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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Marinescu
(Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 28

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

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

1. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than 30 years now, in spite of the United Nations condemnation of the cruel system of racial domination, declared to be a crime against humanity, and in spite also of the repeated demands for its total and final elimination. Indeed, despite all the resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations, *apartheid* continues to exist. Events since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly have shown again that the Pretoria régime does not contemplate changing its political course and that it is doing its utmost to consolidate the invidious system of *apartheid*, in spite of the well-publicized promises of certain reforms. Riding roughshod over United Nations decisions and the will of the international community, the racists of South Africa are trying to retain their positions as long as possible.

2. *Apartheid* is one of the cruellest and most terrible social phenomena of our times. In spite of universal condemnation, the Pretoria racist régime continues

to adhere to a policy of racism and to pursue racial discrimination as a State policy and an official ideology. Taken as a whole, the political and socio-economic system of South Africa is built on racial discrimination and on exploitation of the black African population. Even more revolting is the fact that the Pretoria régime continues to pursue the policy of *apartheid*, which has been condemned and rejected by the entire international community. It also continues to violate the inalienable right of the people of South Africa and Namibia to self-determination, independence and social progress—and this at a time when the decolonization process has just entered its final phase. The very fact that at the end of the twentieth century the colour of a person's skin is still a basic criterion for the enjoyment of civil, economic and cultural rights arouses the indignation and protest of democratic and progressive forces the world over.

3. As is evident from the many reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the *Ad Hoc* Working Group Experts on Violations of Human Rights in Southern Africa of the Commission on Human Rights and other United Nations bodies, South Africa has been turned by the white minority into an enormous concentration camp in which the life of the indigenous African population is constantly jeopardized. The struggle for independence and basic human rights has led to the death of many representatives of all racial and national groups, while others have been imprisoned. The Pretoria racists, however, are continuing their repression and their mass detention of students, workers and religious militants. There is also well-founded cause for concern over the trials begun against the adversaries of *apartheid*, especially the Silvertown Nine, in view of the palpable danger of capital punishment which hangs over them.

4. Frightened by the upsurge of the liberation struggle and by the heroism of the African population, the racists are trying by all means possible to prolong and perpetuate inhuman exploitation, which provides them with enormous profits. It is to this end that they are carrying out an accelerated programme of bantustanization in accordance with the *apartheid* ideology.

5. Nevertheless, none of these manoeuvres can mislead the international community. The United Nations has always paid great attention to the problems of southern Africa. It has not let itself be misled about bantustanization, but has condemned it on many occasions. The General Assembly and the Security Council have called for an end to that policy and have declared South Africa's various acts invalid. The proclamation of so-called independent bantustans, the splitting up of the African population and its maintenance in a state of dependence and subjugation are designed to mislead the international community.

6. Among the attempts to mislead world public opinion must also be mentioned the so-called reforms that are so loudly proclaimed but are no more than window dressing designed to isolate the liberation movement and to depreciate the role of its armed struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]. In order to maintain their positions the Pretoria racists are attempting to use the so-called Coloured and Indian communities as buffers against the pressure of the African majority. All of these attempts have been resolutely rejected by the members of those communities as a violation of the interests of the entire people of South Africa and, indeed, merely another manoeuvre on the part of the racists to sow the seeds of discord among the population in order to preserve their own position.

7. Furthermore, this observation is reinforced by the many statements made by Mr. Botha to the effect that there will never be elections in South Africa based upon the principle of one man, one vote.

8. Those statements are further proof that Pretoria, with the assistance of its protectors, is doing its best to keep the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa and Namibia in a state of servitude for as long as possible and to maintain its ability to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring independent States. Suffice it to recall in this respect the recent South African acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

9. It is clear to all that South Africa is constantly endeavouring to surround itself with satellite States by overthrowing their legitimate Governments and creating puppet régimes in those countries. But that is only one part of the strategy of the South African racists, the implementation of which compels them to use every means possible, including the financing, training and arming of adversaries of the legitimate Governments of neighbouring countries.

10. It has long been well known that the *apartheid* régime has been prolonging its existence first and foremost thanks to the enormous amount of aid it receives from some well-known Western countries, above all the United States and Great Britain.

11. The many reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* clearly highlight the fact that the continued collaboration of some Western countries with the Pretoria racist régime represents the major obstacle to the elimination of the *apartheid* system. It is clear to all that the development of the South African economy from a historical standpoint has been linked to and continues to be dependent on foreign investment. Transnational corporations have considerably helped the growth of South African industry in all its branches. It was with their assistance that the advanced industrial base required to meet the needs of South Africa's military and its police for modern armaments was set up; that assistance has also increased South Africa's capacity in the nuclear sphere. With the assistance lent by some countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], and in violation of United Nations resolutions, the Pretoria régime has been able to set up the largest armaments arsenal in Africa. Today South Africa is in a position to develop nuclear arms and is coming close to the time when it will be able to satisfy

its needs in the area of military production by itself, including the production of nuclear armaments. This is then a real additional threat, both for African security and for international peace and security.

12. Although the struggle for national liberation and independence is becoming constantly more widespread, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* do not wish to surrender their positions without being forced to do so. That is why, now more than ever, we must mobilize all means in order to eliminate completely and unconditionally colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

13. In order to achieve that goal, it is not enough to draw the attention of the international community to the inhuman and unspeakable conditions to which the peoples of South Africa and Namibia have been subjected. We must also undertake effective steps to increase the scope of the assistance furnished to the national liberation movements in southern Africa in their legitimate struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

14. The United Nations has on many occasions appealed for an end to all relations with South Africa. The major requirements in that respect have been stipulated in many resolutions of the General Assembly and more specifically in the Programme of Action against *Apartheid* adopted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly [resolution 31/6 J, annex].

15. Apparently, the *apartheid* régime will not of its own will renounce its racist policy. It will have to be forced to do so by constant pressure from the international community and by armed struggle within the country. We can no longer postpone the adoption of energetic measures, including the imposition by the Security Council of sanctions against the South African régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

16. In conclusion, may I reiterate the firm and consistent position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in support of the right of peoples to self-determination and to independence and against all forms of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

AGENDA ITEM 15

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs (*continued*)*

(a) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform the Assembly that the representative of Costa Rica has requested to make a brief statement at this juncture on a question which is pending and which is of interest to the entire membership. I call upon the representative of Costa Rica.

18. Mr. PIZA ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation and the Government of Costa Rica, I should like to announce to the General Assembly that my country has withdrawn its candidacy to the Security Council and, as a result, releases from any commitment those delegations which generously and constantly have given it their support.

* Resumed from the 57th meeting.

19. Costa Rica, I should like to state once again, submitted its candidacy because it was and remains convinced that it has the qualifications—qualifications that may perhaps be equalled but not surpassed—to make it a worthy representative of the group of Latin American States. This is true because it has been and remains determined to perform as such a representative in any position which may be given to it in accordance with the principle of geographical representation and because it feels, and continues to feel, that it meets the requirements of stability, true democracy, respect for law and attachment to peace, which will make it possible for it to make a positive contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations so that it may achieve its purposes.

20. The sole reason Costa Rica had for serving on the Security Council was that it had no vested interest in the matters before the Council. Its only concern was to serve as a factor for equilibrium and impartiality. Its sole desire was to serve the Council and the international community, not to be self-serving.

21. For several months, Costa Rica was running against Cuba, in a frank and gentlemanly contest, without at any time closing the doors to respectful and cordial dialogue, and I must say in all sincerity that we have always met with the same respect and cordiality from the Representative of Cuba, Mr. Roa Kourí.

22. However, when Cuba decided to withdraw from the contest and when Costa Rica became the sole candidate of the Latin American group, we were faced with an incredible series of obstacles which had never before been seen in the United Nations and which came both from within and from outside the Latin American group itself. Every day a new candidate emerged and collected the votes of a minority which was clearly intended to block the Costa Rican candidacy. Meanwhile, within the Latin American group, one country used the consensus rule to prevent, also for the first time in the history of the United Nations, our single candidacy from being endorsed.

23. Costa Rica stoically bore all this adversity and had a solid majority behind it, which meant that it was very close to obtaining the two-thirds majority required for election. Finally, as a result of this orchestrated campaign to block the Costa Rican candidacy, Panama came forward and, after having provided its support to us both before and after the withdrawal of Cuba, decided to become a candidate, arguing that the results of the election in the United States meant that it was necessary for Panama to serve in the Security Council and that Panama was a fully fledged member of the movement of non-aligned countries, whereas Costa Rica was merely an observer.

24. My delegation, with its customary frankness, refuted the first and explained the second point to the members of the General Assembly.

25. With regard to the allusion made by Panama to the election in the United States, we countered its argument with our belief that the Security Council is not the place for those States to negotiate their differences; nor is it the forum to discuss bilateral problems. Were there to be a dispute between the United States and Panama which could be considered by the

Security Council, it would be far more useful for Panama to count on the participation of a country such as Costa Rica, which has long supported the Panamanian cause on the Canal, and because Panama in the case of such a dispute would not be in a position to vote.

26. With regard to the problem of the non-aligned movement, we would simply like to point out that if the non-aligned members of the Security Council are going to meet to try to adopt joint positions in consonance with the principles underlying that movement, our status as an observer would suffice for us to be invited and to participate in those consultations. Our clean credentials as a non-aligned nation would provide sufficient guarantee of our faithfulness to such principles.

27. Despite all this, the result of the vote held yesterday demonstrated that a sizeable majority of delegations have come to support Panama. As I have said, Costa Rica stayed in the contest because of its sense of responsibility and because a large majority of delegations supported us. However, the situation has changed and my delegation—for long a victim of a minority which has been set up so as to block its election—does not wish now to victimize by a similar manoeuvre a brother nation. I have therefore hastened to request the President of the General Assembly to allow me to make this statement this afternoon, so as not to delay our withdrawal and so as to make it possible for the General Assembly to decide this problem of the Latin American vacancy in the Security Council.

28. Before concluding, I should like note to be taken of the deep gratitude of my delegation, of my Government and of my country to those delegations which have given us their vote and, most particularly, to those many delegations which stayed with us to the bitter end.

29. We should like to express our recognition to the two Chairmen of the Latin American group, Mr. Díez of Chile and Mr. Liévano of Colombia, who were responsible for the impartial and proper guidance of the group throughout this period. We should also like to thank the President of the Assembly and the Secretariat staff which has borne this responsibility within the General Assembly.

30. We have made a decent and gentlemanly effort, and we feel that we shall have been compensated for this effort if by withdrawing we contribute to healing the wounds that have been dealt to the prestige and normal operations of the Latin American group, as well as of the entire regional system which serves as one of the keystones of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 28

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

31. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The year 1980 has been the year of the triumphant victory of the people of Zimbabwe. As a result of long years of constant struggle, the people of Zimbabwe has achieved the overthrow of the white minority racist régime and has set up its own independent democratic State. The resounding victory of

the people of Zimbabwe has been a powerful blow to the forces of colonialism and racism, and has given further impetus to the intensification of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. This has been eloquently shown by the major victories of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] over the forces of *apartheid* and also by the massive upsurge of national opposition within South Africa itself.

32. Major student demonstrations in South Africa have taken hold of many universities and schools. There has been participation by a growing number of students, reaching as many as 100,000. The strike movement of black workers has been gaining enormous proportions; it has taken hold of many important sectors of industry. The church and the faithful have taken part in the struggle of the oppressed people, as well as other strata of the South African population. In the words of one of the major spokesmen of ANC: "There is now in formation a broad united front of Africans, Asians, Coloureds and a growing number of democratically minded whites".

33. The armed struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the Pretoria racist régime is becoming ever greater in scope, and this is shown by the recent attacks by the freedom fighters of ANC on the SASOL oil installations. We should point out that the broad national campaign begun on 9 March 1980 for the release of Nelson Mandela and of all political prisoners has demonstrated the growing unity of action and effectiveness of organization.

34. Faced with growing opposition on the part of the masses and in order to maintain the domination of the white minority, the South African racist régime has been fomenting an atmosphere of terror and repression in the country. The racist régime is adopting new and ever more repressive laws to enable it to deal with the growing movement against racial oppression, exploitation and authoritarianism.

