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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dashtseren
(Mongolia), 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. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to express the full appreciation of the delegation of Zaire to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Clark, and to all the members of the Committee for the excellent reports which they have submitted on the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* by Governments and intergovernmental organizations, recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa and an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa [A/35/22/Add.1-3], and for the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/35/36].

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the delegation of Zaire to the Secretary-General for the two excellent reports he submitted, on the inquiry into the reports concerning a nuclear explosion by South Africa [A/35/358], and on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa [A/35/509].

3. The delegation of Zaire fully supports the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee [A/35/22/Add.1, paras. 249-259] and the drafting of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

4. Every year since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 the question of the policy of *apartheid* has reappeared on the agenda of the General Assembly. To be sure, many States have implemented the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*, particularly those concerning investments, diplomatic and military relations, trade, oil, sports and so forth. It is also true that certain international governmental organizations, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, provide useful assistance to the victims of *apartheid*, spread information on the crimes and misdeeds of *apartheid*, have put an end to their relations with the Pretoria régime and exclude that régime or prevent it from participating in their work. It is true as well that in many parts of the world religious, trade-union and university associations have effectively contributed to the dissemination of information on *apartheid* and joined in the multifaceted activities of the struggle waged by the international Anti-*Apartheid* Movement.

5. But despite all this, certain Members of the United Nations—and without doubt the most important ones—have not given effect to the United Nations resolutions and have maintained and even strengthened their various relations with the Pretoria régime, thus enabling it to avoid international isolation and perpetuate its *apartheid* policy. Certain States Members of this Organization have continued to collaborate with the Pretoria régime in the economic, commercial, military, nuclear and political spheres, thus strengthening its ability to resist the currents of change.

6. As a result of that support, all the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly for 34—soon for 35—years have remained a dead letter and have been ignored with contempt by the racist white minority régime of Pretoria.

7. Today it may be deemed that all the necessary resolutions and decisions, indeed all conceivable measures, have been adopted by this Organization in order to combat and eliminate the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa—all, that is, except those envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Will it be necessary to endure 30 more years of the scorn of South Africa for the resolutions of the United Nations before we realize that the time has come to adopt the ultimate measures provided by the Charter to confront the insolent and criminal defiance of the Pretoria régime, since we are unanimous today in considering *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity?

8. The hesitation and procrastination, indeed the reticence and obstructions on the part of certain developed countries every time the question is raised of the recourse to the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter have led certain enlight-

ened spirits to the opinion, as was recalled during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly,¹ that *apartheid* is a policy in the service of a policy the name of which is not to be mentioned, that between Pretoria and its principal and powerful partners in the world there would seem to be an identity of views and convergence of interests as to the plan which is being followed, above and beyond certain possible divergences with respect to the means used by Pretoria, and that it is that fundamental reality which enables the Pretoria régime to defy the United Nations with impunity.

9. On 7 November 1979, during the thirty-fourth session, we had the opportunity to stress what we felt was the essence of the South African problem and of the policy of *apartheid*, namely, the desire for the supremacy of one race over others, the dangerous pre-eminence of fanatical subjectivism and the desire for a senseless monopoly over reason and truth by one race, in the manner of the Nazis, who sought in their time to impose Aryan supremacy upon the world on the basis of the most questionable designs and aims. We shall not at this session return to the matter of the underlying nature of *apartheid*.

10. We were impressed by the recommendation of the Special Committee to entrust a group of experts with the execution of studies and preparation of reports on all aspects of *apartheid* and on the implications of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations [*ibid.*, para. 259]. It is in this context that today we shall direct our concern to the main reasons why the majority of States of the world demand the total isolation of the citadel of *apartheid* and racism, as well as to certain aspects, particularly economic ones, of the internal situation in South Africa.

11. South Africa is a country with close to 20 million human beings; it represents a domestic market of close to 20 million inhabitants, both for the production of goods and services and for trade and the redistribution of domestic income, but at the level of the redistribution of its wealth and national income it is a State of 3 million inhabitants that absorb close to 80 per cent of the annual income, while 17 million of the inhabitants are obliged to share 20 per cent of the national income.

12. How is it that that country of 20 million inhabitants with a large local labour force needs foreign workers, which has resulted in a unique policy of white immigration?

13. The unequal distribution of income and wealth or, rather, the control of the national income by a small minority of 3 million whites has the clear result of significantly and wrongly increasing the purchasing power and the standard of living of that minority. That phenomenon, as regards the standard of living of the white minority and particularly the lower strata of the white minority, has the result of changing the mentality and living patterns with respect to certain work, which that minority does not consider to correspond to the quality of life which it has achieved and which it wishes to protect. Thus, the white minority régime of Pretoria might replace whites in jobs in which they no longer wish to work—because those

jobs are no longer considered compatible with their new status—by blacks or Coloureds who are available on the local labour market. But the progressive integration of those blacks and Coloureds in the field of production and in the economy of South Africa entails the risk, in the long term, of completely overturning the basic scheme of *apartheid* from within, and the white minority régime of South Africa prefers to bring in foreign white workers to carry out that work rather than to give the work to blacks, even though those foreign workers must be paid more than the local force. And meanwhile, in order forever to prevent the integration of blacks in the South African economy and the redistribution of income, the policy of bantustanization is followed, which tends to move the blacks from rich areas to arid and unproductive zones misrepresented as States.

14. Therefore it is clearly criminal to support South Africa in that policy, which contributes to delaying even further the abolition of *apartheid*, the integration of the races and the formation of a multiracial society governed by the majority, protecting the rights of minorities and ruled by internationally recognized democratic principles.

15. Along the same lines, the enormous foreign investments which the Pretoria régime enjoys directly support the perpetuation of the criminal policy of *apartheid*. We all know that one of the reasons constantly invoked in international financial circles for not investing in a number of independent States of the third world is the alleged precarious and unstable nature of the institutions and the State machinery in those countries. But everyone knows that in the world there is a fundamentally unstable financial régime whose State institutions are even more precarious, namely, South Africa. How, therefore, can this contradiction be explained except by the common designs of the leaders of the white racist minority of South Africa and those of the developed and industrialized countries and the financial elements which continue to collaborate with that régime. How can we not see that once *apartheid* has been judged to be a crime against humanity all those acts of the Pretoria régime to perpetuate that crime are criminal and must not have the support of the international community? How can one not understand that support for a régime, a State, whose very existence is contrary to the principles on which the United Nations is based, constitutes not only a violation of the Charter but also participation in acts which are crimes under international law, acts against the peace and security of mankind, once we have all proclaimed *apartheid* a crime against humanity?

16. It is thus evident and abundantly clear that those various forms of support are aimed at thwarting the strategy of isolating South Africa undertaken by the United Nations. On the one hand we adopt resolutions to isolate that régime and on the other powerful countries are preventing that isolation. Who among us can imagine that with such practices the United Nations will be able to carry out its primary task of ensuring peace? Who among us, in effect, supports the United Nations and its aims and objectives and who, in the final analysis, does not?

17. The delegation of Zaire hopes that we shall orient our thinking increasingly towards the constant

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 56th meeting, para. 160.

improvement of the weapons in the hands of the international community and the mobilization of the conscience of the world in this historic struggle to dismantle and destroy the citadel of racism and *apartheid*.

18. Many developing countries, including the Republic of Zaire, are parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and firmly support the denuclearization of their region—Latin America, Africa, the Indian Ocean or South-East Asia. Others have voluntarily renounced the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons, even though they may have had the opportunity to manufacture or acquire them. But when a country, as in the case of South Africa, which has a policy that has been determined by the international community to be a crime against humanity, is assisted in acquiring a nuclear capacity, under what principle and on what justification can other countries henceforth be prohibited from acquiring or trying to acquire a nuclear capacity, or nuclear weapons?

19. Proposals have been made during this session to persuade the nuclear Powers and all nuclear countries to give negative guarantees to the countries that do not have nuclear weapons by making statements to the effect that they will never use such weapons against those States. South Africa, as everyone knows, today possesses nuclear weapons. What could be the value of a statement by South Africa on negative guarantees, since we know the relations between that country and those surrounding it—I mean in Africa?

