cultural and other fields, since last year. I need not elaborate on the contents of the report since members have it before them and since it is based on published sources of information.

14. The third special report, entitled "International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa", is contained in document A/35/22/Add.3. It may also be recalled that, in its resolution 34/93 C, adopted on 12 December 1979, the General Assembly decided to organize in 1980, in co-operation with the OAU, an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa and authorized the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to take all necessary steps for the organization of the Conference and preparatory meetings. As the report points out, the Special Committee held a series of consultations with the OAU, numerous Governments and non-governmental organizations,

as well as individual experts, on various aspects of the arrangements for the Conference.

15. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the prompt and laudable manner in which he moved to appoint the senior officials for the Conference and to provide the Special Committee with every assistance and facility. I should also like to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Edem Kodjo, for the understanding he showed at every stage of our contact, and for his designating one of his senior colleagues, Ambassador Peter Onu, as the Political Secretary of the Conference.

16. Last, but by no means least significant, my gratitude goes to the Director-General of UNESCO for providing us with the venue for the Conference.

17. Last april, the Special Committee set up a preparatory committee for the Conference, consisting of the Officers of the Special Committee and the representatives of the OAU and of the national liberation movements of South Africa, with representatives of the Secretariat of the United Nations and that of UNESCO as observers. After extensive consultations, the preparatory committee and Special Committee became convinced of the desirability of postponing the Conference and the preparatory meeting so that adequate arrangements could be made to ensure the success of the Conference. The Special Committee therefore submits its specific recommendations in Chapter V of its third special report and hopes that the General Assembly will consider them.

18. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Mr. Stafford Neil of Jamaica, to present the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report [A/35/36].

19. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour to introduce its report to the General Assembly.

20. Under the terms of its resolution 34/93 N adopted on 12 December 1979, the General Assembly requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to completing a draft convention in 1980. Under this renewed mandate the *Ad Hoc* Committee concentrated its attention on the areas of the draft convention on which no agreement had been reached, in particular article 10 [*ibid.*, para. 12]. Owing to certain administrative difficulties, the *Ad Hoc* Committee was not able to hold as many meetings as it wanted, but its working group worked intensively to resolve the differing views with regard to the substance and form of article 10.

21. One of the two alternative formulations was revised to give greater clarity to its meaning, but regrettably the efforts to reconcile the differing opinions on article 10 did not succeed. As a result, the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report still contains a draft text with alternative formulations for article 10. Members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee were fully aware of the importance of the idea of action to be taken against violators, but differing opinions continue to be put for-

ward in relation to its acceptability in principle, to the question of implementation and to the question of effectiveness. In the course of its work, the *Ad Hoc* Committee held consultations with officials from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, whose position on the matter was once again reaffirmed. It is clear that the issues raised in connexion with article 10 require very careful and patient negotiations if a solution is to be found, and the *Ad Hoc* Committee stands ready to continue its work with that in mind.

22. At the same time, members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee are profoundly disturbed by recent trends in sporting relations with South Africa, and by the latter's growing number of sports contacts with Western countries. These continue to take place in total disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations, with the effect of undermining the campaign to isolate and destroy racism in sport. It is noted in particular that attempts are being made to have South Africa readmitted to international sports bodies from which it has been expelled or suspended. In these circumstances, the *Ad Hoc* Committee urges the Assembly to call for strict observance of the boycott of South Africa in the field of sport by all States, in accordance with the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports, adopted at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly [*resolution 32/105 M, annex*].

23. In the face of these developments, too, it was the feeling of the *Ad Hoc* Committee that efforts should be redoubled to outlaw *apartheid* in sport and that the adoption of an international convention containing measures to give effect to this objective should be vigorously pursued.

24. Accordingly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee has recommended to the General Assembly in paragraph 13 of its report that its mandate should be extended in order to allow it to continue its work towards the completion of the draft convention. I also wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the recommendation in paragraph 14 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report that the draft text be sent to all States with a request that their views and comments be sent to the Secretary-General so that these may be taken into account when the final text is prepared.

25. On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, I commend these two proposals for adoption by the General Assembly and for prompt action by all concerned.

26. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 19 September 1980, I now call upon the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Nzo.

27. Mr. NZO (African National Congress of South Africa): May we, on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa, express our gratitude for the invitation extended to us to address the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the burning question of *apartheid*, which has been on the agenda of this body since its inception.

28. We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of your important office as President of the General Assembly. We are hopeful that the recent position taken by your country regarding the struggle of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa

People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, also marks the beginnings of a realistic approach by your country to the problem of *apartheid*, which stands condemned as constituting a threat to international peace and security.

29. In a few days' time, the whole of democratic mankind will be commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. That will provide the occasion for the United Nations to rededicate itself and redouble its efforts towards the realization of the principles of self-determination and independence of all peoples and the preservation of international peace and security.

30. It is our view that this twentieth anniversary must serve as an occasion for celebration. The last 20 years have seen a decisive transformation of the political face of the world. A central feature of that transformation has of course been the universal collapse of the colonial system and the entry of millions of peoples into the world arena as masters of their own destinies and participants in the global collective efforts to build a world free from hunger, ignorance, disease, national oppression and war.

31. While pointing to the inevitability of the success of the peoples who are still colonized, that historic victory also emphasizes the urgency of the need to complete the process of decolonization. This is necessary, both to do away with the remnants of a political system that is an anachronism and to guarantee the permanence and irreversibility of what has already been achieved. The African National Congress is therefore of the firm view that the liberation of the peoples, among others, of Palestine, Western Sahara, the Canary Islands, Namibia, the Indian Ocean islands of Reunion and Mayotte, South Africa, East Timor in the east and Belize and Puerto Rico in the western hemisphere, must feature as a central objective of the world community and the United Nations. We believe that the firm, united, consistent and principled participation of this body in that struggle would contribute significantly to the realization of that aim.

32. Fifteen years ago the forces of colonialism in what was then Southern Rhodesia tried to halt the march of progress through a unilateral declaration of independence. After that they launched a campaign of mass terror against the people and the liberation movement of Zimbabwe, as well as against the neighbouring independent States.