35. The growing terror and repression within the country and the escalation of aggressive acts against sovereign African States are further aggravating the situation in the southern part of Africa. In July 1980 the Security Council, at the request of the group of African States, considered the situation then prevailing in southern Africa and adopted resolution 473 (1980), in which the Council strongly condemns the racist régime for its massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid* and for the killing of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees. That resolution also calls upon the South African régime to take measures immediately to eliminate the policy and practice of *apartheid* and grant all South African citizens equal rights, including equal political rights, and a full and free voice in the determination of their destiny.

36. That decision of the Security Council was ignored by the South African racist régime, just as that régime has ignored other demands of the United Nations. There is no doubt that without the support of Western Powers the *apartheid* régime would not be in a position to hold out against the national liberation movements and to continue to defy the international community.

37. In spite of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution

418 (1977), the South African racist régime has continued to acquire new types of armaments. The situation is further aggravated by the activities of the Pretoria régime in order to obtain nuclear weapons. Here there is no need to list the violations of the arms embargo by some Western countries, including some members of the Security Council, since the details are to be found in sufficient number in the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective¹ and in the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* by Governments and intergovernmental organizations [*A/35/22/Add.1*].

38. In that connexion, I should simply like to recall that in resolution 35/28 adopted at the 57th plenary meeting yesterday on 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 [*agenda item 86*], the Assembly strongly condemns the collusion of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and the United States of America with South Africa in the nuclear field and calls upon all other Governments to continue to refrain from supplying the racist minority régime of South Africa, directly or indirectly, with installations that might enable it to produce uranium, plutonium and other nuclear materials, reactors or military equipment.

39. Moreover, we should point out that in violation of the mandatory arms embargo arms merchants are not only arming the racist régime of South Africa so that it can suppress the national liberation movement of the people of that country but also aiding and abetting it in new military adventures beyond the borders of the country.

40. With the assistance and support of suppliers of arms, the Pretoria régime is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia and oppressing the patriots of that Territory. It is also cynically exploiting the natural wealth of Namibia and is preventing the exercise by the people of that Territory of its right to self-determination. With the assistance and support of suppliers of arms, the South African racist régime is committing acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African countries.

41. As a result of the aggressive acts of the South African racist régime and of the policy of connivance practised by some Western Powers, South Africa remains a hotbed of tensions, fraught with dangerous consequences for the peace and security of mankind.

42. The Mongolian delegation believes that the Security Council must adopt further measures to strengthen the sanctions against the South African racist régime.

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.

43. In our view that would be facilitated by the adoption by the Security Council of the recommendations to be found in the report that I have already mentioned of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) and by other measures to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa. The interests of international peace and security demand that the Security Council go even further by adopting a decision in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter and introducing immediately full and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, including an embargo on oil and petroleum by-products.

44. Demands such as these are to be found in innumerable international documents, including documents of international conferences and seminars organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in 1980 and of many United Nations bodies.

45. In that connexion, our delegation would like to express its gratitude to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the significant work it has done in mobilizing the international community against *apartheid* and in organizing a widespread campaign for sanctions against South Africa. Our delegation feels that the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which is to take place next year, is of great importance. It can make an important contribution to the implementation of effective international action.

46. The General Assembly could promote that cause if it were to adopt decisions calling upon all States to take an active part in preparing for and ensuring the success of the Conference. It is also of great importance that work be continued on the further mobilization of world public opinion in support of efforts against *apartheid* through committees of solidarity, trade unions and feminist, youth, religious and other non-governmental organizations.

47. As far as the Mongolian People's Republic is concerned, it has no relations of any kind with the South African racist régime, and its people and Government fully support the efforts of the United Nations to end the invidious policy of *apartheid*. They express their full support and solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against the racist colonial yoke and for freedom, equal rights and human dignity.

48. Mr. RICARDES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the international community is again considering the question of *apartheid*, on which the Republic of Argentina has frequently expressed its position before this body and in other international forums.

49. Once again, the Government of Argentina clearly and categorically rejects the régime of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination. We do not have the slightest doubt that such discriminatory régimes, which represent true systems of injustice and social oppression are offensive to the moral conscience of all nations. They are and will continue to be the cause of continuous suffering and conflicts between men and nations.

50. This is why we consider it vitally important for the Organization, based on the purposes and principles that inspired its creation, to consider urgent and effective measures that can be implemented in order finally to eradicate the system of *apartheid*, whose continued existence can only foreshadow a major deterioration in the situation and an extension of the conflict beyond the borders of the nations directly involved.

51. For all the aforementioned reasons, the elimination of the régime of *apartheid* and of all forms of racial discrimination today constitutes not only a moral but also a political imperative for which the entire international community should exert its best efforts.

52. The General Assembly has on repeated occasions recommended the application of concrete measures, including those provided for in its resolution 34/93. In those decisions, the great majority of States Members of the United Nations have appealed to the Security Council to take decisive action by exerting international pressure on South Africa. However, the Security Council has been prevented from making effective any concrete measure reflecting the just intentions of the General Assembly because of the nearly continual blocking action of some of its permanent members. This has meant, therefore, that in the United Nations and in other international forums those States have been criticized because they have become *de facto* allies of and have provided major support to preserving the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and in other territories such as Namibia, whose illegal occupation is continuing in defiance of the majority will of the world.

53. We have no doubt whatsoever, and we should like to reiterate it once again, that the imposition of a compulsory embargo on the sale of weapons to South Africa as provided in Security Council resolution 418 (1977) has had positive results. But this embargo, while necessary, has not sufficed to break the will of South Africa to maintain the *apartheid* régime. The additional measures set forth in resolution 34/93 and those that will be legitimately requested in the near future should be applied by States Members of this Organization with political will and with the shortest possible delay, and the assistance of the Security Council will be indispensable in accomplishing this.

54. The continuation of this situation with no lasting solution will constitute a dangerous temptation to resort to procedures that run counter to international law and principles.

55. The Republic of Argentina, in strict compliance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the Organization with regard to the régime of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, will always be ready to co-operate in applying any compulsory measures that may be adopted by the Security Council to eradicate what can accurately be defined, and not only because of its moral character, as a dangerous cause of tension and violence that imperils international peace and security.

56. In this spirit of co-operation that the Republic of Argentina has unswervingly maintained in working

for the eradication of the régime of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, my delegation would like to point out that in a letter addressed this year to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, we stated that the Government of Argentina, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 32/105 M, had decided to adopt the following measure: it would refuse to grant visas to representatives of sports organizations, members of sports teams or individual sports figures from South Africa wishing to enter the Republic of Argentina for the express purpose of participating in sporting events, amateur or professional, to be held on its national territory.

57. Similarly, and in accordance with the provision covering the granting of visas for all types of sports activities, the Government of Argentina has also decided to refuse to accept any travel documents of a South African citizen requesting admission to enter our country to engage in cultural activities, and specifically musical activities, as we have informed the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in a letter addressed to Mr. Clark on 6 October 1980.

58. These decisions are the legal expression of the feelings of the people and the Government of Argentina, which was demonstrated in the middle of this year when entry permission was refused to a group of players and members of the Rugby Association of South Africa who wished to participate in a sports event with the national rugby team of Argentina, a fact that was mentioned in the report of the special Committee against *Apartheid* submitted to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly [A/35/22, para.129]. This has also been demonstrated by the decision to discourage the visit of a South African youth orchestra in September 1980, whose appearance in the city of Buenos Aires had been organized by a private entity.

59. We should like to conclude our statement by once again appealing to the South African authorities to adopt, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter, a position imbued with historical and political meaning, conducive to a change in the situation of injustice and violence, which has been denounced by a broad majority of the international community, and which deeply affects international conscience, equity and security.

60. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil): As we resume our discussion this year on agenda item 28, concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, the delegation of Brazil would like to go on record as expressing its sincere appreciation for the work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Under the chairmanship of the Ambassador of Nigeria it has been providing the General Assembly with invaluable information and suggestions throughout the years. This year's report of the Special Committee [A/35/22] is yet another contribution to the unremitting efforts undertaken by the United Nations in its struggle to erase *apartheid* and racial discrimination from the face of the earth.

61. South Africa continues to subject its people to the abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. It has stubbornly refused to heed the countless appeals voiced in the United Nations and elsewhere. The procrastinating

tactics resorted to by Pretoria in relation to the United Nations plan for Namibia are yet another manifestation of the unwillingness of the South African authorities to co-operate with this world body. We have grown accustomed to being confronted with such methods and negative attitudes. Should we give up hope and remain aloof until the racist authorities unexpectedly take a magnanimous decision to grant majority rule to the people of South Africa? We simply cannot afford to make that choice. Neither our political commitment nor our conscience can keep us from going one step further in our common endeavours against *apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa. It is in this spirit that once again the Brazilian delegation is participating in this debate and adding its voice to the international expressions of solidarity with the South African people.

62. However much the situation obtaining in South Africa may appear to remain unchanged every year, new developments occur that tend to cast a different light on the problem and thus have a bearing on our discussion.

63. This year we welcomed the independence of Zimbabwe after a long period of bitter strife during which many patriots sacrificed their lives. The Minister for External Relations of Brazil, on the occasion of his recent visit to Salisbury, had the opportunity to witness the efforts that the Zimbabwean people and Government are making towards national reconstruction and economic prosperity. The independence of Zimbabwe under black majority rule has provided a new impetus and encouragement to the forces of liberation and freedom in southern Africa. It seems to have thwarted the attempts made by Pretoria to bring about a constellation of puppet States in the region. But vigilance remains of the essence.

64. Most recently news has reached us that South Africa intends to accelerate its programme of bantustanization. The projected proclamation of the so-called independence of Ciskei is another act of defiance of the international community, which has refused to grant any kind of recognition whatsoever to the existing bantustans. This policy pursued by the South African authorities had failed to deceive a single country, and it will undoubtedly continue to receive the unanimous condemnation of the world community.

65. As I have already pointed out, not only did the independence of Zimbabwe add a positive element to the configuration of the political scene in southern Africa but the situation within South Africa itself shows signs which might indicate a future evolution. The whole world has followed the mobilization of various sectors of South African society against the oppressive *apartheid* policies. The events that have taken place during the last year can be regarded as the harbinger of a new stage in the political development of the country. It is highly encouraging that some segments of the South African population refuse to be lured into devious manoeuvres designed to exclude the black majority from the political process.

66. The Security Council is expected to meet shortly on the question of South Africa. The meeting has been requested by the group of African States, and we believe that, whatever the importance of the problems

the Council is presently called upon to consider, the South African policies of *apartheid* should always remain a priority issue. The delegation of Brazil has examined the recommendation of the Committee established by Council resolution 421 (1977) purporting to strengthen the mandatory arms embargo instituted in its resolution 418 (1977) and to remove the loopholes existing therein. We are confident that those recommendations will be given careful consideration by the members of the Security Council. Brazil, for its part, has scrupulously abided by the provisions of resolution 418 (1977), as we have recently informed the Secretary-General.

67. The illegal military occupation of Namibia has overflowed into the territory of neighbouring sovereign States such as Angola and Zambia, which have already amply demonstrated their commitments to a peaceful transition to independence for the Territory of Namibia. The root of the problem in that part of the world is the very existence of the system of *apartheid* and of a minority régime in South Africa.

68. As long as *apartheid* is not terminated and the black population in South Africa is not able to determine its own destiny, there will be no prospect of lasting peace, stability and prosperity in southern Africa. The commitment of Brazil to the achievement of those objectives remains unchanged.

69. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Once again I wish to reaffirm from this rostrum Israel's long-standing opposition to the concept and policies of *apartheid*. The basic tenets of Judaism, as enshrined in the Bible and expounded in the writings of the Jewish sages, abhor any form of racism or racial discrimination.

70. Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, and its embodiment in the State of Israel, drew inspiration from this moral heritage and have served as proud and shining examples of the struggle against the evil of racism in all its manifestations. Our own national identity was forged in the crucible of persecution. Our people spent hundreds of years in ghettos in Europe and elsewhere, subject to humiliating and discriminatory laws, to vicious pogroms and to a succession of expulsions. Within the memory of many in this Assembly hall, the Jewish people were victims of the ultimate expression of racism and racial discrimination, the maniacal and methodical massacre of six million persons whose only crime was to be born of Jewish parents or grandparents.

71. The persecutions and the hatred continue. Just a few weeks ago a campaign of hatred against my people led to a murderous bomb attack against a Jewish house of worship in the heart of Europe. I speak, therefore, from deep moral conviction and from bitter experience when I declare yet again before this Assembly that Israel will give to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.

72. It is most unfortunate to learn that, notwithstanding the facts, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* continues to subject my country to tendentious and demonstrably false accusations and thereby to expose itself to ridicule and contempt. For that Committee, the facts seem irrelevant petty annoyances to be shoved aside when they interfere with the designs of certain States to exploit this issue

to attack my country. What else can any well-intentioned observer think after reading the "second special report" on the so-called recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa?

73. Let me say a few words about this scurrilous "special report". First, in its very first sentence it again reveals the biased, one-sided attitude of its authors. It reaches its conclusions before even presenting its rather shaky case. It states high-handedly that there is an "... increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields" [A/35/22/Add.2, para. 1].

74. The sheer fact is that nowhere in that so-called report can one find even an attempt to prove such groundless charges. The Special Committee tried to explain the reason for submitting this non-report to the General Assembly by citing the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, which it claims instructs the Committee "to keep the matter under constant review and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate" [*ibid.*]. Well, if this nonsense which passes for the Special Committee's special report has been deemed "appropriate" by its members, it is a sad reflection on the Committee's dedication, work and attitude regarding its *raison d'être*, namely, fighting *apartheid*.

75. Secondly, among its 30 paragraphs, not once—not even once—did the Committee see fit to mention any statement by an Israel official concerning the matters reported. There is no mention—not even a single—of the letters and notes of the Permanent Representative of Israel sent in response to inquiries by appropriate organs of the United Nations, including the Special Committee itself.

76. Thirdly, the report purports to substantiate its arbitrary assertions by adducing a compilation of irrelevant information and second-hand speculations by third-rate informers. Take, for example, the allegations about economic collaboration with South Africa. According to the latest trade statistics of IMF, Israel's trade with South Africa still amounts to no more than two fifths of 1 per cent of the total trade with South Africa—a proportion that has remained remarkably constant over the last few years. In contrast, according to South Africa's own official records of June 1980, exports from South Africa to black Africa in 1979 increased by 39 per cent over the previous year. Moreover, South Africa had commercial relations with 46 of the 52 States members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. Consistent press reports also reveal that despite their pious disclaimers in this hall the Arab petro-hegemonist Powers continue to trade billions of dollars' worth of their oil for gold, for foodstuffs and for building materials from South Africa.

77. Or let us take as another example the allegations of nuclear co-operation with South Africa. In the report of the Secretary-General on the "implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa", dated 9 September 1980 [A/35/402 and Corr. 1]; the section entitled "Nuclear co-operation with other countries" reviews the record of official and unofficial co-operation including the training of scientists and exchange of sophisticated technologies,

between South Africa and numerous countries. It reserves only one paragraph, paragraph 37, for a discussion of the allegations of nuclear co-operation between South Africa and Israel. It terms those charges mere "speculations" and concludes:

"Until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions can be cited as clear evidence of such co-operation, this whole question remains in a state of uncertainty."

For my part, I would only add that the reason that no specific examples have been cited is that none has occurred.

78. The clear and consistent position and practice of Israel was stated in my note verbale of 14 September 1979 to the Security Council Committee established under resolution 421 (1977). In that note verbale I stated that Israel would

"... comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or related material of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment..."²

Those assurances were reconfirmed as recently as in my letter of 23 June 1980 to the same Committee.

79. The Committee's so-called special report reaches its ludicrous crescendo by reporting in its last paragraph that

"The directors of the South African Board of Jewish Education were honoured by the President of Israel at a special ceremony in Jerusalem in May 1980." [A/35/22/Add.2, para. 30]

Let me inform the Assembly that the event mentioned there is indeed accurately reported. But by what twisted logic can the Committee find fault with encouraging education for any sector of the population in South Africa? The whole Jewish people and the people of Israel have nothing to be ashamed about. We are proud to honour an institution which contributes, often under difficult conditions, to the education of our people in the eternal values of Judaism, one of the most humane traditions in history, a tradition that has contributed significantly to the evolution of such sacred concepts as the dignity and equality of man, inalienable human rights, social justice and peace among nations.

80. In this context, the Assembly may be interested to know that only two days ago, on 10 November 1980, B'nai B'rith, the well-known Jewish service organization, accorded its Janusz Korczak Award for Children's Poetry to Miss Zindzi Mandela, the 16-year-old daughter of Mr. Nelson Mandela.

81. I have no intention of dealing in further detail with the contents of this non-report. What I was trying to do here was to set forth some facts. But these are only facts, and certain participants in this debate will not be persuaded by mere facts into forgoing their ritualistic condemnation of Israel.

82. If the only consequence of this continued propagation of cant about my country were the unjustified attempt to tarnish Israel's reputation in the world community, that alone would be worthy of profound

concern. But, the unfortunate fact is that the insertion of these unending diatribes against my country into this debate serves also to subvert and discredit the United Nations role in the genuine battle against racism. Those who persist in confounding and confusing the issues before us today by seeking to exploit the world's justified abhorrence of *apartheid* to gain support for their sectarian campaign of hatred against my people not only belittle the gravity of the injustices perpetrated in the name of racial superiority, but also disrupt the unanimity needed to act effectively to remove discrimination and restore human dignity. The specious singling out of Israel, therefore, can serve only to undermine the efforts of well-meaning States to cleanse the world of the plagues of racism and racial discrimination.

83. In conclusion, so that there may be no misunderstanding of Israel's stand of the principle before us, let me affirm once again our strong and absolute opposition to the policy of *apartheid*. We have made our stand clear to the Government of South Africa, and we believe that our approach better serves the cause of eliminating racial discrimination than does that of countries and groups which continue to abuse the Committee and these debates to vent their own prejudices and serve their own partisan objectives.

84. As a multiracial people of all colours and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or colour. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation.

85. Mr. TURBANSKI (Poland): Once again the General Assembly is concentrating its attention on the abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. It is common knowledge that *apartheid* stands for political, economic, social and cultural degradation of the black population in South Africa exemplified in practical terms by drastic injustices and disproportions in wages, education, health and, in fact, all areas of social and political life in favour of the white minority. The United Nations in numerous resolutions has not only condemned *apartheid* as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind but also has called on South Africa to dismantle immediately that anachronistic system of racial oppression. However, all the resolutions of the United Nations have been neglected by the South African régime. *Apartheid* still remains a serious challenge to the international community.

86. As can be seen from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, during the past year there has been no improvement in the situation in South Africa. On the contrary, the racist régime has stepped up its repressions against the opponents of *apartheid*. More and more people demanding the elimination of the inhuman system have been arrested and imprisoned.

87. The Pretoria régime continues also its policy of bantustanization aimed at depriving the black population of its own homeland and creating reservoirs of cheap labour for the white minority. It serves also as a device for strengthening the ethnic and tribal diffe-

² See S/AC.20/17.

rences in order to keep its control over the black majority population.

88. The oppressive character of the system of *apartheid* finds its external extension in a policy of force, threats and destabilization pursued by the Pretoria régime against black Africa. In this context, the rapidly growing military expenditures of the South African régime, which more than trebled from 1973 to 1978, must be a matter of great concern. In total disregard of numerous appeals and warnings of the Security Council, the racist régime in the course of last year committed new acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia. It goes without saying, therefore, that the very existence of *apartheid* constitutes a permanent source of tension and instability in the southern part of Africa. It should be noted that most of those aggressive actions against the independent African States were launched from Namibia, which the Pretoria régime continues to occupy illegally, resorting to every possible manoeuvre to perpetuate its colonial rule over that Territory, which is under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

89. A new dimension to the dangers inherent in the system of *apartheid* has been added by the reports on the development of nuclear weapons by South Africa. My delegation has already pointed out on many occasions that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the Pretoria régime would create the most direct threat to the security of African States and would greatly escalate the threat posed by the South African régime to international peace and security.

90. In the face of strong internal opposition and increasing isolation abroad, the *apartheid* régime is trying to deceive world public opinion by introducing some cosmetic changes which do not change in any way the very nature of *apartheid*. The truth is that the people of South Africa continue to suffer from the effects of the system of institutionalized racial discrimination and segregation. In spite of the oppressive measures taken by the Pretoria régime, opposition to the policy of *apartheid* has recently further increased. The national liberation movement is gaining more and more popular support in its bold actions against the white minority régime.

91. In their legitimate struggle against *apartheid* the people of South Africa count heavily on the continued and increased support of the international community. The total elimination of *apartheid* is an urgent task which should receive even greater priority among the efforts of the United Nations. My delegation therefore fully shares the view expressed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report that the United Nations must take urgent measures to step up the international mobilization against *apartheid* proclaimed in 1979 [resolution 33/183 B] for the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime and for full support for the national liberation movement of South Africa.

92. The situation in South Africa calls for more specific and meaningful action on the part of the Organization against this inhuman system of racial discrimination. There are still possibilities of increasing the pressure of international public opinion

on the Pretoria régime. The extensive debates which have been held so far in different international forums have clearly led to the conclusion that the application of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the South African régime would be particularly effective. They have shown also that a great responsibility in this regard rests upon those Western countries which not only are opposing the application of sanctions, but, through political, economic and particularly military collaboration with the Pretoria régime, contribute greatly to its existence and survival.

93. My country attaches great importance to all efforts of the United Nations directed towards the final elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. I should like to reaffirm Poland's full solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

94. Let me quote in this regard from the reply of the Polish Government submitted to the Secretary-General on 12 September 1980 on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980):

"... the Polish People's Republic has always been applying measures aimed at isolation of the Pretoria régime; it has always been strictly abiding by the provisions of the Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980) concerning the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. It has never maintained any relations with the racist South African régime, be they political, economic or military, and it can only reiterate its demand for appropriate and effective steps to be taken against that régime including sanctions against it as well as prohibition of all forms of nuclear co-operation."³

95. Before concluding, my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Special Committee Against *Apartheid* for its vigorous efforts to promote more effective international action against *apartheid*. The conclusions and recommendations of the Committee contained in its report before us constitute a valuable guideline in this regard. We are sure that the just struggle of the people of South Africa, supported by all the progressive forces of the world, will be crowned with full success.

96. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa, which is the only system of institutionalized racism existing in the world today, has been one of the major concerns of the United Nations from its foundation until the present day, since it is directly related to the principles and purposes of the Charter, that is to say, respect for the rights and fundamental freedoms of man, the right of peoples self-determination and peace and security in southern Africa and in the African continent as a whole. It will be recalled that the question of the policy of *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime was raised for the first time in the General Assembly in 1946 by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian nation. Since 1952 it has appeared on the agenda of the yearly sessions of the General Assembly.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14171.*

97. As a result of the victorious struggle for national liberation waged by peoples in the region, the bastion of the domination of racist, colonial and *apartheid* régimes has gradually shrunk like a piece of shagreen. After the accession to independence of Angola and Mozambique, the recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe and the emergence of the Republic of Zimbabwe gave vigorous impetus to the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, the last retreats of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

98. This year, the General Assembly is once again considering the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African régime just as the liberation struggle of the people of that country, under the guidance of its national liberation movement, ANC, has been imbued with unprecedented strength and also just as the racist Pretoria authorities, with the complicity of imperialist forces and international reactionaries, are stepping up their manoeuvres and their repression of the black South African people and the people of Namibia and persisting in their expansionist aims perpetrated against neighbouring countries, so that the situation in this region continues to be explosive, seriously threatening international peace and security.