20. Those flagrant contradictions between the acts of some members of the international community and their public statements threaten to show to our peoples ever more clearly the futility of some international instruments proposed in the United Nations in the name of peace, security and the progress of States, thus undermining the credibility of this important Organization and causing increasing distrust in international relations.

21. When we demand the total isolation of South Africa, the ending of the huge investments of some States in that country, it is not so much because we are opposed to the legitimate benefits which would result from international co-operation based on reciprocal advantages as because, in a spirit of friendship, if not solidarity, we realize that South Africa, through its blind obstinacy, is a threat to itself and will always be a threat to those foreign investments, for if this situation is not resolved by persuasion and by peaceful negotiations between the present Pretoria régime and the legitimate representatives of the South African people, it will ultimately be settled in other equally legitimate ways in the face of the impossibility of settling it by peaceful means owing to South Africa's defiance of the international community.

22. Given this unfortunate perspective, the burning of refineries, the explosions in factories and at the nerve centres of the economy and the security of South Africa, the revolt of children and students at Soweto, strikes by workers and the street demonstrations look like a dress rehearsal. The movement of resistance to oppression and for national liberation must take up arms and adopt a strategy capable of

dealing with the repression and domination of the white racist minority régime in South Africa.

23. We therefore wait to hear from the main economic, trade and military partners of South Africa that they will observe the resolutions of the United Nations and support the strategy of isolating South Africa, in the name of their faith in the principles of equality and freedom, in the name of their respect for human rights.

24. In the meantime, the delegation of Zaire considers that the Security Council should immediately impose, under Chapter VII of the Charter, comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in order completely to isolate the *apartheid* régime from the international community. For it must be realized that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it will ultimately be abolished.

25. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): The position of the Government and people of Finland on *apartheid* is clear and unequivocal: we reject all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race, creed or colour. They are totally incompatible with our conception of the equality and dignity of every human being. The inhuman racial policies pursued by the South African Government are in complete contradiction with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

26. The ideals of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights have not been fully implemented anywhere. Yet, to single out the policies of South Africa, as we do year after year, is justified, as *apartheid* constitutes the most systematic massive violation of human rights anywhere and, therefore, the most direct challenge to the very basis of this Organization.

27. If there is any one issue on which the international community is united in its entirety, it is the issue of *apartheid*. South Africa stands universally condemned for its racial policies. Its isolation had deepened even further since, after years of violence and bloodshed, the neighbouring Zimbabwe attained majority rule by peaceful means. This was an historic event in a country in which racial oppression had reigned for generations. It should be a lesson to those who still cling to the tenets of racial inequality.

28. The increasing international isolation of South Africa has prompted it to propose some reforms to *apartheid* legislation—*inter alia*, in the field of labour relations and trade-union rights. Yet these measures are but a palliative. *Apartheid* is a system that cannot be reformed. This is so because *apartheid* is a negation of the most basic human rights. As such, it is an affront to humanity as a whole. That is why no reform is possible—only total change.

29. Violence is an inevitable consequence of racism. This is particularly so when racism is elevated to the status of official State philosophy. Recent events in South Africa confirm this cruel yet logical pattern.

30. We have not forgotten the fate of Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu, or the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela—all of them outstanding leaders of their people. Individuals in South Africa have again been sentenced to death and to long terms of imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. The harassment of lawyers, journalists and churchmen conti-

nues. Another instance of resistance to the constant humiliation born out of *apartheid* was the nation-wide opposition of black students to so-called Bantu education. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the energetic leadership of Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, has once again produced a graphic description of the degrading conditions imposed upon the black majority by the South African policy of *apartheid*. The intransigence of the South African Government in pursuing these policies increases daily human suffering and the likelihood of further bloodshed. In a wider context, *apartheid* forms the hard core of all the problems in southern Africa.

31. The international community has rightly condemned the creation by South Africa of unviable bantustans. World opinion has been unanimous in denying recognition to those that South Africa has declared independent. There is no reason to expect that the plans for granting independence to yet another bantustan—Ciskei—would receive a different response.

32. The internal oppression has been compounded by acts of external aggression against neighbouring States. They have been directed particularly against Angola and Zambia, both countries in the front line of those that are patiently seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict in southern Africa. These acts of aggression stand condemned by the Security Council. Angola and Zambia, as well as other countries suffering because of their proximity to South Africa are entitled to continued support and assistance from the international community.

33. Is it not obvious that a State built on the repression of many for the benefit of few cannot but live in constant fear and in the agonizing knowledge of its own weakness? This weakness cannot be masked by the massive build-up of military strength, even if that strength were to be buttressed by nuclear-weapon capability or the threat of its acquisition. This threat, though, adds a new dimension to the situation in southern Africa which the international community has to take into account. It places a special responsibility on those countries that have co-operated and continue to co-operate with South Africa in the nuclear field.

34. The world community has not stood idle in the face of South African policies: the mandatory arms embargo, decided upon by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977), was an historic decision, because it was the first time that the Security Council had applied sanctions against a Member State of the United Nations. Finland, together with other Nordic countries, had advocated such a step, having itself scrupulously followed a voluntary arms embargo for more than a decade before.

35. But the measures taken by the international community so far are clearly not enough. For their part, the Nordic countries are searching for new possibilities of concerted international action against *apartheid*. In 1977 their Ministers for Foreign Affairs decided to establish a working group for elaborating further practical measures for that purpose. On the basis of its recommendations, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs have adopted a joint Nordic programme of action against South Africa. One of the

measures included in that programme and avocated by the Nordic countries since 1977 has been to prevent new foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. This initiative will be actively pursued at this session of the Assembly.

36. While the United Nations, in general, and the Security Council in particular, must make every effort to increase pressure against South Africa in order to make it abandon its policies of *apartheid*, the international community must at the same time provide assistance to the victims of those policies.

37. The Finnish Government, for its own part, has given such humanitarian assistance through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid* and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] Assistance Fund for the Struggle Against Colonialism and *Apartheid*. We shall continue to do so in order to give our consistent support to the aspirations of the black majority to equality and justice. We also give our support to the co-operation of African States to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa, which is soon to be defined in more detail in their Conference at Maputo.

38. It is our common obligation to demonstrate to the South African Government that peace and justice can be brought to southern Africa only through the elimination of *apartheid*.

39. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): The international community is once again called upon to discuss ways and means of bringing to an end the *apartheid* policy being perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa, in defiance of resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs. Regrettably, that system still continues to be applied in South Africa because of the active support by some Members of this Organization that still maintain links and co-operate with that régime.

40. The past year has witnessed concerted efforts against the *apartheid* régime by the oppressed 21 million blacks of South Africa. The continued uprisings by students of all races, strikes by workers and mass demonstrations, culminating in the attacks on the South African Oil, Coal and Gas Corporation Ltd. [SASOL] oil-from-coal plants in June 1980 are part of that campaign.

41. On 18 April this year the international community welcomed whole-heartedly the emergence of a free independent Zimbabwe under its heroic national liberation movement, the Patriotic Front. The Zimbabwean victory clearly represented a serious setback to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. Notwithstanding the positive developments in Zimbabwe, the Pretoria régime has intensified its repressive policies of torture and killing of schoolchildren, detentions, banning orders, mass arrests and harassment of students, workers and religious leaders. The racist régime has even prohibited indoor public meetings.

42. The grave concern of the international community culminated in the adoption of Security Council resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980, which con-

demned the racist régime for further aggravating the situation and for its massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid* and called for an end to violence against the people and for the cessation of repression and the elimination of *apartheid*.

43. The racist régime's latest manoeuvres include the acceleration of the programme of bantustanization and the granting of sham independence to the so-called Bantu homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, with the projected proclamation of Ciskei as the next independent State. The aim of that policy is indeed to hoodwink the international community under the guise of conferring power on the black majority, while actually perpetuating the institutions and instruments of oppression and domination of the racist white minority against the black majority. It is fitting that the United Nations and the international community continue to refuse to recognize the sham independence.