33. When it became clear that those brutal methods alone would not and could not prevent the collapse of the colonial system, thanks to the heroism of the people of Zimbabwe and the active support of progressive mankind, the Smith régime decided to impose on the people a puppet régime in the vain hope that that would make colonialism acceptable to the majority. Despite all those manoeuvres, Zimbabwe is today an independent State, governed by the people themselves through their elected representatives. It has taken its rightful place in the community of nations. We hail the valiant brotherly people of Zimbabwe. Their victory is the victory of all the people of Africa and a particular inspiration to the struggling

peoples of Namibia and South Africa. The victory of the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe represents a major defeat of the *apartheid* Pretoria régime in a number of salient respects.

34. Following the historic victories of Mozambique and Angola, that victory has dealt the final blow to the strategy of the racist régime of South Africa to maintain buffer States around the borders of our country in order to perpetuate *apartheid*. The complete failure of that strategy, which sought to quarantine South Africa from the process of decolonization, has also meant that the additional element in the strategy of the *apartheid* régime, namely, to stretch that buffer zone deeper into the African continent, has also been reduced to nought.

35. In pursuit of the success of those strategic objectives, the South African régime committed its economic and military might, the potentialities of the *apartheid* State as a whole, to the defence of the colonial *status quo* in the then Rhodesia. The defeat of the Smith régime and its puppets, therefore, represents in a direct and immediate sense a defeat also of the same forces on which the *apartheid* régime relies for the perpetuation of white minority domination in South Africa itself.

36. Rebel Rhodesia, furthermore, acted as the proving ground for the anti-liberation and counter-insurgency strategy and tactics of the Pretoria régime. There that régime had sought to test its own ability to defeat popular armed struggle, its possibility of surviving mandatory economic sanctions, saving colonialism by the imposition of a puppet régime, winning by diplomatic and political manoeuvres a war which it had lost on the battlefield.

37. At the end of the day, the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in the Patriotic Front and supported by the front-line States and the rest of progressive mankind, proved the bankruptcy of that total strategy and the inevitability of the victory of the democratic revolution. The frontiers of freedom were extended to the very doorstep of the *apartheid* régime.

38. Little wonder, therefore, that the racist Prime Minister P.W. Botha, who had threatened military intervention in the event of a Patriotic Front victory, felt himself compelled to state publicly that the birth of Zimbabwe has altered the strategic position of *apartheid* South Africa. And, naturally, whereas the *apartheid* régime read danger signals in the independence of Zimbabwe, the masses of our people responded to that historic event, as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches put it, "with joy and thankfulness". For its part, commenting on this changed strategic balance as perceived by the oppressed, the national office of the Congress of South African Students welcomed the independence of Zimbabwe with these words:

"Africa is in a process of revolution. And now that Zimbabwe, so near to us, is undergoing revolution, we hope and trust that it will serve to oil the process of change in our country."

39. The strategic balance in southern Africa, especially over the last five years, had indeed shifted decisively in favour of the liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia. We no longer speak of the unholy alliance of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. The Pretoria-Salisbury axis is no more. Pretoria stands isolated as the sole seat of colonial repression in our region.

40. All contending forces in southern Africa proceed from that reality. As a consequence of that change, the Botha régime has felt itself obliged to re-examine the totality of its strategy and tactics for the defence and entrenchment of the *apartheid* system. For us, for the oppressed people and the broad movement for liberation of our country, that transformation has served and serves as a spur to further and more effective action to complete the continental process of revolution about which the youth of our country speak.

41. In that respect, the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are favoured by the situation, in that they have to liberate themselves at a time when the colonial system is already in its death throes, when the whole of the African continent constitutes our rear base.

42. That situation dictates that those who are committed to the achievement of the objectives contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should step up the offensive for the elimination of the racist and colonial régime of Pretoria. Any other position would objectively constitute an attempt to give the *apartheid* régime a further lease of life, to perpetuate the colonial domination of both the Namibian and the South African people. Correspondingly, that would raise the price that the people of our countries, and of southern Africa as a whole, would have to pay for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa. It would further aggravate the threat to international peace and security.

43. The masses of our people and the democratic forces of South Africa have greeted the changed balance of forces in southern Africa by intensifying the offensive against tyrannical white minority rule. From north to south and from east to west South Africa has become one battlefield for liberation.

44. The rejection of slave education is evidenced in the boycott of schools by elementary, high school and university students of all black ethnic groups; the strikes for higher wages by workers in the automobile, textile, canning and food factories and municipalities; the demonstrations of solidarity by school-teachers and religious leaders; the rent strikes in the black ghettos; the boycotts in reaction against the hiking of bus fares; the heroic resistance to forcible removals from squatters camps such as Crossroads and established communities such as Zoekmekeer—all those activities testify to the people's unflinching determination.

45. Despite the outlawing of the African National Congress 20 years ago, the incarceration of our leaders, the mass arrests, arbitrary trials, torture and killing of detainees in prison, massacres of defenceless civilians including children, and hangings, the struggling people of South Africa remain undaunted.

In fact, they have raised the banner of the African National Congress, the undisputed vanguard of the national liberation movement, even higher by demanding the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

46. Only recently, heads of the racist army, the security police and special counter-insurgency units met in the city of Port Elizabeth to consider what steps to take to confront the students, thousands of whom are children eight years old. Similarly, on the workers' front, armed police terror has failed to stop or to dampen the strike movement among the black workers, who continue to fight for higher wages, better working conditions and the right to form their own independent and democratic trade unions. The Fascist régime was compelled by the militant and fearless actions of the workers to recognize the right of the African workers to belong to unions and to strike. It is now searching for ways and means of controlling the trade union movement to try to impose a state of docility on the black workers in particular. Accordingly, the *apartheid* Minister of Labour has announced that in the new year he will introduce legislation to ensure that all strikes are approved by the régime before they occur. Armed force has failed to cow the black workers. This proposed anti-working class legislation, approved by an all-white and racist Parliament will similarly fail to impose submissiveness on the black workers of our country.

47. The daring armed actions of our popular army Umkhonto we Sizwe (the spearhead of the nation)—and here we are not only talking of the telling strikes at the enemy's strategic oil installations at Sasolburg and Secunda—are an affirmation in action that the days when the *apartheid* régime enjoyed a monopoly of arms are over. Increasingly, the counter-insurgency chiefs of the Pretoria régime will have to meet to consider how to deal not with striking eight-year-old pupils but with armed masses of our people.