99. In fact, this year the *apartheid* State is fighting a generalized and organized resistance by all oppressed sectors of the population and all the democratic forces of the country—blacks, Coloureds and whites—including school boycotts, work stoppages, protests and strikes by tenants, boycotts of buses and so forth. The national campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and of all the other political prisoners has mobilized many political, religious, cultural, sports, student and youth organizations. In co-ordination with the political struggle of the people, the heroic actions of the people's army, in particular the spectacular attack carried out last June against the SASOL factory, have destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the *apartheid* régime, thereby reinforcing faith in the final victory of the cause of the people.

100. As always, the response of the racist and fascist authorities of Pretoria to the legitimate demands of the population can be nothing other than the tightening of the massive repression against all the adversaries of *apartheid*, the massacre of peaceful demonstrators and the murder of political detainees, merely to mention a few among so many other criminal measures adopted by the clique in power.

101. Contrary to what some would wish to have one believe—that prospects for change are emerging, including the possibility of the abolition of the notorious Immorality Act—everything shows that the authorities of the country are determined to consolidate the racist régime and to continue the policy of *apartheid* that the United Nations has so many times condemned as a crime against humanity.

102. Together with the most inhuman repressive measures, the attempt to divide the country into so-called bantustans is further proof of the true intentions of the Pretoria régime. To protect and maintain the *apartheid* system within the country, the leaders of that régime are stepping up their manoeuvres and aggressive policies against neighbouring States. It is

for this purpose that they have invented the concept of a so-called "constellation of South African States", which is designed to set up around the Republic of South Africa "client States" that would enjoy special military, political and economic relations with the *apartheid* régime. The authors of this concept harbour the hope that such "client States" would serve as buffer States for the protection of South Africa against attacks from the national liberation movements. Also according to those authors, that "constellation" is to encompass not only bantustans but other sovereign neighbouring States. Needless to say, such a policy poses a serious and constant threat to the sovereignty of those countries; it also underlies the repeated acts of armed aggression perpetrated against the front-line States—in particular, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia.

103. With regard to the international Territory of Namibia, which it continues illegally to occupy, the *apartheid* régime, far from abiding by United Nations resolutions relating to the Namibian people's right to self-determination, is attempting by all possible means to tighten its grasp, create puppet institutions and jeopardize the territorial integrity of that country.

104. For more than a quarter century the United Nations has constantly and vigorously condemned the *apartheid* policy of the South African régime, demanding an immediate end to that brutal policy unmatched in modern history. However, the régime not only has flouted all United Nations resolutions but has cynically declared that its racial policy falls essentially within its national jurisdiction and that the United Nations is not empowered to consider this question.

105. It is no secret that the Pretoria régime, however arrogant it may be, could not have pursued with such obstinacy and for so long a policy condemned by the international community as a crime against human dignity and conscience were it not for the complicity of certain Western Powers. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contains irrefutable evidence of the continued co-operation of certain countries members of NATO, as well as Israel with South Africa in the political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural spheres, in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

106. In view of South Africa's strategic location insofar as NATO is concerned, and the economic importance of that country to some 2,000 transnational corporations, the Western Powers have issued hollow condemnations of the *apartheid* régime, while actively supporting the oppressors of the black South African people and defending the interests of the exploiters. At a time when they are widely proclaiming their so-called defence of human rights, the imperialists and international reactionaries are encouraging and supporting Botha's racist régime in its brutal implementation of the policy of *apartheid*, with all its painful consequences to the non-white population of that country, as well as in the armed attacks and subversive activities perpetrated against the front-line States.

107. It is specifically because of this co-operation and complicity that to date the Security Council has

not been in a position to envisage compulsory economic sanctions against Pretoria. Security Council resolution 418 (1977) could not prevent that country from obtaining the weapons it needed to develop its massive military machine and to become largely self-sufficient in the manufacture of conventional weapons, or from implementing an ambitious nuclear weapon programme, because that resolution came too late as a result of the opposition of the Western permanent members of the Security Council, and because it has not been complied with by those very countries and some of their allies. The nuclear explosion carried out by South Africa seriously threatens world peace. Indeed, as the South African Deputy Minister for Defence unambiguously declared: "When a country possesses nuclear capability it would be quite stupid for it not to use nuclear weapons when necessary."

108. It is perfectly clear that the South African *apartheid* régime not only has inflicted indescribable suffering and misery on millions of blacks in that country and Namibia, but also poses a constant threat to the independence and sovereignty of neighbouring countries—a source of tension in the region and a threat to international peace and security. The elimination of this shameful and anachronistic *apartheid* system is therefore an urgent task of the international community.

109. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, faithful to its unswerving policy of solidarity with peoples struggling to achieve their sacred national rights and the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence, unreservedly supports the patriotic struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia under the leadership of ANC and SWAPO against the *apartheid* colonialist régime of South Africa for the attainment of their independence, freedom and dignity. We join with the international community in severely condemning the Pretoria régime for the inhuman crimes it has committed against the peoples of southern Africa. The recent overwhelming victory won by the people of Zimbabwe and the victories of the South African and Namibian peoples cannot be disassociated from the valuable support provided by the front-line States. We wish to pay them a well deserved tribute, and we consider that they have every right to receive from the international community whatever aid is required for them to consolidate their defence capabilities in the face of the aggressive nature of the *apartheid* régime and to be compensated, if only for some of the sacrifices which they have so nobly made in supporting the national liberation movements in the region.

110. In view of the current situation in South Africa, my delegation considers that the United Nations must, as a matter of urgency, broaden the range of its political, economic and diplomatic action against the promoters of the policy of *apartheid* by resorting to all the relevant measures provided for in the Charter, including those stipulated in Chapter VII. The General Assembly must strongly reaffirm its condemnation of the Pretoria régime and its supporters, and reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the South African people by every means at its disposal, including armed struggle, to put an end to the *apartheid* régime and enable the South African people as a

whole freely to exercise its right to genuine self-determination and independence.

111. Together with an increase in material, political and diplomatic assistance to the South African national liberation movement, sanctions against the *apartheid* régime constitute an effective way for the international community to support the patriotic struggle being waged in South Africa and Namibia. That is why, as recommended by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Security Council should immediately impose, under Chapter VII of the Charter, comprehensive compulsory sanctions against South Africa in order to isolate the *apartheid* régime completely from the international community. The compulsory arms embargo should be reinforced; all forms of military and nuclear co-operation with the *apartheid* régime should be terminated. Among these compulsory economic sanctions, an effective embargo on petroleum and petroleum products should be envisaged without delay. My delegation is ready to support all draft resolutions along these lines.

112. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the work it has done and for the comprehensive report it has submitted to the General Assembly.

113. Mr. PU Chao-min (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The early independence of the Namibian people, the speedy liberation of the Azanian people and the total elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and the policies of *apartheid* in southern Africa—these are the most important and urgent tasks facing the African countries and peoples, as well as issues of deep concern to the people of all countries. Therefore, it is significant that at the current session the General Assembly should consider once again the issue of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

114. The historic victory won by the Zimbabwean people marks a turning point of far-reaching significance in the process of the African people's struggle to uproot colonialist and racist rule in southern Africa. Inspired by the victory of the Zimbabwean people, the Azanian people have made new and gratifying progress in their struggle against racist rule since the beginning of this year. The national liberation movements have notably stepped up their armed struggles. Mass movements are mounting, with workers going on strike and students boycotting classes all over the country. The boycott launched by secondary and primary school students in the middle of last April in protest against *apartheid* in education lasted over three months and involved more than 100,000 pupils at its peak. It won the sympathy and support of people of all strata including some white inhabitants. Meanwhile, the Namibian people's armed and political struggles have made new progress. The Azanian and Namibian people's valiant struggles have dealt telling blows at the South African racist forces.

115. Although the South African racist régime has landed itself in unprecedented isolation, it is still making desperate efforts to maintain its criminal racist rule. It increases military spending, strengthens its military apparatus and steps up repression. South Africa's military budget in the fiscal year 1980-

1981 has reached 2,074 million rand, an increase of 11.7 per cent over that of the previous year. The racist authorities laid off large numbers of workers who went on strike, arrested the leaders of and participants in the strikes and even issued an order to "shoot on sight". On the other hand, the Botha régime continues to play its "reform" tricks, professing a readiness to institute "economic and social reforms", "improve racial relations" build a "multiracial society", and so on. However, Botha has made it very clear that he would never accept majority rule or tolerate any one man, one vote election. This reveals his so-called reforms to be nothing but a gimmick aimed at sustaining his racist rule. At the same time, the South African authorities are stepping up their repression of the nationalist armed forces in Namibia, continuing their military provocations against and incursions into Angola, Zambia and other front-line African countries and raising every obstacle to delay and obstruct the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

116. Naturally, these perverse acts on the part of the South African racist régime have evoked great resistance from the Azanian and Namibian peoples, who are using all available means to carry on the struggle for final victory. The adamant reactionary position of the South African authorities has been increasingly condemned by the international community. At the seventeenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown last July, resolutions on strengthening the arms embargo and sanctions against South Africa were adopted. A growing number of States are in favour of taking necessary measures of sanctions against South Africa. Over the past year, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has done useful work in mobilizing the support of the international community and the world public for the Azanian people's just struggle against the *apartheid* policies and racist rule of the South African régime. It has also offered many positive recommendations and ideas as to what measures the United Nations should adopt in this respect.

117. The Chinese Government and people has consistently given firm support to the Azanian and Namibian peoples in their just struggle for national liberation and independence and have strongly condemned the South African racist authorities for their policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and their illegal occupation of Namibia. The Chinese Government remains firm in its principled stand of having no diplomatic, political or economic relations with the South African racist régime. We hold that, apart from strongly condemning once again the policies of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa, the Assembly at this session should give favourable consideration to the legitimate demands and views of African countries and the recommendations made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* by strengthening the arms embargo against the South African racist régime and adopting effective measures of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

118. We are deeply convinced that under the leadership of their own liberation movements and with

the support of the front-line and other African countries and justice-upholding countries and peoples the world over, the Azanian and Namibian peoples will strengthen their unity, persist in struggle, guard against interference and sabotage by outside forces and realize their national aspirations, thus contributing to the final uprooting of colonialism and racism from the African continent.

119. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of the policies and practices of *apartheid*, a system of man's inhumanity to his fellow men, which constitutes the fabric of South African society. South Africa continues shamelessly to have the distinction of being the only country in the world where day in and day out a clique of fanatics in power expends a lot of energy and resources to entrench and perpetuate an evil system, sanctioned by Draconian laws, whose predecessor was the much-hated nazism of the Hitler era.

120. Under the dynamic leadership of my good friend and colleague, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been relentless in its campaign against the scourge of *apartheid* in South Africa. With ever-increasing effectiveness, the Special Committee has spearheaded efforts for the international mobilization against *apartheid* and has exposed the various schemes and manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to whitewash, rather than scrap, this abomination.

121. I take this opportunity to commend the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the important work they are doing. Indeed, I pay a tribute to Ambassador Clark for his wise and dedicated leadership of the Special Committee which certainly testifies to the commitment of his own great country, Nigeria, to the total liberation of Africa, which was reaffirmed only a few weeks ago before the General Assembly in a moving address by President Shagari at the 24th meeting.

122. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the current session of the General Assembly, so ably introduced the other day by Ambassador Clark, provides most useful information on the many and imaginative initiatives of the Special Committee designed to wipe out *apartheid*.

123. Today more than ever before there is a need to intensify and make universal the struggle against *apartheid*. As in the case of nazism, all men of conscience and all respectable and principled Governments the world over should rally together in the crusade to obliterate once and for all the scourge of *apartheid* and secure the inalienable rights of the people of South Africa. It is totally unacceptable that the black majority of South Africa should continue to languish under these harsh conditions of the *apartheid* system of their country, and certainly aloofness on the part of the international community would be inexplicable and indefensible.

124. The white racist minority régime of South Africa has not learnt a lesson from the demise of the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and the accession of Zimbabwe to independence last April. On the contrary, the immediate effect of the victory of the people of Zimbabwe has been for the Pretoria régime

to escalate its repression of the black majority of South Africa. More than ever before, the *apartheid* laws of South Africa are being sustained through ruthless State violence and terrorism. The South African régime is also sparing no effort to divide the oppressed people and to hoodwink and confuse the international community through the much publicized changes which do not alter the substance of the *apartheid* doctrine.