44. The *apartheid* régime, through its treacherous manoeuvres, is in the process of creating a so-called economically stable middle class of blacks to act as a buffer between the blacks and the whites in South Africa. Such highly publicized reforms are dangerous cosmetic operations calculated to turn blacks against their fellow blacks, thus slowing the tempo of the struggle there. The international community so often hears Botha's propaganda on reforms to relax the *apartheid* laws so as to achieve majority participation in the Government. My delegation therefore highly commends the Coloureds and Indians for wisely rejecting the régime's plans to establish constitutional frameworks within which they would be granted an illusory share of power.

45. Not content with its brutal and ruthless policies against the oppressed majority in South Africa, the racist régime in Pretoria has resorted to unprovoked armed invasions of the independent neighbouring States of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, in defiance of the relevant Security Council resolutions. My delegation abhors and condemns in no uncertain terms such acts of barbarism and systematic destruction repeatedly perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against the oppressed population of South Africa and the neighbouring independent States.

46. It is regrettable that the South African régime has increased its military potential with the assistance of some Members of this Organization. South Africa's military budget today exceeds \$2 billion. Besides, South Africa has been able to secure large quantities of arms and other materials needed for its forces and military industry from some Western countries, despite the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). South Africa continues to be a major recipient of foreign loans and investments, which help boost its military and nuclear capabilities. My delegation considers all this to be an act of aggression against the oppressed people of South Africa and of Africa in general and a serious threat to international peace and security.

47. Time and again we have called upon this Organization seriously to consider adopting punitive measures against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. In that connexion, we call upon Member States to support the escalation of the armed struggle by the

people of South Africa under their national liberation movements.

48. My delegation believes that the time has come for all Members to translate their political will into concrete action to ensure that South Africa complies with the just demands of the people of southern Africa. To that end, we appeal to those countries which maintain political, military, economic, diplomatic or consular relations with South Africa to end those relations forthwith. Similarly, we call upon three permanent members of the Security Council to desist from frustrating meaningful enforcement action by the Council. My delegation therefore supports and calls for increased moral, material and diplomatic assistance to the suffering people of South Africa, through their national liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, by United Nations bodies and agencies and other intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and the international community as a whole.

49. My delegation supports and calls for the effective implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. My delegation also supports and calls on all Member States, and in particular the three permanent members of the Security Council, strictly to adhere to the letter and spirit of the General Assembly resolutions and decisions, as well as those of the Security Council.

50. The Tanzanian delegation supports the call by the OAU for the Security Council to consider imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa for its failure to comply with the numerous United Nations resolutions.

51. In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate its appreciation and satisfaction to the members of the Special Committee for their commendable efforts in championing the struggle against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Special praise goes to its Chairman, my brother Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, whose skill, wisdom and diplomacy have been abundantly demonstrated not only this year but in past years as well. There is no doubt that the work of the Special Committee will continue to make a positive contribution towards the achievement of the long-sought-after settlement of the situation in South Africa and Namibia in particular and in the southern African region as a whole.

52. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Since its creation the United Nations has not ceased to exert efforts to combat the *apartheid* policy of South Africa. Its archives are filled with resolutions, frequently adopted unanimously, which declare that the policy of *apartheid* is a crime perpetrated against mankind and, consequently, condemn it categorically. Since that time, however, the racist régime of Pretoria has continued to intensify and develop its criminal policy of *apartheid*, which has caused the black population of southern Africa great suffering and frustration. This year again the international community has borne witness to a long series of crimes perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime against thousands of Afri-

cans. Thus, those who continue to hope as in the past that the racist régime of Pretoria will learn from the defeat of the racist and illegal régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and will renounce its policy of *apartheid* and abide by the United Nations Charter, are seriously mistaken.

53. It was not long ago that the international community warmly welcomed the accession to independence of the people of Zimbabwe, which won a great victory in its struggle for national liberation and emancipation. The only country that did not rejoice at that event was South Africa, which saw in that emancipation the seeds of the inevitable defeat of its policy of *apartheid*, which is an insult to the human conscience. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe also means that the South African myth of the supremacy and invincibility of the white minority will be destroyed. Today more than ever the leaders of the racist régime of Pretoria are isolated and threatened by the upsurge of the ever more determined struggle of African peoples against racism in all its forms and manifestations, a struggle that enjoys increasing support from all peoples that respect the dignity and value of the human being.

54. The collapse of the Southern Rhodesian colonial bastion, the only ally of South Africa in the southern part of Africa, has contributed to the burial of South Africa's policy of establishing a "constellation of States" so as to provide a buffer against neighbouring African States. As a result of that collapse, the struggle for justice and human dignity is at the gates of South Africa, causing it to panic and arousing its instinct for self-preservation.

55. But, instead of learning from this, the Government of the South African racist white minority resorted to all kinds of manoeuvres in the vain hope of maintaining the *status quo* in South Africa and Namibia. To this end, the racist régime practises a two-pronged policy which is characterized on the one hand by an increasingly militaristic and aggressive attitude and on the other by the pretence that it wishes to settle the crisis by means of negotiations.

56. Thus during the past year there has been an increase in harassment, torture and large-scale arrests of South African and Namibian patriots. Some freedom fighters have been systematically persecuted or purely and simply executed so as to crush the struggle of the adversaries of *apartheid*. Others, whose names are well known to our Organization—such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulo—have been condemned to detention for life simply because they wished to live in the normal conditions that human beings should enjoy and fought for the dignity of their people. Recently the international community learnt with indignation that Mr. Markus Kateka had been condemned to death by the South African régime, which is occupying Namibia. Moreover, while international public opinion still had not recovered from the shock of the savage massacres of peaceful demonstrators at Sharpeville in 1960 and at Soweto in 1976, the *apartheid* régime was once again resorting to brutal acts of terror to crush the massive uprising of the African people, killing and mutilating many young school-children who demanded that the policy of racial discrimination be terminated.

57. Pretoria has reinforced its machinery of war in Namibia and is using that territory as a base from which to launch aggression against the front-line States—in particular, Angola and Zambia. It will be recalled that during the first quarter of this year the Security Council twice condemned the unjustified and unprovoked acts of aggression by South Africa against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia. Only recently Angola was once again subjected to acts of aggression by South Africa. The pretext for these acts of aggression is that those countries are harbouring African brothers who have fled the repression and terror reigning in South Africa and Namibia and are continuing to support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against *apartheid* and imperialism. But the real aim of those murderous military operations is to internationalize the conflict so as to divert international attention from the real problems that prevail in southern Africa, thus making it possible for South Africa to consolidate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to postpone the final collapse of its policy of *apartheid*.

58. Racism and *apartheid* are not merely a system of national oppression of the African peoples: they are also a tool used by capitalist and imperialist circles for the exploitation, through their transnational corporations, of the cheap labour of African workers and for the plunder of the natural wealth of the territories of South Africa and Namibia. The consideration of this question in the Fourth Committee clearly revealed the extent of that plunder and the scandalous profits made by those circles.

59. The collusion between certain Western capitalist countries and the racist régime of South Africa is not limited to the plundering and exploitation of the natural and human resources of southern Africa: it extends to the political, diplomatic, military and even nuclear spheres. The result is that today the Pretoria racist régime has a sophisticated military force and an advanced nuclear capability. The fact that South Africa possesses that war potential has encouraged it to use even more force both in South Africa and beyond the borders of the country, thereby creating in that part of the world a situation that could at any time lead to a racial war jeopardizing international peace and security.

60. Because of the threat that it poses to southern Africa and the rest of the world, the *apartheid* régime must be fought by all possible means and, in the first place, by the application of all the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to bring an immediate end to all the forms of co-operation with that régime, by its Western allies, thereby ensuring its complete isolation.

61. In that connexion, we would repeat here our position that the Security Council should urgently call for comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and adopt effective measures to ensure the effective implementation of its resolution 418 (1977) concerning the mandatory arms embargo. Moreover, the Security Council should take a decision providing for the application of a total, mandatory oil embargo against South Africa, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 34/93 F. That embargo is not merely a key

element of the economic sanctions adopted by the international community: it is also an indispensable complement to the arms embargo, since the supply of oil facilitates South Africa's military and police operations against the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, as well as all the neighbouring States.