48. The military establishment has been brought into the centre of political power. An army general has taken over as racist Minister of Defence. Military officers serve in the most important State committees. The recent meeting on the school boycott to which we have already referred reflects the central role that has been given to the military establishment to extricate the *apartheid* régime from the general crisis in which it is embedded. Militarization of South African society includes military cadet programmes at high schools, the use of army officers to replace African teachers in schools, the inducement of farmers in border areas to form "protected villages", along the lines pursued by the Smith régime, and vigilante groups on the premises of foreign companies operating inside our country.

49. The programme for the strengthening of State forces of repression continues unabated. It is being carried out through the induction of ever-increasing numbers of people into the so-called South African Defence Force, including special recruitment of so-called Coloureds and Indians, and the establishment and building up of puppet armies in the bantustans.

50. It is no secret to Member States of this body that the *apartheid* régime has gone so far as to test its own nuclear device, using, as has been reported, long-

range artillery pieces, obtained in the United States with the co-operation of certain United States Government departments, as the means of delivery. All this emphasizes the importance which the *apartheid* régime attaches to military means and methods for the maintenance of the *status quo*. This is the culmination of the nuclear collaboration between the *apartheid* régime, some Western countries and Israel.

51. Panic-stricken by the growing tide of mass revolt and armed resistance, the *apartheid* régime has resorted to a series of cosmetic changes masquerading as liberal reforms. It was none other than Pieter Kóornhof who in 1970 declared that the white man was master in South Africa and would maintain that position forever, by force if necessary. Today he has become the main architect of the new face of *apartheid*, and he now quotes from Abraham Lincoln, who said that "the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present". The so-called sweeping changes recently announced by the Pretoria régime are a political ploy designed to defuse the political ferment obtaining inside the country and to placate world opinion.

52. The new proposals contained in the bill presented on 29 October 1980, and heralded by the régime as expanding the rights of 8 million urban blacks, are intended not only to create a black middle buffer class but also to tighten the so-called influx control P. W. Botha's repeated affirmation that there will never be one man, one vote, in South Africa is further proof of our contention that these so-called reforms are mere diversionary tactics. The Pretoria régime has already embarked on this programme of deceit. It has established what it calls the President's Council, composed of selected whites and some discredited and unrepresentative Coloureds and Indians. It is suggested that the establishment of that advisory Council marks the beginning of a process of power-sharing. In reality, however, all that the Council can and will do is to give the illusion of change whilst the system remains intact.

53. With regard to the bantustan programme, an important corner-stone of the *apartheid* system, the racists also seek to introduce some changes to make this programme more acceptable. Therefore they are pursuing the idea of what they call a confederation of states which would bring together *apartheid* South Africa and the so-called independent bantustans in the first instance. This confederation would, according to this plan, result in the joint administration of certain areas of the country by the *apartheid* régime and its puppets to give the illusion that these puppets are equal partners in controlling certain economic regions of our country. Further, Botha's "total strategy" envisages the formation of the so-called constellation of southern African states which will complement the Bantustans as client buffer states subservient to the *apartheid* régime, thus ensuring the perpetuation of its economic and military domination in the region.

54. We have already mentioned the manoeuvres the Pretoria régime is involved in with regard to the trade unions. This policy of making what are intended to appear as steps towards the dismantling of *apartheid* stretches to other areas as well, including education, housing and recreation. For instance, the régime has

allowed a few black students to attend white schools. With regard to housing, it is pushing forward its plan to sell 99-year leases to African householders in the urban townships. In recreation, the régime is encouraging what it calls multinational sports.

55. It is against that background that South Africa's programme of inviting world-famous athletes and entertainers and paying them lucrative fees must be seen and condemned. Undoubtedly the *apartheid* régime will continue to introduce new and meaningless reforms to present itself as an agent of progressive change. This will also provide an argument for the Western friends and supporters of *apartheid* South Africa with which to defend the Pretoria régime and for continuing their collaboration with it under the pretext that change in South Africa has started.

56. The substance of the *apartheid* system, of course, remains unchanged. Political power remains the monopoly of the white minority. Both relatively and absolutely the impoverishment of the mass of our people continues to increase while the whites continue to get richer. Endemic unemployment has thrown into the intractable misery of joblessness no less than 30 per cent of the black working people. A recent estimate by the Afrikaans University of Port Elizabeth puts the poverty datum line for African families in urban areas at \$US 250 per month. Only a tiny minority of the African working population earns that much. The fruits of the *apartheid* system can also be seen in a cholera epidemic which has broken out among the African people in the north-eastern part of our country. Similarly, large areas of the countryside, mainly in the bantustans, are in the grip of a drought, which underlines the fact that the *apartheid* policy of overpopulating the undeveloped bantustan areas is resulting in the desertification of the rural areas.

57. The *apartheid* régime remains firmly committed to the bantustan programme and is currently preparing for the so-called independence of the Ciskei bantustan. We urge the General Assembly to reject the so-called reforms in advance and to reaffirm its commitment to the support of the struggle for a democratic State based on majority rule in South Africa.

58. Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia and to conduct a reign of terror against the patriotic forces of Namibia, which are led by SWAPO. It continues to commit aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. As President Kaunda of Zambia recently disclosed, the *apartheid* régime was involved only recently in an attempt to overthrow the democratically elected Government of Zambia. Pretoria continues to train, arm and deploy mercenaries to destabilize the countries of southern Africa, including Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and Zambia. This deliberate programme for destabilizing neighbouring countries is a threat not only to the region but to the entire continent. In brief, for all its deceitful manoeuvres, the *apartheid* system continues today to be what it was yesterday: an enemy of humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

59. The fact that the collapse of the colonial system in Africa, in particular, and the militant struggles of the people of Namibia and South Africa have shifted

the balance of forces in favour of democracy does not mean that the *apartheid* régime is about to see reason. It has, thanks to Western collaborators, enhanced its potential to step up repression inside the country and commit acts of aggression in defence of its inhuman policies.

60. The draft resolution adopted a few days ago by the Fourth Committee in connexion with agenda item 86, calling on Western countries to cease their collaboration with *apartheid* South Africa, was indeed very timely.

61. The representatives present here now know that, contrary to the express wishes of the General Assembly, the Western countries continue to aid, abet and bolster the *apartheid* régime. In many ways those countries are subverting and circumventing the mandatory arms embargo. In other fields, such as trade, investment, the transfer of technology and political and diplomatic relations, the position of the Western Powers is that business continues as usual and even with greater intensity.