125. The *apartheid* system remains intact and continues to permeate every facet of life in South Africa. The so-called bantustanization policy continues to be implemented. The master-slave relationship between whites and blacks persists, as the latter continue to be regarded as second-class citizens in their own country. The blacks continue to suffer exploitation and deprivation for the benefit of the whites, and are denied their inalienable political rights. The destiny of a country of 26 million people has been arbitrarily determined by a white minority of less than 4 million. Nothing could be more repugnant and intolerable.

126. The oppressed people of South Africa, not unexpectedly, are determined to assert themselves and win back their inalienable rights and their human dignity. Far from deterring them, the oppression and repression they continue to be harshly subjected to, have had the effect of making them more resolute in their determination to liberate themselves from the clutches of the *apartheid* system. The independence of Zimbabwe, while registering a negative impact on the attitude of the white minority régime of South Africa, has given the oppressed people of South Africa the much needed encouragement and impetus in their strides towards freedom. Thus today there is massive unrest and tension in South Africa. Students and workers have joined in the mass movement for the eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa.

127. The South African régime has a remarkable record of intransigence and arrogance. The General Assembly and the Security Council, among others, have adopted numerous resolutions on South Africa which the Pretoria régime has ignored and treated with contempt.

128. South Africa is truly an outlaw, both in relation to the situation in that unhappy land and the Pretoria régime's continued stranglehold on Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression and destabilization against independent African States, particularly Angola and my own country, Zambia. Only a few weeks ago, my Government foiled a coup plotted by South Africa, in league with foreign mercenaries and some dissident elements in Zambia. The South Africa régime is a serious threat to international peace and security.

129. The Pretoria régime has demonstrated beyond doubt that it is impervious to admonition and appeals for change. It will take the combined pressure of the oppressed people and the international community to bring about change in South Africa. More can and should be done by the international community to complement the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the eradication of *apartheid* and for the establishment of a just society in which equality and equal opportunities will be guaranteed by law for all South African citizens.

130. South Africa's strong relations with a number of key Western countries, their protestations notwithstanding, are a major factor in the persistence of the *apartheid* system. Such relations have the effect of consolidating rather than breaking the back of *apartheid*. They are in themselves an impediment to the efforts to eradicate *apartheid* for the good of all the people of South Africa and for world peace and security.

131. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has made a number of concrete and specific recommendations as to actions to be taken in order to punish and ostracize South Africa, actions which urgently need to be taken by the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, and the international community as a whole. My delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Special Committee and we are convinced that, if acted upon, they will represent a meaningful and effective contribution to the goal of eradicating *apartheid*. The goal of the elimination of *apartheid* is one that every country represented in the Assembly professes to support. The time has come for tangible action, rather than words, against South Africa.

132. My delegation is particularly concerned at the continuing collaboration by some countries with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields. We are disturbed that some countries pay lip service to the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa in its resolution 418 (1977). The Security Council Committee on the arms embargo against South Africa has submitted a report to the Council. This report contains recommendations on the strengthening of the arms embargo and the closing of existing loopholes which have been recklessly exploited by some. Indeed, the mandatory arms embargo should be made more comprehensive. My delegation hopes and expects that the Security Council will, in a matter of days from now, consider the report of the Committee on the arms embargo and act positively on the recommendations therein. No further time should be lost.

133. South Africa is a country ruled by fanatics who will go to any length to protect and perpetuate *apartheid*, which is almost a religion for them. And yet, because the *apartheid* system is evil and unacceptable, the struggle for its eradication will surely grow. The oppressed people cannot and will never succumb and agree to live in perpetuity under the demeaning and harsh conditions of *apartheid*. They will struggle until victory is achieved.

134. Against that background, the question of nuclear collaboration with South Africa is a matter that we in Zambia view with great concern. We strongly hold the view that no country should collaborate with South Africa in the nuclear field under whatever pretext. We utterly reject collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field for so-called peaceful purposes. The intention of South Africa to become a nuclear-weapon Power is well known. As pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General prepared by the Group of Experts on South Africa's Plan and Capability in the Nuclear Field [A/35/402 and Corr.1], the discovery of a nuclear-weapon test site in the Kalahari desert in 1977 strongly suggests that prepa-

rations for the testing of a nuclear explosive device were under way in South Africa in 1977. The same report states that by August 1977 South Africa could have had sufficient material to make a fission bomb and by mid-1979 it could have produced sufficient weapon-grade uranium for at least a few nuclear weapons [*ibid.*, annex, para. 45].

135. Even the apologists of nuclear collaboration for so-called peaceful purposes do not dispute the fact that South Africa has the technical capability to make nuclear weapons and the necessary means of delivery. Given the criminal nature of the South African régime, is it reasonable, in the light of all this, to depend on wishful thinking and hope that South Africa will refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons? In fact, we in Zambia believe that South Africa already has nuclear weapons. Those who collaborate with South Africa in that field cannot escape responsibility as to the possible consequences of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by South Africa.

136. My delegation has noted the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/35/36]. The Committee has recommended that its mandate be extended in order for it to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention to be considered by the General Assembly at the next session.

137. Regarding the outstanding work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, I wish to express my delegation's support for the letter of the President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, dated 4 September 1980 [*ibid.*, annex II], in which he made clear the fact that the meaning of the convention in the struggle against *apartheid* would be totally lost unless the so-called Third-Party Principle was adopted as an integral part of the convention.

138. Zambia has strongly deprecated the continuing sports links between some Western countries and South Africa. Pending the conclusion of the convention, we urge all States to act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 32/105 M of 1977. The culprits must continue to be exposed and condemned.

139. We in Zambia know what it means to be a neighbour of a country under white racist minority rule. We fully understand the peculiar geographical positions of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and we are acutely aware of the hardships that their people are exposed to by virtue of their closeness to the den of evil in southern Africa. In our view, strengthening the independence of those countries is part and parcel of the struggle for the eradication of *apartheid*. We therefore call upon the international community to increase its programmes of economic assistance to those countries to enable them to cope with the influx of refugees from South Africa into their territories.

140. I cannot conclude my statement without paying a tribute to ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for continuing to spearhead the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against *apartheid* and for justice in their country. The liberation movements of South Africa have Zambia's admiration and

full support. My country will always remain their ally in this just struggle.

141. Here again I wish to appeal to the international community as a whole to increase its support of the South African liberation movements in order for them to wage a more effective struggle. Their cause is just and their victory will also be the victory of all those countries which uphold justice.

142. In that regard my delegation wishes to commend various anti-*apartheid* groups in Western Europe for the important work they are doing. We also note with appreciation the progressive moves against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa taken by parliamentarians in certain European countries.

143. The struggle for the liberation of South Africa has entered a new and encouraging phase. Political consciousness among the oppressed people is increasing. They are on the march to freedom and will remain undaunted in the face of the brutality of the Pretoria régime.

144. Mr. A. ABBAS (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The collapse of former racist régimes such as fascism and nazism makes us come to the conclusion that human civilization still rejects the principle of the domination of one race over others on the grounds that it constitutes a heinous crime against man and international covenants. Yet the South African Government has not learned from the lessons of history but, on the contrary, has continued to pursue and apply its policy of *apartheid*. However, that Government will inevitably come to the realization that the winds are not always favourable, for the victory achieved by the people of Zimbabwe following seven long years of struggle has proved that the era of atrocious racist policies has ended forever and that the forces of justice shall always in the end be victorious over the forces of oppression and atrocity and that freedom is every man's birthright.

145. The people of South Africa have clearly shown that time is running out for discrimination and exploitation. It has chosen the path of a just and legitimate struggle for liberation and for the achievement of its just aspirations. Evidence of that was given in the recent popular upsurge in which students and workers led strikes and demonstrations, which shook the régime to its roots after the majority expressed a unified rejection and defiance of the police dogs and guns of the régime.

146. National liberation movements, such as ANC have chosen the road of armed struggle, following the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto, as their only means of achieving the legitimate national rights of the majority black peoples in South Africa, after the unsuccessful attempts at negotiations.

147. The delegation of my country supports the legitimate and just struggle of the people of South Africa and calls upon the international community to increase aid and assistance for the national liberation movements in South Africa until they achieve their national rights.

Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

148. After this popular uprising the Pretoria régime began to lose its nerve and attempted to give the inter-

national community the impression that it was seeking fundamental and crucial reforms in order to meet the crisis. Yet these attempts were unmasked to reveal only superficial reforms which do not fundamentally affect the real situation.

149. The vast majority of the people of South Africa are still subject to slavery and persecution. Everyone has heard of the fate of the régime's victims, men like Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu, who died as a result of the atrocious treatment meted out to them, as well as of political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela and of the dramatic massacre at Sharpeville in March of 1960. We have all heard of the crimes committed by the régime in Soweto, Kovoletto and Qwaqwa to which many men, women and children fell victim. The racist régime also resorted to inhuman measures, asphyxiating innocent persons by gas, imprisoning and torturing others and killing school-children protesting against education standards.

150. As a result of this inhuman policy, famine and disease spread among men, women and children in the richest part of Africa, a region which is one of the biggest exporters of food products and natural resources in the world, according to the statistics of the OAU. This led to a rapid decline in living conditions among the blacks, as indicated by an increase in the rate of infant mortality, and to an increase in unemployment figures, which, according to the latest press reports, total 2.5 million.

151. The compulsory displacement of African populations from their homes against their will led to their being grouped with the so-called Coloureds and Indians. Matters did not end there, but went further to include the adoption of atrocious acts and laws, such as the degrading labour laws concerning black trade unions designed to exert further control over them by the régime. The Pretoria régime has drawn up a plan to group the black population, which constitutes 80 per cent of the population of South Africa in 10 bantustans occupying 15 per cent of the whole territory on very poor land in terms of natural resources, with the remaining all white 20 per cent enjoying the rest of the territory, which includes most of the country's wealth and the major industrial centres.

152. Within this framework the South African Government has sought to create a representative council for the coloured and Indians within the Parliament of Pretoria. In the pursuit of this policy, the Government granted sham independence to the region of Venda through the application of the devilish bantustan system against the people of Azania, who had denounced that system. That shows that the Government of South Africa had come to the conclusion that the only place for the black man was the field and the kitchen, and that socially and politically the blacks lay outside the scope of the rights and privileges granted to and enjoyed by the white man. Legally speaking, they live in a confused area between law and arbitrary will of the masters.

153. The delegation of my country condemns and denounces the rejection by the Pretoria racist régime of the settlement proposal contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the organization of a peace and independence process for Na-

mibia, and supports other delegations in calling for an international conference on imposing binding sanctions against the Pretoria régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to force it to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations and by the international will which it has so long ignored.

154. The Pretoria régime still prefers to resort to war and to the policy of armed aggression against neighbouring African countries such as Zambia and Angola, thus threatening international peace and security and the stability of Africa, as well as the sovereignty of independent States. Among the most serious developments is the acquisition by South Africa of a nuclear capability employed in the manufacturing of nuclear weapons in collaboration with some Western States which encourage it to pursue its racist policy with loans and grants, and in recent years by the issuing of manufacturing licences.

155. As a result of this encouragement, South Africa was able to explode its atomic bomb on 22 September 1979, and according to the latest international statistics of the International Institute for Strategic Studies increased its military budget from \$1.75 billion in 1978 to \$2.14 billion in 1979, and to \$2.5 billion in 1980. That is equivalent to approximately 3 billion South African rand.

156. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for this year indicates that over 250 corporations and companies are registered as members of the Chamber of Commerce in both South Africa and Israel in order to maintain economic relations. The total figures for trade between the two countries amounted to 82 million rand.