62. All the Western countries—if they sincerely desire, as they have constantly stated in this hall they do, an end to the policy of *apartheid*—must join the efforts of the international community to impose an oil embargo against South Africa. Similarly, if we wish to ensure that the embargo is effective, machinery must be established to monitor all shipments of oil to South Africa, so that the clandestine operations to which South Africa has constantly resorted to get the oil it needs are rendered impossible.

63. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic believes that it is high time that the policy of *apartheid* be radically and finally eliminated from our planet. That policy has been condemned by the entire world as a crime against humanity. My delegation will spare no effort in actively supporting all the international community's actions to achieve that goal, thereby contributing to the success of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

64. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): My delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation for the lucid, clear statement made by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador B. Akporode Clark of Nigeria, in introducing the annual report of that Committee. The report contains a comprehensive account of the wide activities carried out by the Special Committee compel the racist rulers in South Africa to desist from their cruel actions. But the rulers of South Africa are as insensitive as ever.

65. The attainment of independence by Zimbabwe this year was celebrated by all the freedom-loving people of the world. It should have demonstrated to the rulers of South Africa the futility of their desperate attempt to deprive the people of South Africa of their right to freedom and independence. But, instead of learning the lessons of the events in Zimbabwe, the South African rulers have intensified their inhuman practices of repression.

66. All sections of the suppressed people of South Africa have intensified their struggle for independence. The nationwide strike by students and workers and large-scale demonstrations by other sections of the Coloured populations—far from leading the rulers to take positive steps—have been met with negative responses only. Not satisfied with exploitation, suppression, segregation, the creation of bantustans and the imprisonment of thousands of students, workers and others, those rulers have even gone so far as to massacre schoolchildren.

67. The call made by the Security Council, in its resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980, for the cessation of violence and suppression found no response from the rulers of South Africa. Far from releasing political prisoners like Walter Sisulo, Nelson Mandela and others, the racist rulers seem to be bent on filling their prisons even more. Kill or imprison: that seems to be the quintessence of all the legislation adopted and of the sham trials held by the rulers of South Africa. The

simple question is how long the white rulers hope to survive by denying human rights to the people of South Africa.

68. Today the black population of South Africa, numbering 21 million, are being discriminated against, humiliated, imprisoned and even killed in their own country, in spite of their violent and non-violent resistance. And all that is happening despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We sincerely urge the Security Council to take effective action without delay and to consider appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has rightly asked for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, with an effective monitoring system.

69. In spite of the universal condemnation of the policy followed by the rulers of South Africa, the transnational corporations in South Africa, whether foreign-based or grown in South Africa itself, have been lending economic and industrial strength to the *apartheid* policy, thereby contributing their share to the merciless exploitation of the black population. Leaving aside the major role played by these organizations in major financial transactions, in petroleum, external trade, mining, industry, and so forth, we must note with alarm their major role in the supply of armaments. This external collaboration in the production and supply of the military arsenals of the racist régime is a flagrant violation of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). Thus, it is imperative that there should be a total sanction on the sale of arms and defence equipment, as well as petroleum and petroleum products.

70. The General Assembly, in resolution 34/93 E of 12 December 1979, requested the Security Council

“urgently to consider mandatory measures to prevent the racist régime of South Africa from detonating, developing or acquiring nuclear weapons, and to warn that the acquisition or testing of nuclear weapons by it would be met with enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter...”

I need not stress here the danger inherent in the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the white rulers of South Africa. It would not only lead to further problems for the people of South Africa struggling for their emancipation but also constitute a great threat to the people of the region as a whole. In its report, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* rightly recommends

“urgent attention to the strengthening of the machinery for the supervision of the arms embargo. It also considers it imperative that the embargo should be reinforced in accordance with the request made by the General Assembly to the Security Council, in resolution 34/93 D of 12 December 1979...” [A/35/22, para. 325].

71. A régime whose only justification is the colour of the skin of the rulers cannot survive for ever, even with the help of massacres such as those at Sharpeville and Soweto and the daily tyranny of its rule. By giving way to a humane and multiracial system, the white rulers of South Africa will lose only their illegal privileges; by resisting it, they remain a disgrace to humanity.

72. The international community must exert all possible pressure on the rulers of South Africa to restore to that country's black majority its birthright, the right to shape its own life and future.

73. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am pleased to express my appreciation of the efforts that have been made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Clark of Nigeria. My country is a member of that Committee and we are happy to have been able to submit its report to the General Assembly. This report is very comprehensive and deals with all the aspects of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the racist minority Government of South Africa. The report also contains important and radical recommendations on the elimination of that inhumane policy.

74. Among all the political questions involving human rights that are before the United Nations, none requires international attention and unanimous condemnation more than the practices of the inhuman régime of South Africa, above all *apartheid*. Nor is any other so dramatic, because no other country since the downfall of the Third Reich and nazism has dared to enact such unjust and inhumane laws as those promulgated by the racist South African régime.

75. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority in South Africa, which controls that country's economic and political forces, is a disgrace to mankind, because it constitutes a flagrant violation of the central human rights and is a form of persecution and hideous exploitation of the great majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the country. That policy is not only a tragedy for the millions of persecuted inhabitants of southern Africa but also, by its arrogance, an affront to mankind. It is therefore a matter of urgent necessity that all peoples and Governments that love peace, freedom and dignity should adopt measures to improve international co-operation with a view to isolating the racist South African régime and extending support to the national liberation movements of Azania.

76. During the past year there have been important developments that make it necessary for the international community to take appropriate steps to comply with their commitments with a view to the elimination of *apartheid* in order to ensure that the people of Azania, without regard to race, colour or origin, achieve the right to establish majority government. The heroic people of Zimbabwe, after a lengthy armed struggle against a minority, illegal and racist régime, achieved their independence last April. Their victory increased the isolation of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and brought about an intensification of the armed struggle carried on by the people of Namibia under the leadership of its national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. That people is achieving continued success in spite of the military action and the repression by the illegal military occupation authorities, which are completely ignoring the Security Council resolutions requesting the full independence of Namibia. In South Africa itself the activities of the national liberation movement in its struggle against *apartheid* are being crowned with success. This must be considered as a positive sign of the increased awareness of the op-

pressed people and their determination to eradicate the policy of *apartheid* and establish a State based on justice, freedom and democracy. In recent months black students have staged massive demonstrations against the policy of *apartheid* in education. These demonstrations were on a larger scale than those that followed the massacres at Sharpeville and Soweto. Moreover, black workers' unions carried out uprisings and armed attacks against some multinational firms, mainly the SASOL corporation, which is engaged in extracting oil from coal. This accompanied the campaign for the liberation of Nelson Mandela and his companions in the struggle.

77. Clearly, the racist South African régime refuses to learn from the experience of Zimbabwe. It is also clear that, in spite of international condemnation of the racist policies of the Pretoria authorities, that régime is continuing to promulgate further discriminatory and racist laws and to pursue its policy of bantustanization under the cover of factitious independence. By such manoeuvres South Africa is trying to extend the life of the régime of the racist minority that controls the country, by creating a consultative role for the Coloureds and Indians while completely ignoring the black majority. In these tortuous ways South Africa is challenging the world because it knows that the international community as represented in this General Assembly has rejected and will continue to reject its policies, considering them invalid.

78. We wish to reaffirm our complete conviction that the *apartheid* policy practised by the racist minority in South Africa cannot be reformed or improved. It must be uprooted by giving the power to the people by eliminating all forms of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and establishing a democratic régime that ensures equal rights for all.

79. The racist régime of Pretoria is continuing its brutal campaign to halt and eliminate all those who reject *apartheid*. Not only are those nationalists being imprisoned; they are being massacred. One need only cite the case of James Mange, not to mention the hundreds of students who have been shot in demonstrations against *apartheid*.

80. The inhuman suffering of the political prisoners in South Africa makes it necessary indeed for the justice-loving and freedom-loving members of this Assembly to exert all possible efforts to implement the recommendations of the Special Committee concerning political prisoners [A/35/22, para. 388] in order to ensure the latter's release and an end to the arbitrary judgements rendered by the Pretoria authorities.