62. The people of South Africa have demonstrated unequivocally what it is they want for their country. The "free Mandela" campaign, which the people themselves launched, constituted a public demonstration of the mass commitment to the installation of a genuine government of the people. Equally, the public affirmation by the people of South Africa, both black and white, of their support for the Freedom Charter is sufficient indication that those masses in their millions aspire to a genuinely democratic South Africa and not to the amendment of the *apartheid* system.

63. The call from the African National Congress to the international community to isolate the *apartheid* régime and, in other words, to join us in the struggle for the destruction of that régime, is therefore a call made by the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. Certain Governments and countries that never tire of asserting the claim that they represent the epitome of democracy need to bear in mind the fact that, for all their democratic protestations, they have allied themselves with anti-democratic forces in South Africa in the face of the most openly expressed wishes of the majority, a majority whose vision is that of a democratic South Africa.

64. In that respect, we should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our support and unity of purpose with our brothers and sisters, our comrades in arms of SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. Current attempts to reduce SWAPO to the status of one among many groupings which have a claim to represent the people of Namibia constitute a betrayal of the most fundamental purposes of this Organization. Accordingly, we appeal to all those who are committed to the defence of the principles of the United Nations to continue and increase their support for SWAPO and to fight for the adoption of punitive measures by the United Nations to compel the *apartheid* régime to withdraw from Namibia and to enable the United Nations to carry out its task of granting the Namibian people its inalienable right to freedom and national independence.

65. We would also like to take this opportunity to salute and affirm our support for all those who are fighting for their liberation, including the peoples of Palestine, Western Sahara, El Salvador, Chile, Puerto Rico and other lands. We pledge to those brotherly peoples that we will continue to do whatever we can to support their struggles for the common victory against the forces of tyranny and reaction.

66. More than ever before the United Nations and its Member States have an obligation to take resolute action against the *apartheid* régime, including: the imposition of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations; increased political and material support for the African National Congress, the leader of the democratic movement of our country; intensification of the campaign for the release of political prisoners, including those currently being tried in Pretoria in the misnamed so-called Silverton trial; ensuring strict observance of the arms embargo; and the imposition of an oil embargo.

67. In the eyes of the world, we pledge that our own people, our organization and its allies will not rest until the *apartheid* tyranny is destroyed and our country rejoins the international community as an equal participant in the struggle to strengthen national independence, peace and social progress throughout the world.

68. Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The consideration in the plenary meeting of the item entitled "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" reflects the importance which the international community attaches to that subject. The deep interest of the United Arab Emirates in this question emanates not only from our full support for the cause of justice and freedom but also from our deep concern at the prevailing conditions in certain countries of the world, which offend the dignity of man.

69. The General Assembly has adopted several resolutions condemning *apartheid* and calling for the ending of that system. There is also a consensus that the practice of *apartheid* is a serious crime against the human conscience and a serious violation of the human principles and values on which civilization is based.

70. It is very strange that that abhorrent régime should persist at a time when the historic trend is to strengthen the foundation of justice and endeavour to eliminate all aspects of injustice and affronts to the dignity of man. Our primary objective in this Organization is to liberate man from repression, persecution and exploitation, because we are convinced that political freedom, economic and social justice and national independence are the basic elements of international relations in our world.

71. The United Nations has not only condemned the barbaric régime of *apartheid* and characterized it as a crime against mankind but also repeatedly requested the South African régime to eliminate *apartheid* and to allow the majority to enjoy their basic human rights. Nevertheless, the racist Pretoria régime has continued to ignore the United Nations resolutions. The events which have occurred since the last session of the General Assembly prove, once

again, that the South African régime has no intention of changing its policies. On the contrary, it is exerting every effort to strengthen its racist régime, to the detriment of the population of South Africa and Namibia.

72. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22] shows, the racist régime of South Africa has intensified its repressive measures against those who oppose it. Moreover, the barbaric aggressive actions directed against the neighbouring States, especially Angola and Zambia, and the killing of innocent populations offer additional evidence of the barbaric nature of the South African régime.

73. All those actions show that the racist régime of South Africa is bent on continuing to disregard the resolutions of the United Nations on all aspects of the policy of *apartheid*. They also show that Pretoria has no intention of giving up its racist policy and has every intention of continuing and strengthening its hegemony and of exploiting the people of South Africa and Namibia as long as it has the means to do so.

74. The question we must ask ourselves is how and by what means South Africa has been able to persist in its defiance of the United Nations and the international community for such a long time. The answer to this question is not difficult to find. The Government of South Africa has never concealed its contempt for the United Nations, the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of this Organization. The real problem lies in the fact that South Africa has never been alone or isolated. Various United Nations resolutions have called for the isolation of the Government of South Africa, but in fact the real situation is just the opposite. South Africa relies, within the framework of this Assembly, on faithful allies and supporters, which provide assistance and show it how to evade international pressure and resist national liberation movements. That racist régime is living in comfort because it is convinced that the States that have the means to exert pressure are not ready to abandon their economic interests, which are the main reason for that régime's existence. Also, it is quite natural that that régime should receive support and assistance from another racist régime, namely, the Zionist entity, which has uprooted a whole people from its land. The second special report of the Special Committee [A/35/22/Add.2], is self-explanatory and I need not go into it in detail. There is nuclear and military collaboration between the two racist régimes and Israel is contributing to the development of the military industry in South Africa, as is shown in that second special report.

75. The international community is entitled to seek answers to the following questions. Why have some States followed such a policy in spite of the worldwide condemnation of such practices? Why are they continuing their economic, political and nuclear collaboration with South Africa?

76. In our view, the situation can be changed only by the application of the measures contained in the various Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on this subject.

77. The United Arab Emirates also supports the just demands of the African States for the adoption

of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The implementation of such measures requires the firm political will of all Member States to oppose the *apartheid* régime. Moreover, it is vitally important to inform public opinion in the countries which are providing military and economic assistance to the racist régime, in order to reveal the true nature of *apartheid*. Those countries have an obligation to assist in the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace adopted by the General Assembly on 15 December 1978 [resolution 33/73].

78. We are convinced that the people of South Africa will achieve victory, because its cause is the cause of justice and peace. The people will triumph in spite of oppression and the efforts of South Africa to usurp the inalienable rights of the South African people. The attainment of independence by Zimbabwe and its accession to membership in this Organization are the best proof of this.