157. The delegation of Bahrain strongly and vehemently condemns the unholy alliance between Israel and the South African Government and the growing and continuous co-operation between those two racist régimes in various fields as indicated in the relevant special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22/Add.2]. Here, I should like to make particular reference to the nuclear and the armaments fields, which we consider as an aggressive activity against the oppressed people of South Africa and all the peoples of Africa. We call for the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 3151 (XXVIII) of 1973 and 34/93 of 1979 concerning various forms of collaboration between South Africa and Israel, and calling for the adoption of effective steps to put an end to this collaboration, which constitutes a flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions.

158. There is no doubt that the most sensitive of questions concerning the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa is that of the economic, political, nuclear and sports co-operation and collaboration with the Pretoria régime. In 1978, the total of exports and imports to South Africa amounted to approximately 13,544,000 rand, and the total foreign investments in 1978 amounted to 22,886,000 rand, according to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the present year. This indicates that some Members of the United Nations do not abide by General Assembly resolutions 1761 (XVII) and 34/93 calling for a complete and total boycott of South Africa.

159. We believe that putting an end to all new foreign investments in South Africa and to loans, which up

to 1979 had amounted to 100 million rand, would constitute an important step forward in international action aimed at eliminating *apartheid*, considering the fact that such investments and loans encourage the policy of *apartheid* in that country, as indicated in this year's report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in General Assembly resolution 33/183 of 1978 and in reports of the Secretary-General.

160. My country's delegation, like others, places full responsibility for this serious situation and its grave consequences on the shoulders of those Western countries that still deal with the South African régime and co-operate closely with it in the nuclear, economic and political fields. We call upon them to abide by the General Assembly resolutions calling for an economic, nuclear and trade embargo against South Africa, Security Council resolution 418 (1977) concerning the imposition of an arms embargo against South Africa and General Assembly resolution 33/183 E of 1979 on an oil embargo against South Africa.

161. We support the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, and we once more call upon the countries that still have diplomatic relations with South Africa to comply with General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII).

162. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Outstanding spokesmen for the disenfranchised majority in South Africa have over the years made it amply clear that the majority for whom they speak will never be satisfied with anything less than full democratic rights. Their legitimate demands will never fade away in South Africa or in the Organization until the South African Authorities heed their call.

163. The independence of Zimbabwe offers new opportunities for peaceful change for the remaining minority-ruled countries and territories in southern Africa. It is important that these opportunities are seized while there is still time.

164. The Norwegian Government believes that, as a matter of priority, the South African authorities must take urgent steps to reopen channels of communication with the leaders of the majority in South Africa. No peaceful resolution of the present contradictions in South African society can be envisaged without discussions among all groups.

165. Once again I wish to appeal to the South African authorities to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Their continued detention and imprisonment serve only to demonstrate insensitivity to legitimate humanitarian concerns and to the fundamental principles of any participatory political process. The release of political prisoners ought to be followed by a national convention of all races. This is an old idea which still offers a new beginning for South Africa.

166. We realize that a reversal of existing policies in South Africa will be difficult, yet we believe a process of orderly political change will be less painful that continuance of the *status quo* based on suppression and discrimination, the effect of which is increasing violence and suffering.

167. We reject bantustanization and the creation of so-called independent homelands. These entities are not viable on political, economic or moral grounds.

168. We regret that promised effective changes have not taken place as regards the fundamental rights of the millions of African workers with no real union rights. We condemn the arrest of trade union organizers. We reject attempts to silence South Africa's church leaders. We condemn South Africa's armed attacks on its neighbours. We find it intolerable that South Africa continues to refuse to start implementing the United Nations plan for Namibia. South Africa must now agree to early implementation of that plan.

169. We are deeply disturbed by South Africa's growing capacity in the nuclear field without adequate international safeguards. Concerted international action is needed to stop this development.

170. Norway welcomed the mandatory arms embargo adopted by the Security Council in 1977, although we, together with most Member States, had strictly implemented a voluntary embargo since 1963. Norway would welcome a strengthening of the existing arms embargo in line with Security Council resolution 473 (1980).

171. Norway believes that further international collective action against South Africa may become necessary in the future unless the present situation changes. Yet we all know that this course of action is delicate. The Charter was not written in order to make such measures easily adoptable. The political circumstances both inside and outside South Africa must at all times be given due consideration. Nevertheless it should be pointed out that the world community will not wait indefinitely for South Africa to make up its mind about when to take the first step to abolish *apartheid* in South Africa and when to agree to a process of free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control.

172. On the regional level Norway, together with the other Nordic countries, has sought to contribute towards the abolition of *apartheid* in South Africa. Our joint Nordic co-operation in these matters, both on the regional level and at the United Nations, continues.

173. Norway, for its part, will continue to contribute to increased international pressure on South Africa in pursuance of our policy of disengagement from South Africa. So far this policy has included such things as: no further currency licences, in order to prevent Norwegian investments in South Africa; withdrawal of State-supported guarantees for Norwegian exports to South Africa; no promotion of Norwegian exports to South Africa; steps to ensure that oil produced on the Norwegian continental shelf is not exported to South Africa; a decision by the Norwegian Government not to co-operate with South Africa in the nuclear field; visa requirements for South African citizens; discouragement of sports contacts with South Africa; humanitarian assistance to refugees, including direct humanitarian assistance to the national liberation movement of South Africa; and, finally, economic assistance to the front-line States.

174. Our policy of disengagement will be implemented as long as *apartheid* exists in South Africa. My country for one wants to see South Africa re-enter the community of nations. But at the same time we want to see a South Africa finally at peace with itself, with its own population, with its neighbours and with the world at large.

175. Mr. AL-JABER (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express on behalf of the delegation of Qatar appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Clark, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and to the members of that Committee for the important reports it has submitted to the General Assembly. We also express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports for the information contained in their comprehensive reports.

176. This year the international community is celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. While the peoples of the world rejoice at the achievement of independence by the people of Zimbabwe following many years of struggle and sacrifice, it is indeed sad to note that the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are still suffering under the yoke of the most atrocious form of occupation by a racist minority ever known and from the policy of *apartheid*.

177. The international community is currently at a crucial stage with regard to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. In its report the Special Committee against *Apartheid* indicates that South Africa is currently at a crossroads. It can either end all repression and persecution or turn to an intensification and expansion of the sources of tension. The international community should use every possible means at its disposal to prevent the racist South African régime from choosing the path of escalation.

178. The report of the Committee indicates that South Africa is undergoing a phase of military build-up and aggressive preparations which show that that racist régime is determined to perpetuate its aggressive policy, which, if continued, will undoubtedly threaten the region and the whole world with a very grave catastrophe. This is further borne out by the attempts by that régime to develop and acquire nuclear weapons.

179. The delegation of my country wishes to express its grave concern at the fact that those aggressive military preparations in South Africa are taking place in the midst of an embargo on arms shipments to South Africa, despite Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980). Accordingly, we fully support the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and call upon the General Assembly to respect them. We refer in particular to the following recommendations: to urge the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and take steps towards effective monitoring of such sanctions; to reaffirm that any collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed people of

South Africa, as well as a flagrant violation of resolutions of the United Nations; and to call upon all Governments to exert their influence to persuade Western and other Powers concerned to facilitate the imposition of such sanctions.

180. The international community has repeatedly denounced and condemned the policies and practices of the South African régime. Nevertheless, that régime has continued to perpetrate its crimes, thus making it imperative that the international community adopt a complete system of boycott and sanctions against South Africa. The international community should also increase its support for the struggle of the national liberation movement of the people of South Africa and make available to it all means for the conduct of its legitimate armed struggle.

181. The collaboration of certain Western countries and multinational corporations with the Pretoria régime through trade, investments, nuclear technology, oil sales and the violation of the arms embargo imposed by the United Nations has as its aim the consolidation of the military, political and economic machinery of that régime and enables it not only to perpetuate its racist policy and its brutal atrocities against the majority of the people of South Africa but also to continue its flagrant acts of aggression against independent African countries, thus posing a grave threat to international peace and security.

182. My delegation commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the international conferences and seminars it has sponsored and emphasizes the importance of enlightening world public opinion so that it will participate in the struggle against *apartheid* and to exert pressure on Governments and other institutions which still insist on dealing with and collaborating with the racist régime.

183. My delegation welcomes the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa to be organized by the United Nations, in co-operation with the OAU. We also commend the efforts of other bodies dealing with racial discrimination, *apartheid* and decolonization in their collaboration with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. I should like to refer in particular to the International Non-Governmental Organizations Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa held at Geneva from 30 June to 3 July 1980.

184. The racist régime in South Africa resorts to all manner of means in its attempt to consolidate the *apartheid* régime and maintain its political and economic domination of the people of South Africa and barbaric exploitation of their wealth and resources, thereby serving the interests of the racist minority and multinational corporations. It is therefore essential again to stress the illegal and illegitimate nature of the South African régime and the right of the people of South Africa to liberate itself and to achieve self-determination and to control its own resources. It is essential that recognition be accorded to ANC in its role as the sole legitimate representative of the South African people, the sole means of overthrowing the *apartheid* régime and the true voice of the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa.

185. My delegation reaffirms the support of the Government of Qatar for all General Assembly and Security Council resolutions as well as the resolutions adopted by the conferences of non-aligned countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the OAU on the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and on the need to condemn and oppose it. We should also like to express our strong support of the national liberation movements and to commend the intensification of the struggle and the successful efforts to provide political leadership for the people of South Africa in all parts of the country. We should also like to pay a tribute to the South African students who have risen up and called for a just system of education and the termination of the Bantu and other racist educational systems.

186. My delegation vehemently condemns the brutal assassination of some students in detention and strongly denounces the arrest of Nelson Mandela, the death sentence imposed upon the militant James Mange and the brutal treatment suffered by other political detainees struggling against the *apartheid* régime.

187. My delegation also wishes to express its grave concern regarding the increasing collaboration between the Zionist racist régime and the racist régime in South Africa in the field of nuclear technology and other areas, as indicated in the relevant special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Such grave collaboration between two racist régimes which is a defiance of international will, particularly in the nuclear field, constitutes a serious threat not only to Africa and the Middle East but to the entire world.

188. History in this huge continent of Africa does not retrogress. The African peoples in the course of the past two decades have written some heroic pages in their struggle for liberty and independence. They have achieved their freedom and independence through bitter struggle and sacrifice. The triumph of the people of Zimbabwe has marked yet another victory in the march of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa towards their triumph over the *apartheid* system and their inevitable achievement of independence and liberty.

189. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): In the year under review, the situation resulting from the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole has remained as serious as ever. Tensions inside and outside that country have continued to increase and the perils implicit in a prolongation of that state of affairs have reached an alarming stage. Fundamental human rights and freedoms are still denied to the largest part of South Africa's population. Forced transfers, evictions and increased control of the population by the police add to the frustration of more and more strata of South African society and augment the number of those in all ethnic groups who are convinced of the injustice and untenability of the system of *apartheid* and voice their concern. The ongoing discussion in South Africa itself has led to some corrections and improvements, but nevertheless the basic concept of the inhuman system of *apartheid*, on which the precarious supremacy of a minority is based, remains unchanged.

190. Austria regards the *apartheid* system as a profound violation of the basic principles of human rights, a violation of all ideas of personal freedom and the right to respect and dignity. It does not provide the basis for a viable society. It has furthermore seriously jeopardized the endeavours of the international community to bring about peaceful change in Namibia and it continuously destabilizes the political situation in southern Africa. Austria has consistently upheld the view that the only solution lies in a peaceful transition to a free, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa. To that end, a meaningful and constructive dialogue will have to be urgently initiated with the black leaders. On this basis, Austria fully supports the ongoing campaign for the liberation of Nelson Mandela and has joined in this campaign through a direct unilateral intervention vis-à-vis the South African Government.

191. Although the international community speaks with a unanimous voice on all the basic issues in this debate, all efforts of persuasion and the use of logical argumentation have so far proved unsuccessful in bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. South Africa still rests assured, on a fallacious assumption, that no action will be taken. South Africa will, however, have to accept the fact that the stability of the region as a whole and the prospects of the future generations to be born into that continent will finally prove to be more important considerations. In view of the continued inflexible position of the South African Government there can be no doubt that the consideration of further measures in accordance with the Charter will be pursued by the international community with a view to bringing about the long overdue change in South African policy.