81. South Africa is continuing its aggression against the front-line neighbouring States. This year it has committed acts of aggression against Angola and Zambia, killing many people and causing much material damage, in addition to which it is threatening Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. The front-line African States are assuming responsibilities with great courage and sacrifice in supporting the liberation struggle being waged in South Africa. They should receive from the international community all the support and assistance they need in order to protect their independence and territorial integrity,

and to compensate for the losses in human lives, in industry and in the economy, that have resulted from the brutal aggression. We fully support the recommendations submitted to the General Assembly to the effect that any and all aggression against the independent front-line States constitutes aggression against the international community as a whole and is an attack on the United Nations [*ibid.*, para. 400].

82. For 34 years now the South African régime has obstinately perpetuated its *apartheid* racist policy, which it will end only if it is forced to do so. The fact that some States Members of the United Nations have persisted in helping it in the political, moral, economic, material and military spheres, encourages the régime to pursue its inhuman policy. If indeed there is a will to eliminate racism in South Africa, all States must exert pressure on that country to implement all relevant General Assembly resolutions and must apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and Security Council resolution 418 (1977) in order to isolate the South African racist régime politically, economically and culturally.

83. It is sad when we study the reports of all the international seminars that have been held on the role of the transnational corporations with regard to the sanctions against the South African racist régime, as well as the reports of IMF and the World Bank, to discover the hideous vast economic, commercial and military co-operation between those corporations and South Africa. Foreign investments, loans and assistance to the régime have reached astronomical proportions. Through its military co-operation with some States and transnational corporations, South Africa has been able to obtain the most up-to-date weapons and has been able to develop a nuclear capability. Its military budget for 1980-1981 exceeds that of the previous year by 45 per cent, reaching more than \$2.7 billion, as reported by the Fascist régime's Parliament in March 1980.

84. The South African régime now finds itself at a crossroads in history. It has a choice between the logical solution of putting an end to all forms of *apartheid* and savage repression and beginning an era of government of the majority for the whole people or of escalating and intensifying the struggle which is much more dangerous today as a result of the régime's continual attempts to acquire weapons and to gain access to nuclear capability.

85. The international community must not allow the racist régime to escalate the tension in South Africa. The independence of Zimbabwe must now be followed by international action against the régime of Pretoria until Namibia achieves independence and there is a government of the majority in Azania. Here again we should like to welcome the constructive proposal for the convening of a world conference on the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, to be organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU, with the participation of all countries, non-governmental organizations and mass organizations. We hope that that conference will mark the beginning of the end for the racist régime in South Africa.

86. We should also state that, as a result of South Africa's manoeuvres, Africa may find itself involved in armed confrontation with the racist régime, if the

latter persists in its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. We in the Sudan and in the rest of Africa will not fail to support the South African liberation movements in their armed struggle against slavery and racism until the people of Azania achieves its right to sovereignty and a dignified life in its homeland without discrimination or servitude.

87. In conclusion, I call the attention of the Assembly to the fact that the two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel are maintaining and developing their relations and their collaboration in the political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields—as confirmed by the special report of the Special Committee [*see A/35/22/Add.2*]—not to mention the numerous exchanges of visits by officials of these two countries, such as the visit of the Israeli Minister of Defence to Pretoria in March 1980. We appeal to the international community to put forth all its efforts and exert pressure on these two racist régimes—which have been convicted by our Organization—until the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Palestine achieve their independence.

88. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Clark, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his efforts. He has striven to serve this noble cause. We should like to thank all members of that Committee for their unswerving efforts to co-ordinate the measures that have been adopted by States and movements struggling against *apartheid*, as well as non-governmental organizations that are fighting that crime against human dignity and conscience.

89. Since the first years of the existence of the United Nations, the General Assembly has been discussing the racist policy pursued by South Africa. Many resolutions have been adopted condemning the Pretoria régime and its racist practices and calling upon the international community to adopt measures which would eliminate this régime and guarantee the right of the African people to freedom and human dignity.

90. Despite all the resolutions that have been adopted, the situation in South Africa is deteriorating because the racist régime pays no heed to those resolutions and, in order to misguide and lull world public opinion, announces would-be reforms of the *apartheid* régime. In fact, it continues to implement its inhuman plans, ignoring those resolutions, more intensely pursues its policy of repression and terror and denies the indigenous population its essential rights. It subjects that population to arrests and unjust political trials, promulgates new repressive and discriminatory laws and accelerates the implementation of its policy of fragmenting the country by the establishment of bantustans.

91. The best evidence of the fallacy of the Pretoria régime's pretence regarding its so-called reforms is that racist Government's resort to inhuman and barbarous methods of repressing peaceful demonstrations by the nationalist Coloured students who are only claiming their natural right to a non-discriminatory educational system, a right admitted and endorsed by all international documents on the subject,

foremost among which is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

92. The savage reaction of the Pretoria racist authorities to those peaceful demonstrations carried out by unarmed youth reminds us of the massacres of Soweto and Sharpeville. It confirms the fact that that régime is persisting in its course, flouting all international principles and resolutions and thus defying the international community as a whole. Thus the people of South Africa has been forced to resort to armed struggle and to intensifying its resistance to the racist authorities.

93. My delegation intends at the present session to contribute to the adoption of resolutions that will reaffirm our previous positions, that is to say, condemning the racist régime and adopting the necessary measures to eliminate it. Moreover, my delegation wishes to emphasize some points that should be taken into consideration if we are to achieve our goal.

94. First, it appears from the valuable report submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* that many States have indeed implemented those resolutions. The main factor in the failure to achieve the objective at which these resolutions aim, namely, the elimination of *apartheid*, is the attitude of some Western States and Israel, which do not abide by those resolutions, and which give economic, commercial, technological, military and nuclear assistance to the racist régime, thus reinforcing its ability to resist external and internal pressures and encouraging it to pursue its racist practices and to continue to occupy Namibia.

95. Although those States talk about peaceful means of putting an end to the *apartheid* régime, they are simultaneously reinforcing that régime. The best evidence of that is their refusal to implement certain peaceful measures against the Pretoria régime laid down in United Nations resolutions.

96. The compliance of those States with these resolutions is urgently necessary so that the régime in Pretoria may be completely isolated. This is particularly important because the situation in southern Africa is deteriorating and the racist régime is intensifying its measures of repression and terror against the black nationalists, and its aggression against independent African States. More dangerous than all this is its determination to become a nuclear Power with the dreadful potential that that involves, threatening international peace and security not only in that region but in the world as a whole.

97. It is clear from all this how important is the international mobilization against *apartheid*, called for by the General Assembly. We should like to emphasize the importance of focusing international efforts in this field on the Western States that are co-operating with the Pretoria régime. Parliaments, political parties, trade unions, religious organizations, student organizations, youth movements, women's movements and information media in those States should be involved in this mobilization so that they may urge their political leaders to put an end to their co-operation with the Pretoria régime.

98. Secondly, despite Security Council resolution 418 (1977) concerning the embargo on the sale of arms

to South Africa, the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) to follow up that embargo² states that there is evidence of a continuous flow of weapons by clandestine means to South Africa. Consequently, my delegation supports the recommendations contained in paragraph 81 of that report and we hope that the Security Council will act with urgency to adopt a resolution containing similar recommendations, which aim at correcting the shortcomings of resolution 418 (1977).

99. We call upon those States that have formulated reservations or objections concerning those recommendations to withdraw them, because the participation of those States in an obvious condition of the adoption of such a resolution by the Council with a view to reinforcing the arms embargo. Moreover, such participation in the implementation of the resolution would assist in the achievement of positive results, thus accelerating the elimination of the *apartheid* régime and the speedy attainment by Namibia of true independence.

100. Thirdly, oil plays a critical role in the military capabilities of the racist régime. Even though that régime has recognized in its own legislation that oil is a strategic commodity, the resolution on the arms embargo does not cover oil. My delegation would like to reaffirm the importance of imposing an effective oil embargo against South Africa, because that will complement the arms embargo. It is obvious that oil supply facilities make it easier for the South African régime to pursue its political, military and police operations against the people of South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring States.

101. Such an embargo must be imposed immediately, before it is too late, because the market of South Africa is considered to be a very profitable one for the oil companies which not simply provide South Africa with oil and oil derivatives, but also facilitate that country's access to intricate technological know-how in the fields of oil exploration and refining, the petrochemical industry, mining and the search for alternative sources of energy. This may render a late embargo ineffective and worthless, thus depriving the international community of the effects of resort to this means of pressure.