79. In conclusion, my delegation would like to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its tireless efforts to encourage and promote coordinated international action against the hegemonistic phenomenon of *apartheid*. In our view, the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee deserve the utmost attention and support of the General Assembly. My country will spare no effort in providing assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia in order to uphold the lofty principles and noble objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

80. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): My country has steadfastly upheld the principle of racial equality and has long fought for its universal application. In fact, in 1919, the Japanese delegation to the Commission on the League of Nations, to which was assigned the preparation of a draft Covenant of the League, proposed that the following provision should be included:

“The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or fact, on account of their race or nationality.”<sup>1</sup>

Although this proposal was simply an appeal for justice, it was rejected.

81. Respect for the human rights and for the fundamental freedoms of all without racial distinction is a fundamental principle of the United Nations. The people and the Government of Japan whole-heartedly support this principle and, consequently, vehemently oppose South Africa's policies of *apartheid* because they are nothing more than blatant, institutionalized racial discrimination, depriving the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa of their fundamental human rights and dignity. There can be no compromise in this regard. *Apartheid* must be abolished once and for all. The people and the Government of Japan, therefore, do not believe that the so-

called “improvement” measures taken by the South African Government will lead to a fundamental eradication of *apartheid*. We are firmly convinced that the problem can be solved only by recognizing the equal rights and freedom of all races living there, and by allowing everyone to participate on an equal basis in the political, social and economic life of his or her country.

82. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Masayoshi Ito, stated when he addressed the General Assembly on 23 September last:

“The continued practice of racial discrimination in South Africa, however, goes against the trend of history towards establishing majority rule and must be strongly condemned. Japan, a country that has resolutely opposed racial discrimination in any form since the time of the League of Nations, strongly urges the Government of South Africa to make efforts to eradicate racial discrimination.”  
[7th meeting, para. 65.]

83. The South African Government should not presume that historical trends can be reserved. Experience demonstrates that the tide of history cannot be stemmed. Measures by which the South African authorities contrive to delay the process of democratization might, on the contrary, prove apt to hasten that process. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Government of South Africa will drastically change its attitude towards the majority of its own people, as well as towards the international community. We urge South Africa to reconsider its policies, not only for the benefit of its own society, but for the benefit of all mankind.

84. My country has consistently opposed military force as a means of solving disputes. We insist that every dispute be settled peacefully through negotiations. My delegation is fully aware of the feeling in some quarters that the steady stream of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly has failed to lead to any meaningful changes in the lives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. While fully understanding this sense of frustration, we still maintain that it is vital for us to continue, through all possible peaceful means, to exert maximum pressure on the Government of South Africa. We must unite our efforts in encouraging progressive and enlightened movements within South Africa to undertake more effective action without resorting to force. Our ultimate and common goal must continue to be the complete abolition by the Government of South Africa of its *apartheid* policies. As a member of the international community, my Government has energetically and uncompromisingly sought to fulfil its obligations to this end.

85. Japan maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor does it recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana or Venda. Japan, in principle, does not issue visas to South Africans for cultural and educational exchange or for sporting activities.

86. Regarding military collaboration with South Africa, Japan has long adhered to the three principles of the arms embargo and has accordingly prohibited the supplying of arms and related equipment to South Africa by any Japanese nationals or organizations.

<sup>1</sup> See Preliminary Peace Conference, *Commission on the League of Nations, Minutes of 10th meeting*, p. 63.

Despite the fact that there are no licensing arrangements between Japan and South Africa for the manufacture of arms, the Government of Japan has, since April 1978, taken all necessary measures to ensure the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and to secure legal control of technical assistance relating to the manufacture of arms. Consequently, there has been absolutely no military co-operation between Japan and South Africa, nor will such co-operation be approved by the Government of Japan in the future.

87. In the field of nuclear collaboration, my country strictly adheres to the three non-nuclear principles of not possessing, not manufacturing and not permitting the entry into Japan of nuclear weapons. Thus, Japan has neither extended, nor is it able to extend, any co-operation whatsoever to South Africa in the field of nuclear weapons development. With regard to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or any related materials, nor has it extended any technical assistance to South Africa in nuclear technology development.

88. Finally, the Government of Japan has upheld its policy of not permitting direct investment, such as the establishment of local corporations, in South Africa, by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. This policy is maintained in spite of Japan's general policy of maximum liberalization of direct investments abroad. Further, the Government of Japan, respecting the relevant United Nations resolutions, has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa and has strictly enforced this policy. Japan confines its economic relations with South Africa within the framework of normal trade.

89. Even so, the Government of Japan is making every possible effort to reduce Japan's dependence on foreign imports, particularly of natural resources, from South Africa by, *inter alia*, rapidly expanding its economic and technical co-operation with other African countries. We are confident that this will contribute to the expansion of Japan's trade with them.

90. The Japanese people have consistently supported movements in South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid*. My Government has provided whatever humanitarian assistance it could to the oppressed people of South Africa through annual contributions to the relevant funds of the United Nations. We shall continue to do our best to accomplish our tasks on behalf of the oppressed people in that part of the world.

91. Opposition to the seemingly ubiquitous practice of racial discrimination and particularly to the institutionalized racism practised in South Africa is the consensus position of the international community. It has tried for decades to persuade South Africa to eradicate its *apartheid* policies. The United Nations, by its resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council, has provided a reasonable basis for the peaceful settlement of this complex problem in southern Africa. Those international efforts must not be permitted to fail. However, if the Government of South Africa continues to defy such efforts, the

Government of Japan for its part will be forced in the future to reconsider its position regarding the solution of the problem in South Africa.

92. The PRESIDENT: The debate on this item will be resumed this afternoon after the balloting to fill the one remaining seat on the Security Council. May I urge representatives wishing to participate in the debate to put their names down as soon as possible so that we may use to the utmost the time allotted for consideration of this item.

#### AGENDA ITEM 18

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:**

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(PARTS I AND II) (A/35/596 AND ADD.1)

#### AGENDA ITEM 84

**Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 *e* of the Charter of the United Nations:**

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/597)

#### AGENDA ITEM 85

**Question of East Timor:**

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/598)

#### AGENDA ITEM 86

**Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/599)

## AGENDA ITEMS 87 AND 12

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations;**

**(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;**

**(b) Report of the Secretary-General**

**Report of the Economic and Social Council**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/600)**

**AGENDA ITEM 88**

**United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/601)**

**AGENDA ITEM 89**

**Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(A/35/602)**

93. Mr. LAL (Fiji) Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration seven reports of the Fourth Committee relating to items 18, 84, 85, 86, 87 and 12, 88 and 89 of the agenda. As these reports are self-explanatory I shall simply point out the key elements that are included in some of these recommendations.