192. The world community has been alarmed by increasing evidence of the possibility of the development of South Africa's nuclear capability. That certainly would add a very dangerous dimension to the policy of *apartheid* and would furthermore have serious repercussions for regional and international security. My country has consistently endorsed efforts made within the framework of the United Nations to secure South Africa's adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and to bring about the realization of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa.

193. In conclusion, I should like briefly to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of Ambassador Clark, for its untiring efforts in the struggle against *apartheid* and the very creditable way in which the Committee deals with a heavy workload. It is largely due to the Special Committee's active role that international support for the struggle against *apartheid*, as well as sympathy for and active solidarity with the opponents of the *apartheid* system, has intensified. It also serves as a proof that the United Nations continues to play a key role in our common efforts to bring about peaceful and rapid change by increasing the necessary pressure on the South African régime and by supporting the forces instrumental in such change.

194. Mr. POJANI (Albania): The General Assembly is once again dealing with the problem of *apartheid*. Although many years have elapsed during which the

international community has continued to condemn the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and numerous resolutions and decisions have been adopted by the United Nations and other international organizations denouncing that policy, the South African racist régime has viciously persisted in repressing, discriminating against and torturing the black population of South Africa and in defying international public opinion.

195. The Albanian delegation, like many other delegations of freedom-loving States, cannot fail to note that the situation in South Africa is constantly deteriorating. The massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto not only cannot be swept from the minds of the Azanian people, but they have not yet become stories to be learned in history books because events like them are still a common phenomenon today. That has been shown by many facts submitted here by the representatives of various countries and contained as well in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. New killings, imprisonments and repressions and fresh bloodshed in the demonstrations of workers and students were added this year to the list of crimes committed by the hated Pretoria régime.

196. The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as in the past, strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its ugly policy of *apartheid* and racism and its barbarous oppression and exploitation of the black and Coloured population of Azania and Namibia. We also condemn the imperialist Powers, especially the United States of America, for the political, economic and military support they give to the racist régime of South Africa. Without such support the system of *apartheid* could not survive. The imperialist Powers have done and are doing their utmost to strengthen the military potential of South Africa, including its nuclear potential, and to use that reactionary régime as their gendarme to defend imperialism and neo-colonialism, to maintain the system of *apartheid* and to undertake acts of aggression against other African States. The multinational monopolies of those Powers which collaborate with the *apartheid* régime and plunder the resources of South Africa serve the same policies and the same goals.

197. The armed struggle of the peoples of Azania and Namibia against *apartheid* and racism and for their national and social liberation is constantly growing. Those peoples cannot remain silent over the existing situation. The bloody clashes between the black population and the police in the demonstrations and strikes of the workers and students against racism and *apartheid*, against oppression and exploitation are also testimony to this. Experience has shown those peoples that only through armed struggle will they be able to gain their human rights and their freedom and national independence; only in this way will they eradicate racism and *apartheid*. Like many other delegations, we believe too that no solution can be reached through negotiation, either for the Namibian people or for the people of Azania. It was only the struggle—the long and resolute struggle of the people of Zimbabwe—that created conditions for the victory over the forces of racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

198. The imperialist Powers are trying to create the impression that there are some positive elements in

the attitude of South Africa and that a compromise solution can be achieved. We share the viewpoint of a number of speakers: that *apartheid* cannot be reformed, that it must be eliminated by a decisive armed struggle. It is also through the resolute struggle of the peoples and progressive forces and States of the world that imperialism and neo-colonialism, which are the main cause and support of racism, *apartheid* and all other reactionary manifestations or movements, will be abolished.

199. As a result of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy and activity of the imperialist Powers a very serious and explosive situation is being created at present in Africa and other parts of the world and the victories achieved through great efforts and sacrifices are in danger, as are world peace and security.

200. The intensification of the fierce rivalry between the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not to exclude social-imperialist China, their deals and machinations for markets and military bases and for zones of influence, all find expression also in the African continent. The super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, through the existing neo-colonialist exploitative system of exchange imbalance and discrimination in economic and trade relations and through their so-called aid and credits, are striving to step up the plunder and exploitation of the peoples and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to hinder the efforts of those peoples and countries to place their natural wealth and resources under their own natural sovereignty, and to crush the struggle those peoples are waging to consolidate their economic and political independence.

201. There is no doubt that, in this context, the aggressive policy and activity of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers in Africa and in other parts of the world completely contradict the interests and aspirations of the peoples of Azania and Namibia, as well as those of other African countries. Consequently, the struggle against racism and *apartheid* is inseparable from the struggle against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, against imperialism and social-imperialism and in particular against the imperialist super-Powers.

202. The Albanian people, as in the past, will strongly support the just struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples for the realization of their national aspirations.

203. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This year our debate on the *apartheid* policy of the racist South African régime has taken on a new aspect. This year we can say unequivocally that the victory of the heroic people of Zimbabwe has struck a hard blow against the colonial system of southern Africa, of which *apartheid* is the most barbarous expression. The struggle of the brave African people against racist colonialism has triumphed in Zimbabwe; it has entered a final and crucial stage in Namibia and, in the very bowels of the monster, it is entering a decisive phase which is characterized by the intensification of the political and armed struggles within South Africa.

204. The people and the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, which triumphed in their own war of libe-

ration, fully support the brave South African people. May we express our admiration for the impressive mobilization of the masses and the political agitation and military operations carried out in the last few months by South African's workers and students.

205. However, we should point out the savage, isolated and cornered beast that is Pretoria is resorting more than ever to the most brutal repression and is employing criminal pseudo-reformist methods to attempt to weaken and destroy the unity of the much-tried South African people. We denounce the massive arrests of students, workers and religious leaders as well as the judicial mockery that could lead to their being given the death sentence.

206. The racist repression extends beyond South Africa's frontiers. Criminal acts of aggression and subversion against neighbours—acts which include the recruitment and financing of mercenaries and treacherous dissidents to be pitted against the front-line States—are on the increase. It may be recalled that barely two weeks ago the President of Zambia gave irrefutable proof of the racist régime's participation in a conspiracy to overthrow his Government.

207. Neither the South African people nor the progressive international community are deceived by the programme of tribal division promoted by that régime. Obviously, not even the experience of Zimbabwe has convinced the racist régime of the futility of attempting to organize puppet régimes to which false independence is granted. Pretoria still nourishes the illusory hope that its strategy of separation, of creating bantustans, will divide the dominated peoples and arouse antagonisms among those peoples. In fact, the bantustanization process has been speeded up in order to achieve a so-called independence in the Ciskei. But that false independence could be imposed only by force. Recently, the mass media reported on the increase in terror waged against the population by the bantustan authorities in an endeavour to throttle any opposition to the *apartheid* system.

208. It is reported that the secret police have arrested students in the Ciskei and that in the Transkei the state of emergency is still in force, as are other coercive measures, because of strikes and protests against the so-called independence which seeks only to divide the majority African population engaged in its struggle for national liberation.

209. Similarly, it has been noted that the mixed and Indian communities repudiate the divisive manoeuvres of that régime. Among those tactics are the recent changes in racial legislation which, as part of the racist policy of divide and conquer, seeks to favour urban sectors in order to bring them into confrontation with the rural sectors.

210. Nicaragua recognizes that, while the fundamental burden of the struggle for the destruction of the heinous system of *apartheid* falls to the South African people, the international community is not exempt from obligations, particularly as regards the struggle to stem the activities of foreign interests which hinder the efforts to eliminate racial discrimination.

211. In this connexion, Nicaragua would recall the declaration issued by the Sixth Conference of Heads

of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that:

"... the main reasons for the survival of colonialism and racism—in open defiance of the decisions of the international community, the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations—was the military, technological, economic, political, diplomatic and other forms of aid that imperialism gives the racist régimes."⁴

212. My delegation and country agree with the important declaration on foreign investments in South Africa adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU, that:

"The Thirty-Fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers meeting in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 18 to 28 June 1980, in its consideration of foreign investments in South Africa, finds that these investments and bank loans help to bolster the *apartheid* régime and encourage its intransigence and defiance of world opinion.

"The Council further finds that the measures adopted by the *apartheid* régime in the wake of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo render foreign companies operating in South Africa susceptible to being integrated into the *apartheid* régime's military programme." [A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I, paras. 1 and 2.]

213. Moreover, in the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* there is ample evidence of the growing role of imperialist multinational corporations in the South African economy, of their juicy profits from the mining and processing industries, as well as from the inhuman, merciless exploitation to which the Namibian and South African peoples are subjected by the policy of *apartheid* in order to supply those corporations with the cheapest labour in the world. In its reports evidence is given of the close nuclear, military, economic and cultural co-operation between the South African racists and the Zionist racists.

214. As is well known also, some countries continue to violate the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council. It is no secret that some of those States, together with Israel, have provided assistance to South Africa for the development of Pretoria's nuclear potential. Can it be that they have common interests? If not, how can we explain the veto cast by some of the members of the Council when the international community wishes to do justice? My delegation considers that until there is a decision by the Security Council on the application of full sanctions, it will be idle to hope that the racist régime will abide by other resolutions and recommendations of this Organization. That would be the only means of achieving a peaceful solution to the problem, which is already a growing threat to international peace and security.

215. We would therefore call on South Africa's trading partners represented on the Council to refrain from opposing any kind of sanctions against South Africa. That is why Nicaragua supports the proposal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which was also endorsed by the non-aligned countries, that

⁴ See A/34/542, annex, para. 42.

an international conference on sanctions against South Africa be convened.

216. Lastly, Nicaragua wishes to express its gratitude to the growing number of Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations which have joined the international movement against *apartheid*, as called for in the relevant United Nations resolutions. All these efforts are an encouragement to the South African patriots, who, sooner or later, will achieve their final historic triumph.

217. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): Each year when we meet in the Assembly to review the question of South Africa, we see a problem which is growing, and assuming new proportions as time passes. Over the past year, confrontation between the forces of oppression and liberation increased sharply. It is particularly noteworthy that much of the resistance which caught the attention of the world was coming from the young people of that country: schoolchildren dramatically demonstrated their rejection of the system of *apartheid* by open and defiant protest throughout the past year. The response of the racist régime has been further escalation of repression and violence. The killing of schoolchildren and the arrests and the overall massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid* have served once again as an illustration of the régime's determination to maintain its system of racial discrimination. The situation in South Africa is one of continuing crisis in which the racist régime is at war with all opponents of *apartheid*.

218. In addition, we continue to see the pattern of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring African States—in particular, against Angola—and active involvement in subversion against the legitimate Governments of neighbouring States. South Africa, therefore, continues to be a major threat to peace on the continent of Africa, and the situation justifies the continued serious attention of the world community and demands urgent action to bring an end to the problem of South Africa. The international community must first of all reject the so-called reforms—a term used by South African propaganda to mislead world opinion. The true intentions of the racist leaders of South Africa are already only too well known for anyone to be misled by such deception. South Africa is not interested in peaceful change; it is determined to preserve white domination and black enslavement.

219. For a long time now, it has been widely recognized that the most effective means of dealing with the problem of South Africa lies in a two-fold strategy: first, States must end all collaboration with the racist régime and terminate all contacts, particularly in the military and economic fields. Collaboration in these areas has only served to strengthen the foundations of *apartheid* and allowed the system not only to remain in existence but to succeed and flourish. The campaign for the isolation of South Africa has been undermined by the activities of States which have continued to maintain economic and other relations with South Africa. The South African economy has been strengthened by the continued flow of foreign investment and by its participation in international trade. Nuclear co-operation with some States has brought South Africa to the threshold of becoming a nuclear Power. Contacts in other areas such as sports

appear to be on the increase. Jamaica continues to believe that firmer action must be taken by the United Nations, particularly by the Security Council, by imposing comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime.

220. The second aspect of a strategy for the international community is support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement to achieve majority rule and recover their right to live in freedom and equality in their own country.