102. Fourthly, the Western States defend the activities of the transnational corporations on the assumption that they are a means of effecting a change in the *apartheid* policy practised by the Government of Pretoria, through the commitment of those corporations to improving the wages and social welfare of the native black workers. They add that the withdrawal of those corporations would probably entail a setback for black workers who would thus be deprived of job opportunities. These arguments are purely theoretical and have no sound basis. In reality, the white minority does not wish to make fundamental changes and at the same time the corporations are only interested in reaping huge profits from cheap labour. Consequently what counts is not what the corporations offer the workers, for these are only superficial measures, but the consequences of their activities, inasmuch as they enhance the racist ré-

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14179.

gime's capacity to pursue its repression of the black majority.

103. Fifthly, my delegation has noted that the number of countries that have made contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [see A/35/22/Add.1, tables 12 and 13] does not tally with the number of Member States of our Organization. We hope that States will make generous contributions to those Funds so that they may carry out their tasks.

104. Sixthly, as members know, the Assembly has adopted resolution 33/162 concerning reliance by the sister States of Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique and by the people of Namibia on the provision of migrant labour to South Africa. Consequently we suggest that a detailed study be undertaken jointly, by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the OAU, UNDP and ECA, of ways and means to enable those States to utilize their available labour force more fully for their economic development, thereby preventing the *apartheid* régime from exploiting that manpower.

105. Seventhly, the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] would be another means of eliminating the policy of *apartheid*. By 11 August 1980 58 countries, including Egypt, had signed and ratified that Convention and we hope that all Member States will ratify it.

106. To conclude this summary review, and as we have already repeatedly stated in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, it is clear that, as is universally agreed, in order to eliminate the *apartheid* régime we must completely isolate it. That will only be possible if the Security Council imposes binding comprehensive sanctions against that régime, as stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter. To this end we reaffirm before the General Assembly the need to adopt the recommendations, regarding sanctions against South Africa, of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, contained in the Committee's report [A/35/22, paras. 312-359].

107. The imperative need to impose comprehensive sanctions on South Africa is shown to be all the greater by the lesson we have learned from Zimbabwe. When such sanctions were imposed against the racist régime of Ian Smith, they gave support to the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and ultimately led to the downfall of the régime. Egypt will spare no effort in affording moral and material support to the people of South Africa led by its national liberation movements in the bitter struggle it is waging under the conditions imposed on it by the Fascist régime. We will not accept any solution that is not based on access by the black majority to the Governments in South Africa and Namibia.

108. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the General Assembly is seized of the problem of *apartheid*. And once again we are forced to note that no genuine progress had been made to redress a situation which violates the most basic dignity of man and the most fundamental principles of the Charter. The black population of

South Africa continues to live in ghettos and to be deprived of its political, economic, cultural and other rights. The persecution of those who dare to raise their voices against that state of affairs continues. We need only read the impressive report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to realize the inferno in which South Africans are living, people whose only crime is the colour of their skin. The Government of South Africa is persisting in its obstinate disregard for the demands of world public opinion under the false impression that world public opinion is powerless to ensure that its view will prevail.

109. What can the international community do in the face of that state of affairs? The General Assembly, the Security Council and the other relevant bodies of the United Nations have, over the years, adopted a series of resolutions in order to force the Pretoria Government to respect the provisions of the Charter, which it freely signed and to which it is bound both legally and morally. It is for the Members of our Organization consistently to apply those resolutions. Only the weight of universal condemnation and joint action can, in the final analysis, force South Africa to abandon a policy which has placed it outside the bounds of the family of nations and made it an outlaw.

110. For its part, Greece scrupulously observes all resolutions to which it has subscribed and respects the obligations flowing from them. Thus my country applies the arms embargo and the sports embargo imposed against the South Africa. It should be recalled in this context that in November of last year the competent sports association prohibited the participation of a number of South African golfers in an international competition held at Athens, despite the pressure it was under in that regard.

111. Moreover, my country is a regular contributor to various programmes of assistance to the South African people, such as the United Nations Special Trust Fund for South Africa, the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*, and so on. Then, too, the Government of Greece has consistently and categorically condemned the *apartheid* régime in all its manifestations. We oppose the bantustanization policy, which is designed to alter the demographic nature of South Africa and to make its black inhabitants not only second-class citizens but exiles in their own country, in order to reserve exploitation of the most fertile lands and mining and other resources exclusively for the white population.

112. By the same token, we condemn South Africa's armed incursions into neighbouring countries, particularly Angola, which is paying the price for giving the support it owes to the South Africans fighting for their dignity and for the right to participate in the political, economic and cultural life of their country.

113. I should not like to conclude this statement—which is all too brief, given the immensity of the problem—without dwelling on one particular aspect of it that by its very nature creates difficulties for certain countries, including my own. I refer here to armed struggle as a means of abolishing *apartheid*. On the one hand we cannot but feel the greatest sympathy for the victims of that odious system and share their feelings of frustration, particularly given the intransigence of the South African authorities. On

the other hand, however, the resort to force as a means of correcting situations which flout the Charter can entail very serious consequences for all, including innocent populations. That is why the drafters of the Charter were careful to define the conditions that make resort to force inevitable. Unless those conditions are fulfilled it is extremely difficult for my delegation to vote for draft resolutions calling for armed struggle, or approving it, irrespective of the goals.

114. The *apartheid* régime not only constitutes a violation of the most sacred human rights but is casting constant shame on those who practise it. The executioner is more degraded than the victim. The leaders and the white population of South Africa must come to realize, albeit only at the last minute, one simple fact: their policy is not only unjust and inhuman but also sterile and doomed to failure. They must abandon it while there is still time. That is a very modest price to pay for readmission to the great family of nations.

115. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): For a long time now the world community has resolutely opposed the policies and practices of *apartheid* in South Africa, whose Government is engaged in large-scale violation of the basic human rights of the 20 million indigenous inhabitants of that country.

116. The racist *apartheid* régime rejects the demands made in the Charter of the United Nations for respect for the human rights and basic freedoms of all, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion.

117. This policy naturally gives rise to grave concern and anxiety among the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. I should like to acknowledge the impressive amount of useful work being carried out in this regard by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Clark.

118. In its many decisions the United Nations has branded *apartheid* a crime against humanity and stressed that the policies and practices of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa are a threat to international peace and security.

119. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly demanded that the Pretoria authorities put an end to the policy of *apartheid* and grant all citizens of South Africa equal and full political and other rights, including the opportunity freely to participate in determining their own fate. Nevertheless, the racist régime of South Africa, brazenly challenging those United Nations decisions, obstinately continues to pursue its inhuman *apartheid* policy and to deny the oppressed people of that country their basic political, economic and civil rights.

120. The endeavour of the South African rulers to maintain the *apartheid* system at all costs is based primarily on that system's aim of creating the best possible conditions for unbridled exploitation of the indigenous population in order to reap enormous profits for racist and foreign monopolistic capital.

121. According to documents of the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid*, published in March this year, non-white workers in South Africa receive as little as one eighth or even one sixteenth of the pay of white workers. Under the inhuman policy of *apartheid*,

it is women and children who suffer most. The mortality rate among South African children as a result of grave malnutrition is incredibly high, the lack of medical aid and the cruel exploitation of children in the labour field being additional factors.

122. The system of education of the indigenous South African population is another shameful phenomenon, its goal being to prevent the growth of awareness among Africans, and eight times more money is spent on educating a white child than on educating an African child.

123. One of the basic orientations of the policy of *apartheid* is the bantustanization of the country, which entails the uprooting of millions of Africans from their own regions and their resettlement in others allocated to them. That policy is aimed at artificially dividing up the African people and depriving them of their right to land in order further to strengthen the role of the white minority. The territories set aside for the indigenous population make up only 13 per cent of the territory of the country and are the poorest in natural resources.