94. The first report, consisting of two parts, contained in documents A/35/596 and Add.1, relates to those Territories that were not covered by other items of the agenda and that the Committee took up under agenda item 18. Set out in the report are seven draft resolutions and four draft consensuses which the Committee, in paragraphs 28 and 29 of part I of the report [A/35/596] and in paragraphs 22 and 23 of part II of the report [A/35/596/Add.1], recommends for adoption by the General Assembly. Those draft resolutions and consensuses, in the order of their adoption in the Committee, relate to the following Territories: Gibraltar, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Western Sahara, Belize, Tokelau, Saint Helena, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat, American Samoa, Guam, United States Virgin Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands.

95. As regards those Territories it was the considered opinion of the majority of the members of the Fourth Committee that, notwithstanding the specific problems they face as a result of their small size and population, geographical isolation and frequently limited resources, the General Assembly should reaffirm the full applicability of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

and Peoples with respect to their populations as well as their people's inalienable right to decide for themselves their future status. Many members noted with appreciation the continuing co-operation of the administering Powers concerned and emphasized again the vital importance of dispatching United Nations visiting groups to those small Territories so as to enable the United Nations to be fully apprised of the conditions obtaining in them.

96. As reflected in part II of the report [*ibid.*, para 24], the Fourth Committee also recommends that the Assembly defer until its thirty-sixth session consideration of the question of Brunei, the question of Pitcairn, the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and the question of Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

97. The second report of the Committee relates to agenda item 84, concerning information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations, [A/35/597]. The Fourth Committee recommends, in paragraph 9 of its report, that the Assembly should adopt a draft resolution which states, among other things, that in the absence of a decision by the General Assembly itself, the administering Powers should continue to transmit information with respect to the Territories concerned.

98. The third report of the Committee relates to the question of East Timor [A/35/598], which the Committee took up under item 85 of the agenda. The draft resolution on the question was adopted by a recorded vote of 58 to 35, with 42 abstentions, and the recommendation of the Fourth Committee is contained in paragraph 12 of its report.

99. The fourth report of the Committee relates to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa [A/35/599], a question which the Fourth Committee took up under item 86 of the agenda. Among other provisions of the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Committee in paragraph 7 of its report, it is provided that the General Assembly, in condemning the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories, would call once again upon all Governments to take the necessary steps to put an end to such activities, which run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

100. The fifth report of the Committee relates to items 87 and 12 of the agenda concerning, respectively, the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/35/600]. The General Assembly is asked, among other things, in the draft resolution whose adoption is recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report, to request the organizations concerned to

render or continue to render as a matter of urgency all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples, particularly to those in southern Africa.

101. The sixth report of the Committee relates to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [A/35/601], a question which the Committee took up under item 88 of the agenda. In the draft resolution which the Committee, in paragraph 8 of its report, recommends for adoption, the General Assembly expresses its appreciation to all those that have made voluntary contributions to the Programme, and once again appeals to all States, organizations and individuals to make further generous contributions to the Programme to ensure its continuation and expansion.

102. The seventh report of the Committee relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/35/602], a question which the Committee took up under item 89 of the agenda. In the draft resolution which the Committee recommends for adoption in paragraph 7 of its report, the Assembly would invite all States to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of those Territories.

103. As I stated at the outset, these introductory remarks have only touched upon some of the basic elements contained in the Fourth Committee's recommendations and it should be mentioned that any omission does not in any way affect the importance or significance of the provisions concerned.

104. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I should like to commend these reports to the attention of the General Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee.*

105. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

106. May I remind members that under decision 34/401 the General Assembly agreed that:

“When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, i.e., either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.”

May I also remind members that, in accordance with that same decision 34/401, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

107. We shall first consider the report of the Fourth Committee under agenda item 18, concerning chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items [A/35/596 and Add.1].

108. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on any or all of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee in its report on this item. Representatives will also have an opportunity to explain their vote after the votes on this report have been taken.

109. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala is compelled to make this statement before the vote on draft resolution II recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 28 of its report [A/35/596], in order to record its position on the “Question of Belize” clearly and unequivocally.

110. This year, as at previous sessions, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly have been dealing improperly with the problem of Belize; this is not an ordinary case of decolonization, but rather one which involves territorial claims by Guatemala over Belize, which is and has been historically and legally an integral part of the Republic of Guatemala. Guatemala has nonetheless been unable to exercise its sovereign rights over the territory, because England has occupied it for more than 100 years on the basis of force alone, in spite of Guatemala's repeated attempts and full readiness to negotiate a peaceful solution—one that would be honourable and just for all parties and would meet the most heartfelt interests of the people of Belize.

111. We have explained many times and have proved in this and other forums that England first recognized the full sovereignty of Spain and then that of Guatemala over the territory of Belize, but that subsequently Guatemala was compelled to sign the ill-termed “border” Convention of 1859,<sup>2</sup> under which it yielded an important part of its territory to England in exchange for compensation as set forth in clause VII of that instrument. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland never paid the minimum price contained in the clause on compensation and therefore voluntarily rendered the entire Convention inoperative, thereby making the cession of the Territory null and void. Guatemala tirelessly requested that the Convention be implemented, until finally it legally declared the Convention obsolete and put the territory of Belize back into the Constitution of the Republic as an integral part of its own territorial heritage. We have repeated that there is no longer any legal way of remedying the invalidity of the Convention of 1859. Because of that invalidity, the ceding of the Territory was nullified, causing a *de facto* situation which could only be resolved through peaceful settlement measures for international disputes.

112. Guatemala has repeatedly stated that it has sought in a conciliatory and flexible spirit a peaceful solution to the dispute with Great Britain, in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 1 of the Charter, which states:

“The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all,

<sup>2</sup> Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala, relative to the Boundary of British Honduras, signed at Guatemala City on 30 April 1859. See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1858-1859*, vol. XLIX (London, William Ridgway, 1867), pp. 7-13.

seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”

113. This General Assembly, just like the Fourth Committee, has been informed of the many meetings held this year as part of the process of negotiations on Belize between Guatemala and the United Kingdom, with the participation of representatives of that territory. My country attended those negotiations with many conciliatory proposals, prepared to discuss any proposals made to us in a constructive spirit in order to find a solution consistent with the genuine nature of the dispute, which is basically territorial.