221. There is every indication that the struggle of the people of South Africa is now entering a decisive phase. The régime is becoming more desperate every day and the resistance of the people under the leadership of their liberation movement continues to grow from strength to strength. There is a growing mobilization of increased political consciousness among the oppressed people and considerable advance in the armed struggle waged by the freedom fighters of the national liberation movement. The strategic balance has also shifted in favour of the liberation forces. As the Secretary General of ANC said yesterday in his statement before the Assembly:

“The strategic balance in southern Africa, especially over the last five years, has 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... Pretoria stands isolated as the sole seat of colonial repression in our region.” [56th meeting, para. 39.]

222. The current situation requires more than ever that the international community take a position in support of the struggle for liberation by giving its support to the liberation movement and withdrawing all assistance and co-operation from the racist régime of South Africa. In that regard, we look forward to the proposed International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa which is expected to be held next year. We hope that this Conference will be able to adopt a plan of action which will advance the campaign against *apartheid* and intensify international action against South Africa.

223. The task of monitoring developments in South Africa and leading the international campaign over the past year has been admirably carried out by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The report of the Committee demonstrates the dedication and seriousness with which the Committee has carried out its task. Ambassador Clark and the members of the Committee deserve our praise and we are indebted to them for the sterling work that they have continued to do. It is clear that as the situation in South Africa becomes more and more critical the Committee's work will increase. My delegation feels that the Assembly should consider expanding the membership of the Committee to involve greater participation by Member States in its work. Such expansion would reflect the increased importance of the Committee's responsibilities and the need for wider involvement of States in the world-wide mobilization against *apartheid*.

224. My delegation has studied the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International

Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports. We believe that the important work the Committee has begun should be continued and we hope the *Ad Hoc* Committee will be able to complete the text of a draft convention by the next session of the Assembly.

225. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): More than 10 years ago the General Assembly adopted a resolution which declared the policy of *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity. Another year has gone by since the General Assembly began to debate the policy of *apartheid* adopted by the racist régime of South Africa, which has made it necessary for the international community to shoulder its responsibilities in order to put a rapid end to the policy of *apartheid* and to the injustice committed against the peoples of southern Africa and Namibia through the racist practices and policies pursued by the illegal racist régime in South Africa.

226. In spite of the fact that the General Assembly at its previous sessions adopted a certain number of resolutions on the various aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, we cannot but note that the racist régime of South Africa is still attempting to preserve its position through its colonialist policy of settlement and racism so as to be able to continue its illegal exploitation of the wealth of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. It has been amply and specifically confirmed that the illegal racist régime of Pretoria is spending millions of dollars on military operations and using mercenaries to fight against and break the will of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and is pursuing its aggressive racist policies in such a way as to pose a continuous threat to peace and security in Africa. The repeated acts of military aggression against neighbouring African States stress the aggressive nature of the racist régime of Pretoria.

227. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which is now before us reaffirms that the illegal racist régime of Pretoria is pursuing policies and practices more odious than any previously known to mankind against the people of South Africa; political arrests, massacres, the denial of human rights, the torture of innocent people and other forms of punishment in an attempt to reinforce the *apartheid*-based régime are daily features of life under the racist régime of South Africa.

228. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia, like the Arab people of Palestine, are living in conditions of exploitation by a gang of racists who have taken power in order to exploit the wealth and break the will of those peoples and to strip them of their inalienable national right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty over their territory.

229. The *apartheid* régime is only one by-product of the policy of colonialization that is used to increase plunder and exploitation for the benefit of the racist minority and world imperialism. It is not surprising to find that in spite of the fact that the resolutions of the General Assembly reaffirm that any co-operation or collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa and with *apartheid* institutions is a violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations, certain imperialist States represented here pretend to be interested in bringing about the independence of the peoples of South Africa. And it is these very people

who are violating the recommendations and resolutions of the international community and encouraging the crushing of the will of the militant people fighting for their liberty and independence, because these States are aware that the preservation of their interests can only be built upon the oppression and exploitation of the people. The preservation of the racist régime of South Africa, its very existence and its policies and racist practices against the indigenous inhabitants, in spite of the will of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and the resolutions of the General Assembly, are due primarily to the collusion of the member countries of NATO with the racist régime, and to the political, economic and military support extended by them to the racist régime of Pretoria.

230. The report submitted by the Special Committee shows us irrefutable material proof of the collusion of imperialism with the racist régime of Pretoria. As we thank and pay a tribute to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee for their valuable efforts to accumulate information, we should like to reaffirm here that the political, economic, military and nuclear support extended by the NATO States—and primarily the United States—has enabled the racist régime of Pretoria to increase its aggressive military potential and to consolidate its means of oppression, including various proposed plans for producing nuclear weapons.

231. Imperialism created the racist régime of South Africa in order to threaten the security and stability of African peoples, just as it planted Israel in the heart of the Arab nation as an imperialist aggressive base, threatening the Arab peoples and world peace. Collusion between zionism—which represents one of the forms of racial discrimination—and the racist régime of South Africa has been confirmed and reflects the similarities of the aggressive racist policies pursued by the two régimes and close co-ordination between them in various fields in order to threaten the peace and independence of African and Arab States. In spite of the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly condemning relations between the two racist régimes in Israel and South Africa, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* shows us the most recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa [A/35/22/Add.2]. That report also shows the escalation and increase of economic and military co-operation between those two racist régimes. What is even more important is that Israel has become an important source of military supplies for South Africa. The report also shows continuing military and nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa. This question calls for serious examination so as to support the fighting peoples in bringing about their independence and freedom. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia will continue to step up their fight to win independence and freedom. All the imperialist plans designed to strengthen imperialist and racist domination are doomed to failure in South Africa, as are the attempts to create axes and alliances of an aggressive nature in this part of the world to harm the national liberation struggle of Africa.

232. Democratic Yemen reaffirms its unchanged position, which is to offer all necessary support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle to win the independence and freedom to

which they aspire. We vigorously condemn the policy of *apartheid* in Africa and also the imperialist plans hatched against the peoples of that region. We call on the Western Powers which are violating the sanctions imposed on the racist régime of Pretoria to respect their commitment under Article 25 of the Charter to observe the binding embargo on the supply of arms to the racist régime of South Africa adopted by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977). We also demand a broadening of the sanctions imposed upon the Pretoria racist régime to include all the sanctions enumerated in Chapter VII of the Charter. These actions, in our view, would be the true means of putting an end to the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa.

233. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): It is one of the ironies of our time that some 35 years after its creation the United Nations is still grappling with the seemingly intractable problem of the racial practice and policies of the régime in Pretoria; for it should be remembered that almost from its very inception the United Nations had to grapple with this problem in the form of the treatment of people of Indian descent by the Government of South Africa. That was some 35 years ago. Today the problem, if anything, has been exacerbated both in its enormity and ugliness, for *apartheid* surely represents the greatest blot on the human conscience and essence. The struggle against *apartheid* is not a parochial cause, nor should it be only an African cause; it should be a universal cause, for it is the struggle to vindicate the essence of our common humanity, regardless of pigmentation.

234. One of the fundamental purposes of the Charter of the United Nations is respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. But the policy and practice of *apartheid* is a total negation of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the majority of the citizens of South Africa.

235. As the President of Sierra Leone said when he addressed the Assembly last month, in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU Assembly, *apartheid* represents "an entrenched system of national oppression, institutionalized racial discrimination and Fascist terror against the black majority of the people" and should be eradicated [8th meeting, para. 51].

236. But notwithstanding this unequivocal and principled position stated by my President, the Permanent Mission of South Africa, in a press release issued yesterday, mendaciously claimed that:

"President Stevens of Sierra Leone had said he would do everything in his power to effect a breakthrough in relations with South Africa. The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, said in Pretoria that he welcomed the suggestion by the OAU Chairman that dialogue should take place between South Africa and the OAU.

"The report stated that President Stevens had said in London that he had sent a letter"—I repeat, a letter—"to Mr. Botha in which he said that dialogue was better than confrontation and that he"—meaning Dr. Stevens—"as Chairman of the OAU, would do everything in his power to ensure stability in Africa."

237. In reply to that mendacity, my Government wishes to state—and here I quote from a message received from my Government today—that my "Government categorically states that no such correspondence took place and this is a calculated mischief by South Africa to mislead world public opinion."

238. The current Chairman of the OAU Assembly, in a protest message to Prime Minister Botha, strongly criticized the so-called Presidential Council in South Africa, which he called "a display of political effrontery to the blacks by the Pretoria régime". Thus the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly has never sent such a letter as the one that the South African régime purportedly received from my President.

239. It is the view of the Sierra Leone Government that if the Pretoria régime is desirous of dialogue, its efforts in that regard must be directed at the black majority within South Africa. My Government wishes to reiterate its implacable opposition to the abhorrent and inhuman practices of the *apartheid* régime.

240. Over the past year and because of the intensified oppression of the Pretoria régime the people of South Africa have again demonstrated that they reject the policy of *apartheid*. Neither bullets nor police dogs have prevented schoolchildren from boycotting classes or workers from organizing strikes for better working conditions, even when attempts are made to prevent these by Draconian legislation, or church leaders of all faiths from demonstrating against the régime and the abomination that it represents.

241. Simultaneously the national liberation movements have continued to inflict blow after blow on the very nerve centres of industry. While the régime is far from finished, it is clearly losing its nerve and becoming more militaristic.

242. At the same time, the archdeacon of the régime, Mr. Botha, has embarked on a cunning but shallow and frantic propaganda offensive designed to hoodwink international public opinion and mollify the guilty conscience of his collaborators in the West, to the effect that everything possible is being done to create a new and just system for the entire population. But nothing could be further from the truth, as with every passing day the régime enhances its ability to repress the majority of its citizens, which has led to the mass exodus of those citizens to neighbouring territories, thereby placing considerable stress and strain on the social and economic resources of those countries. I should like to recall that in other situations, this has proved the spark which has ignited armed conflict between States.

243. Futhermore, the régime has shamelessly unleashed its own arsenal against defenceless citizens who dare to oppose the barbarity of the régime and its untenable character. The Security Council, in paragraph 1 of its resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980, strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for "its massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid*, for killings of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees".

244. The Council also determined that the policy of *apartheid* seriously disturbs international peace and security. We submit that it is a thin line between a

disturbance to international peace and security and a threat thereto, and we further submit that the situation in South Africa is a veritable threat to international peace and security.

245. In a futile effort to maintain the *apartheid* system, the régime has turned itself into a predator against its neighbours. It has committed repeated acts of aggression against the Republic of Angola, persisted in its occupation of Namibia with a superciliousness that baffles even its most loyal collaborators and has deployed and maintained a large part of its armed forces in that Territory, in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

246. The racist régime has also embarked on a policy of acquiring nuclear armaments in order to sustain the abominable policy of *apartheid* and to intimidate its neighbours and the African continent as a whole. A greater threat to international peace and security than that could hardly be imagined. For all those reasons and more the Sierra Leone delegation ventures to affirm that the situation in South Africa is a threat to international peace and security.

247. It was against that background that the OAU Assembly, at its seventeenth ordinary session in Freetown in July this year, expressed its total commitment to the struggle against *apartheid* and to pressing strongly for economic sanctions, including an oil embargo under the mandatory provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, while taking due consideration of the needs of States in southern Africa.

248. Sierra Leone therefore endorses and supports the recommendations of the Special Committee

on *Apartheid* as contained in its report [A/35/22, para. 319], namely that the General Assembly should: urge the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and take steps towards effective monitoring of such sanctions; reaffirm that any collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as a flagrant violation of resolutions of the United Nations; call upon all Governments to exert their influence to persuade Western and other Powers to facilitate such sanctions; declare that continued obstruction of effective action by the Security Council to resolve the situation in South Africa undermines the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations and constitutes a danger to international peace and security; urge all Governments, pending a mandatory decision by the Security Council, to take individual and collective action to terminate relations with South Africa; and urge all intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned to take appropriate action to promote the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa and mobilize public opinion for comprehensive sanctions against that régime.

249. We should therefore like to thank the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, and the other members of the Committee, for their sustained and unrelenting pursuit of the eradication of the evil that is *apartheid*.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.