124. Unemployment, terrible poverty, hunger and rampant disease are the lot of the Africans driven into the bantustans by the white régime. There they are deprived not only of all their rights but even of formal citizenship, and live in real slavery. In order to maintain this rule based on the oppression and merciless exploitation of the country's indigenous population, the Pretoria authorities use the greatest brutality against the opponents of *apartheid* and are intensifying their repression of the black population. Indeed, everyone remembers the events at Soweto and in other places in South Africa, where the South African régime used the most extreme measures in an attempt to repress the mass opposition of the African population.

125. In 1980 the Pretoria racists engaged in a new wave of mass repression against the workers, students and religious groups that opposed the disgraceful system of *apartheid*.

126. In the struggle for basic human rights, many of the best representatives of all the racial and national groups in the country have sacrificed their lives or have disappeared within the dungeons of the South African gaols. Throughout the world and here in the United Nations the names of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulo, Govan Mbeki and those of many other fighters against *apartheid* are well known. They have become symbols of the struggle for freedom and for human rights.

127. The international community as a whole and the United Nations demand that the South African régime take measures, without any further delay, to halt this violence against the African population and to free all political prisoners. In condemning the racist régime of South Africa with determination for its massive repression of the opponents of *apartheid*, the General Assembly has reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and of their national liberation movement, using all the appropriate and available means, including armed struggle, to ensure that power is transferred to the people and that the régime of *apartheid* is eliminated so that the rule of law and self-determination may be

established for the entire people of South Africa. At the same time, the General Assembly has called upon all States to give all necessary aid to the national liberation movement in South Africa at this crucial stage of its struggle.

128. It is a fact universally recognized, even by the Pretoria racists themselves, that the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for its rights has reached the truly decisive stage. The tide of the South African liberation movement is rising closer and closer to the walls of the citadel of racism in the southern part of that continent. Directly after the fall of the Portuguese colonial empire, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, through its heroic armed struggle, brought the racist régime of Smith to its knees, despite the foreign accomplices and supporters of that régime. Zimbabwe won its independence, seized it from the hands of the colonizers, who tried until the very last minute to maintain their positions in the country, with the help of various types of puppets. The problem of bringing about true independence for the people of Namibia has thus now come to the fore.

129. The irresistible process of achieving a free Africa is shaking the very basis of the criminal *apartheid* régime in South Africa. Over the last year, insurrections of black students against the racial discrimination in the area of education took place throughout the country, as did strikes of black workers, with demands for increased pay. The struggle against the forced resettlement of African communities intensified as well.

130. In feverishly trying to halt the historical process, the South African authorities have been upgrading their military potential and increasing their military expenditures. Thus the South African budget for the fiscal year 1980-1981 contained an increase in military expenditures of 45 per cent over the previous year, and of approximately 150 per cent compared to the fiscal year 1975-1976. The dread and concern of all peace-loving States are steadily growing in the face of South Africa's development of nuclear potential. The General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session appealed to the Security Council to warn South Africa that, in response to its acquisition or its testing of nuclear weapons, coercive actions would have to be taken in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 34/93 E].

131. The Pretoria régime is also carrying out its policy of *apartheid* in the Territory of Namibia, which is illegally occupied. It is also expanding its repression against the people of Namibia and SWAPO, the organization recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of that people. South Africa is ruthlessly exploiting the natural and human resources of Namibia and using all the military means available to it to buttress its illegal occupation of Namibia.

132. The rulers of South Africa are doing everything possible to use the Territory of Namibia as a military bridgehead for aggression and provocations against the neighbouring independent African States, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and others, and trying to intimidate the peoples of those countries to force them to give up their support of the national liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa itself.

133. The aggressive actions of the South African racists against the neighbouring countries have been condemned repeatedly by the Security Council, this year as well, as a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent African States and as a direct threat to international peace and security. However, despite all the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community, the *apartheid* régime is continuing its acts of armed aggression, as may be seen from the most recent criminal acts of the racist military clique perpetrated against Angola and Zambia.

134. It is not difficult to ascertain the causes of this brazen behaviour of the South African authorities or of their refusal to carry out the many United Nations decisions demanding the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*, the liberation of Namibia and the cessation of aggressive acts against African States. Those causes are to be found in the fact that the Pretoria racists feel that they have behind them the powerful support of the Western Powers. The maintenance of the hotbed of colonialism and racism in the south of the African continent is in keeping with the long-term political, economic and strategic interests of the United States of America and a number of other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which view South Africa as their bulwark in their fight against an independent Africa and as a military base in a strategically important region.

135. The economic and military potential of South Africa is growing precisely because of the broad range of support of all sorts from the NATO countries. South Africa has received access to technology for the production of nuclear weapons as a result of its co-operation with NATO countries.

136. As reflected in the documents prepared by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Western Powers have to date refused to comply with the direct demands of the United Nations that they cease their political, military, nuclear, economic and other forms of co-operation with the racist South African régime and that they take measures to prohibit co-operation with South Africa by the transnational corporations and banks under their jurisdiction. Moreover, the economic relations of the Western Powers with South Africa are continuing to expand. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*,

“Total foreign exports to South Africa rose by 13 per cent in the first three quarters of 1979. The United States, South Africa's largest trading partner accounts for 19 per cent of South Africa's total bilateral trade...” [see A/35/22/Add.1, para. 92].

137. It is well known that almost 2,000 separate transnational corporations are dealing with the *apartheid* régime and are continuing to increase their capital investments in the South African economy, including its military industry. Between 1972 and 1978, 382 banks from 22 countries granted to South Africa loans totalling more than \$5 billion. By the end of 1978, Western investments in South Africa totalled \$27 billion.

138. The capital investments of United States transnational corporations in South Africa have grown apace. In 1976 they totalled \$84 million; in 1977, \$130 million; and in 1978, \$185 million. More than 1,000

United States corporations, together with corporations from other countries, have representatives in South Africa.

139. Documents of our Organization contain many other data reflecting the fact that the Western Powers show no intention of reducing their co-operation in a wide range of fields with South Africa. Moreover, as noted several days ago in the Western press, in South Africa they are counting on an increase in the near future of United States "understanding" of South Africa's policy. Incidentally, South Africa has no reason to complain of a lack of "understanding" on the part of the Western Powers at the present time, because it is precisely the positions of these countries which obstruct and prevent adoption in the Security Council of effective economic sanctions against the Pretoria racist régime and ensure supplies of oil and other strategic materials for the South African régime.

140. To cover up this policy of collusion with the South African racists, all sorts of arguments concerning the alleged need for a dialogue with the Pretoria authorities are advanced, arguments adducing possibilities of a "self-reform" of the *apartheid* régime, if we display a so-called "goodwill" towards it. These advocates of so-called "constructive co-operation" with the South African racists also allege that South Africa has already begun a process of reform as a result of which no trace of *apartheid* will ultimately be left. However, as was noted in a statement at one of our previous meetings by the Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Nzo: "these so-called reforms are mere diversionary tactics. The Pretoria régime has already embarked on this programme of deceit". [56th meeting, para. 52.] Even *The New York Times* was forced to report that the measures being taken are viewed in South Africa as a manifestation of the policy of "divide and rule" that is intended to lead to new forms of repression of the indigenous population, since, in particular, we may expect sharply increased punishments for breaking the rules restricting the residence of the black population in the cities.

141. It is shown and borne out by facts that the Pretoria authorities in no way intend to give up their positions freely. On the contrary, they are arming to the teeth in order to defend their racist, colonial rule and exploitation to the end and they are certainly not giving up the tactic of camouflage in this area either. As was rightly noted by Mr. Nzo:

"The fact that the collapse of the colonial system in Africa in particular and the militant struggles of the people of Namibia and South Africa have shifted the balance of forces in favour of democracy does not mean that the *apartheid* régime is about to see reason. It has, thanks to Western collaborators, enhanced its potential to step up repression inside the country and commit acts of aggression in defence of its inhuman policies." [Ibid., para. 59.]

142. In these circumstances the international community has the task of taking urgent measures to ensure that the criminal policy of *apartheid* in South Africa ceases, since it is a serious threat to international peace and security. Determined action on the part of all Member States, indeed of the entire international community, is required for racism to be eradicated once and for all.