114. For this reason we are surprised that the other party, having participated at the highest ministerial level in direct negotiations, is sponsoring the draft resolution which was adopted by the Fourth Committee as draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.8/Rev.1, thereby casting doubt on its good faith in these negotiations and imperilling the attainment of their goal, which is to reach a peaceful solution to the dispute.

115. The Government of Guatemala considers that since the territorial dispute over Belize is the subject of intensive negotiations this year, it is unjust and unsuitable for the United Kingdom to try to exert pressure by making use of the United Nations, in violation of the very Charter of the Organization, in order to force and put pressure on the will to negotiate of a sovereign Latin American State, with the connivance of interested countries in the area, of the British Commonwealth and of other States.

116. In the Fourth Committee we rejected draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.8/Rev.1, and we consider especially intolerable operative paragraphs 2, 3, 7 and 9, on which we requested a separate vote. This request was opposed by certain well known representatives in defiance of the principles of ethics, courtesy and of the parliamentary practice of this General Assembly. Those paragraphs are intended to cause irreparable damage to the peaceful settlement of the question of Belize. The paragraphs in question read:

“2. Declares that Belize should become an independent State before the conclusion of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly;

“3. Calls upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to convene a constitutional conference to prepare for the independence of Belize;

“... ”

“7. Requests the relevant organs of the United Nations to take such actions as may be appropriate, and as may be requested by the administering Power and the Government of Belize in order to facilitate the attainment of independence by Belize and to guarantee its security and territorial integrity thereafter;

“... ”

“9. Calls upon Guatemala and independent Belize to work out arrangements for post-independence co-operation on matters of mutual concern”.

117. This draft resolution endeavours to hasten independence in the territory of Belize without its

people having reached a decision in that connexion and without the dispute with Guatemala having been resolved, thus irresponsibly creating a new State without territory or defined borders or acceptance by a neighbouring State, and leaving it the subject of constant discussions.

118. For this reason we reiterate our assertion that the question of Belize has been improperly brought before the General Assembly, which compels my delegation to state once more that it does not recognize the validity of the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee, as a result of which—by exceeding its powers and its jurisdiction as conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations—the Assembly would be attempting to interfere in a process of negotiations between sovereign nations aimed at the peaceful settlement of an international dispute.

119. The action of the General Assembly in adopting this resolution would constitute a violation of the legal norms which govern relations among States signatories of the Charter. We reaffirm that no United Nations body whatsoever has the authority to interfere in proceedings for the settlement of disputes and to prejudge the character of the draft resolution to be arrived at, or to recommend, promote or seek to impose a given solution to the dispute. In general, the Assembly’s resolutions lack binding effect except when they are adopted by consensus or agreed to by the affirmative vote of a country they affect.

120. For those reasons, Guatemala will not be able to participate in the vote on this draft resolution, considering it contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

121. Mr. RANGA (India): The position of my delegation on the substance of the question of Western Sahara has already been stated by our representative, Mr. Faleiro, Member of Parliament, during the debate on the subject in the Fourth Committee<sup>3</sup>. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1 in the Fourth Committee and proposes to do the same in the plenary meeting because the draft resolution reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and national independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and seeks to promote the efforts of the OAU to find a solution to the problem which has, unfortunately, bedevilled relations between two non-aligned States in the region.

122. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Senegal would like to explain briefly its vote on the question of Western Sahara, an issue whose importance is not to be minimized.

123. First of all, I should like to make clear the following: Senegal fully endorses the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, the delegation of Senegal will vote against the draft resolution on Western Sahara for two main reasons.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Fourth Committee, 16th meeting, para. 80, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

124. First of all, we believe that the United Nations, whose commendable efforts in its noble mission of the quest for peace and stability in the world we greatly appreciate, should give greater consideration to the efforts made at the level of the OAU in the search for a just and lasting solution which would be acceptable to the parties concerned and interested in the problem. It must not be forgotten that the OAU, after several years of fruitless attempts to resolve the conflict, has now found, through dialogue and persuasion, a better approach to the problem in the creation of an *Ad hoc* Committee made up of five African heads of State. The work of that Committee, at its meeting at Freetown from 9 to 12 September 1980, led to positive and very encouraging results. Those results are an important step forward in the quest for a just and lasting solution in Western Sahara. The conclusions reached by the Committee will be submitted to the approval of the African heads of State at their next summit meeting, scheduled for July 1981 at Nairobi. For the time being, then, we should simply express appreciation for the favourable welcome given by the interested parties to the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

125. For all these reasons, my delegation feels that fundamentally the United Nations should, at this stage, express appreciation for the work of that Committee, and encourage the OAU to continue its efforts at mediation and conciliation. Such a move would be in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

126. In the view of my delegation, the draft resolution before the Assembly tends rather to commit the international community to a path which might lead us away from a just and lasting solution.

127. The other reason that has determined my delegation's position is that Senegal does not approve of preferential treatment being given to POLISARIO.<sup>4</sup> We have always maintained that POLISARIO is one of the parties concerned, but only one among many others which, we regret to note, are barely mentioned in the draft resolution now before us. The delegation of Senegal has serious grounds on which to reproach that movement, as it has often done in other circumstances in other international bodies.

128. What is the subject of these reproaches? It is the iniquitous treatment meted out by POLISARIO to black prisoners. According to reliable information available to my Government, black prisoners are often systematically massacred, although they should be treated as prisoners of war. This is proved by the small number of black prisoners of war released by POLISARIO as compared to prisoners of another race, whereas the contrary should be the case because black fighters have always been more numerous in that conflict.

129. Senegal denounces and condemns such racist actions.

130. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution now before us. However, my country will continue to make its contribution, as it has in the past, to the search for a just and lasting

resolution of this question, in the interests of the region.

131. Mrs. OSODE (Liberia): My delegation voted in favour of the two draft resolutions—A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1 and A/C.4/35/L.7—on the question of Western Sahara in the Fourth Committee. We did so because we believe strongly in the principle of self-determination and independence for the people of Western Sahara, if that is the preference of the majority of those peoples.

132. Today we are abstaining on draft resolution A/C.4/35/L.2/Rev.1, adopted in the Fourth Committee, because we are seeking to ensure a balance of the ideas on both sides of the conflict. It should be understood that our main objective as Africans is to see the problem solved amicably. In this connexion, although we believe that the activities of the OAU and those of the United Nations are complementary, we are convinced that the OAU is the best forum in which to achieve the positive resolution of the conflict, an event to which we all look forward. We shall therefore take no action that would seem to undermine or prejudice the task of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee.

133. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has often had occasion to say how futile and ineffectual it is, when we are really seeking reconciliation and peace, to repeat past mistakes of evaluation and judgement, to utter falsehoods or to adopt recommendations that are in flagrant contradiction of law, justice and the resolutions of the United Nations.

134. Reconciliation and peace cannot be achieved through mechanisms imposed upon international organizations to the detriment of the rights of an entire people, particularly when that people has won its right to dignity, unity and life at the price of a long and costly legitimate struggle in which many generations have been involved.

135. Reconciliation and peace are what the OAU demanded, in clear and responsible language, at the seventeenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980.

136. At Freetown the African heads of State, who had access to the whole truth, set the peaceful objective to be reached and suggested the fraternal means that should be employed to attain it. In so doing, they obtained the co-operation of the parties in a difficult and sensitive undertaking because, by using language that was dignified and by their wise conduct, they were able to create an atmosphere that was propitious to the constructive work they had undertaken to carry out.

137. The re-establishment of fraternal co-operation, which is what generates peace, means above all the restoration of trust and mutual respect.

138. In our view, the OAU did some useful work last summer in support of peace, and we should like to commend the work accomplished by the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in this regard.

139. Many representatives of movements and associations and elected officials of the peoples of the Sahara have been heard this year, both by the Com-

<sup>4</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

mittee of Wise Men and by the Fourth Committee. They have thus given their evidence and, above all, they have transmitted a faithful message of patriotism and of belief in law and justice.

140. This contribution made by the peoples of the Sahara was the voicing of a cry from the heart for the rejection of the criminal actions undertaken from outside and of their perpetrators who are manipulated by foreign interests.

141. We would hope—and, in fact, we did hope—that the General Assembly will confine itself to offering political and moral support for the action taken by Africa, without undue interference; at this stage, in the process of peace that is under way.

142. I should like to express here my thanks to the many delegations that have lent their active and sincere support to my country's efforts to ensure peace, efforts that are in line with the process envisaged at Freetown by the African heads of State.

143. Other delegations, however, have pressed for inopportune intervention in that process, which we regret because of the negative consequences it could have on the development of the peace efforts of the OAU.

144. In any event, I should like to reaffirm the pride of my country and my people in the great work of national liberation and defence of territorial integrity which we have undertaken with faith and confidence in the justice of our cause.

145. Morocco defends and will continue to defend its national assets with determination, against all hegemonistic aggression and manoeuvres and, in so doing, its actions are based on the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and on our Organization's resolutions, which not only give us the right but impose on us the duty to take such action.

146. My delegation rejects anything designed to infringe our legitimate rights, which would, furthermore, be a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

147. Accordingly, we feel that any resolution of this nature would be null and void and would in no way serve the interests of reconciliation and peace in our region.

148. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take decisions on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee. We turn first to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 28 of part I of its report [A/35/596]. Draft resolution I is entitled "Question of Western Sahara". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

149. Mr. BEKALE (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation voted against the draft resolution, but my delegation's vote shows in green on the board.

150. Mr. GORRE-NDIAYE (Gambia): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution but our vote is shown in red on the board.

151. Mr. BUFFUM (Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs): The correct votes of Gambia and Gabon will be properly recorded in the permanent records of the vote and we shall make the necessary adjustment in the total.

152. The PRESIDENT: The result of the vote is as follows: 88 votes in favour, 8 against, and 43 abstentions. Draft resolution I is adopted (resolution 35/19).

153. Draft resolution II is entitled "Question of Belize". A recorded vote has been requested, and we shall now proceed to the vote.

154. Mr. BREIZAT (Jordan): My delegation would like to vote in favour of the draft resolution, but the voting machine is not helping us. It records neither "no" nor "yes". I would like to have my delegation's vote recorded.

155. The PRESIDENT: The vote of Jordan will be recorded in the verbatim record and the appropriate correction will be made in the total.

156. Mr. KHALAF (Somalia): My delegation voted for the draft resolution, but the board shows us as abstaining.

157. The PRESIDENT: I note that a number of delegations wish to speak. Obviously the voting machine is not recording votes correctly. We are in the process of voting and I shall not interrupt this process. I would rather take statements from the floor on the way in which representatives would like their votes to be recorded. If we cannot repair the voting machine during the lunch period, I shall try to find another room with a voting machine where we shall continue our voting.

158. Mr. KHALAF (Somalia): I am sorry, I thought we were voting on the question of Belize. If this is the vote on the Sahara draft, then our vote is correctly recorded.

159. The PRESIDENT: I would inform the representative of Somalia that the vote on Western Sahara was taken a little while ago. We are now voting on the question of Belize. I am sorry. Representatives' laughter is justified. I cannot see what is up on the voting board. I have just been informed that the display is the same as in the vote on Western Sahara.

160. Mr. MISHRA (India): The slate has not been wiped clean on the voting machine and we cannot have a vote on draft resolution II until the slate is wiped clean.

161. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I also wish to speak about this mechanical failure. I wanted to ask you, Mr. President, to dispel any doubts in regard to the questions just raised by some delegations which thought they were correcting votes on the Belize draft. I want to be sure that those corrections are not made to apply to the vote on the Sahara draft, which apparently was concluded. So I should like you, Mr. President to make a clarification about the verbal corrections made by some representatives.

162. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I think the simplest thing would be to erase this vote from the board. Whether or not the machine is working is another problem. But if the system is shut down now, then we shall be erasing all this, which

has nothing to do with the voting on the question of Belize; this was the vote on the question of the Sahara. We are getting into such confusion now that the simplest thing to do would be just to erase the display, disconnect it for a moment. As soon as that is done, the confusion will be dispelled.

163. **The PRESIDENT:** The answer to the question by the representative of Morocco is that the voting on the question of Western Sahara has been completed; it was concluded with the two corrections requested by the representatives of the Gambia and Gabon.

164. As far as the suggestion of the representative of Spain is concerned, that is just the problem: we cannot wipe it from the board because the machine has totally broken down now.

165. My recommendation would be that we now adjourn the meeting, that we try to repair the machine over the lunch hour, and that we meet again at 3 p.m. to continue the voting. We shall then immediately proceed to the balloting for the still empty seat on the Security Council.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*