143. The Soviet delegation considers it important that at this session of the General Assembly decisions be taken aimed at ensuring full compliance by all States with the Security Council's embargo on arms shipments to the racist régime of South Africa; condemnation of those States which have not ceased all co-operation in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other areas; and an appeal to all States immediately to implement effective measures to pressure the Pretoria régime, to prohibit—among other things—supplies of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, and to bring to an end capital investment in South Africa.

144. The delegation of the Soviet Union fully supports the proposal that the Security Council put into effect comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, according to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Our delegation is convinced that this is the course that would be fully in keeping with the task of the United Nations, which is, effectively and as speedily as possible to achieve in South Africa "the establishment of a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed", as proclaimed in the Declaration of South Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session [resolution 34/93 O].

145. We fully support the decision to convene an international conference on sanctions against South Africa, to take place, despite the opposition of the Western Powers, and the decision to prepare a broad-based programme of specific actions aimed at eliminating *apartheid*.

146. This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It is difficult, indeed, to overestimate the successes achieved in the process of implementing that Declaration. However, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* still exist in our world. Our discussions and debates in the General Assembly have fully shown the nature and scope of the growing danger, both for peace in Africa and for international peace and security, of the *apartheid* policy carried out by the Pretoria racists. In the face of that growing danger, we must firmly defend the positions already won and step up our efforts in the struggle against that disgrace of the twentieth century: the system of *apartheid*.

147. The Soviet Union has always been and remains a loyal ally of the African States which, having freed themselves from the oppression of colonialism, are continuing their arduous struggle for the final elimination of colonialism, racism and the vestiges of colonialism and to consolidate their independence and develop their national economies and culture.

148. In his message of congratulations to the States and peoples of Africa on Africa Liberation Day—25 May this year—the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, noted the great successes of the selfless struggle of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe against

the colonialist yoke and, at the same time, stressed that:

“The Soviet people are certain that the just cause of the liberation of Namibia will also triumph, since the Namibian people are fighting courageously for their freedom and independence, under the leadership of their recognized vanguard, the South West Africa People’s Organization. An end must be put also to that disgraceful manifestation of our times that is constituted by *apartheid*. The document adopted in 1960 by the United Nations on the initiative of the Soviet Union—the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—must be fully implemented in the Republic of South Africa, without any exceptions whatsoever. That is demanded by our epoch.

“Constantly carrying out the behest of the great Lenin, the Soviet State will continue to support the anti-colonial, anti-racist freedom struggle of the peoples of Africa.”

149. In accordance with that basic position of principle, the Soviet Union, through its delegation here, is prepared, along with all interested and concerned delegations, to do everything to achieve the adoption by this session of the General Assembly of decisions that will promote to the maximum extent possible the rapid elimination of the problem constituted by South Africa’s policy of *apartheid*.

150. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia): The international community’s struggle against *apartheid* has extended over four decades. In that period there have been some modest successes. Yet we still stand far short of our ultimate goal, since the system of *apartheid* in its oppression and intensity continues to be a scourge to the people of South Africa.

151. The Pretoria régime continues to carry out repressive measures against all opponents of *apartheid*, resorts to killing political detainees and peaceful demonstrators and continues blatantly to defy all the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In that repressive atmosphere the cruel system of *apartheid* continues to be nurtured by the racist régime in contravention of the rights and dignity of man. That behaviour by the racist Pretoria régime is a deep affront not only to all standards of international law but to the very conscience of mankind.

152. Indonesia fully realizes what are the desires and goals of the majority people of South Africa and, consequently, has undertaken numerous actions, along with the rest of the international community, to help spur the death of the *apartheid* system. In that regard my delegation believes that the isolation of South Africa is the only means to bring the *apartheid* policy to an end. The importance of isolation was underscored when Indonesia’s Foreign Minister, Mr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, stated in his address to the plenary Assembly:

“We must tighten the net of isolation so that the pressures upon Pretoria will immobilize its ability to function in the international arena”. [9th meeting, para. 138.]

To that end Indonesia has given its full support to all internationally declared sanctions, and supports the call for the Security Council to impose mandatory

sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

153. It is unfortunate, however, that the isolation of South Africa is not as effective or as widespread as we should like it to be. A number of glaring gaps still exist which only serve to maintain the racist Pretoria régime in perpetrating its *apartheid* policy. That is most evident in the area of diplomatic relations, where my delegation is particularly perturbed by the fact that the international community’s efforts to isolate the Pretoria régime have not been amply supported. A number of States have continued and even increased official relations with South Africa, thereby undermining the intent of General Assembly resolutions and providing Pretoria with access to various kinds of material and political support.

154. In the field of military collaboration, the Special Committee’s report shows that South Africa depends heavily on foreign supplies and co-operation for military hardware such as aircraft, patrol boats and tanks and for the development of its missile capacity and assistance in the nuclear field. The strong evidence indicating a South African explosion of a nuclear device a year ago augurs ill for the international community. The combination of racial subordination and oppression and nuclear weapons presents a volatile mixture which can at any moment ignite a dire chain of events; it is thus far too catastrophic for us to ignore.

155. Equally important to our concern is the continuation of foreign trade with the Pretoria régime. Such trade helps to maintain the régime’s economic stability so that it can perpetuate its *apartheid* policy. Furthermore, foreign investments in such military-related sectors as oil, steel and chemicals provide South Africa with added military benefits which only increase its threat to the peace and strengthen its control over the majority people.

156. The United Nations has for a long time recognized the importance of foreign trade to the Pretoria régime for the perpetuation of its infamous racial policy and, as a result, has adopted resolutions requesting all States to stop trading with South Africa. Unfortunately, the resolutions have been ignored by many States, particularly South Africa’s main trading partners, whose trade, in fact, has not only continued but increased.

157. The major transgressors in this trade policy are the transnational corporations operating out of the industrialized States. By all manner of subterfuge, such as the creation of subsidiaries to handle transactions, these companies have been able to bypass national and international controls in order to continue their investment in South Africa. The parent States have in most cases made no real attempts to control the activities of those companies. The adoption of voluntary codes of conduct of subsidiaries does not solve the problem but, rather, masks the support indirectly rendered to the racist régime behind benevolent intentions. But we can hardly expect these companies to comply with international standards if the Governments themselves do not.

158. The field of sports and other humanitarian exchanges are some of the ways by which the Pretoria régime seeks to gain acceptance before the world. In

our efforts to isolate South Africa, therefore, it is incumbent upon us to proceed as rapidly as possible with the drafting of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports. We are happy to note that many individual States have withdrawn from participation in events in which South Africa was to take part. The convention on sports, however, can help to maximize South Africa's isolation by providing for a concerted effort and by setting guidelines.

159. It is obvious that the efforts to isolate the Pretoria régime need to be increased. In this regard, my delegation appeals for a strict adherence to Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which establishes a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, because military co-operation helps to strengthen the internal *apartheid* system and also increases the threat to regional and international peace. In this connexion, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa to be held in the near future will be a major forum for reaffirming and strengthening the efforts of the international community designed to isolate South Africa.

160. The information media play an important part in helping to spread the net of isolation around South Africa. Information reveals the injustice and cruelty of *apartheid* and it can thus help stimulate action for eradicating it. My delegation is happy to note the co-operative efforts made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Department of Public Information and various non-governmental organizations to disseminate information about *apartheid*, since such joint efforts help to maximize exposure of that issue.

161. My delegation would also like to commend the various churches, trade unions and anti-*apartheid* organizations throughout the world for their dedicated service in helping to spread the news about the evils of *apartheid*.

162. The efforts made on behalf of the majority population of South Africa must also include support to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. The Fund is a major source for providing legal assistance to persons persecuted by the *apartheid* régime and for relief to South African refugees, among other things. It has carried out its tasks with great competence and dedication, and we should all be proud of its achievements. It is also important that increased support be forthcoming for the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which grants scholarships to inhabitants of South Africa. For its part, my delegation will continue to support these various efforts, both financially and morally, as it has done in the past.

163. Finally, we are aware that a concerted drive on the part of the international community is needed in order to achieve success in eradicating the policy of *apartheid*. At the beginning of this new decade, therefore, let us all reaffirm and strengthen our commitment to and support of the majority people of South Africa and their freedom fighters so that they too may join, as soon as possible, the ranks of peoples enjoying freedom, justice and equality.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.