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

AGENDA ITEM 15

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

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind members of the statement made by the representative of Costa Rica at the 59th plenary meeting of the General Assembly yesterday afternoon.

2. We shall now proceed to the twenty-third ballot in the election of a non-permanent member of the Security Council. Since the result of the third restricted ballot held on 11 November 1980 [57th meeting] was inconclusive, we must now proceed to an unrestricted ballot in accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

3. In this unrestricted ballot, any Member State from group B, that is, the group of Latin American States, may be a candidate, except Jamaica, which is retiring and therefore not eligible for immediate re-election, and Mexico, whose term as a member of the Council is still unexpired.

4. Ballot papers will now be distributed and I would request members to write on them the name of one country only. Ballot papers containing more than one name will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adeyemi (Nigeria), Mr. Tinca (Romania) and Mr. Jasudasen (Singapore) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

* Resumed from the 59th meeting.

5. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to suspend the meeting while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 3.35 p.m. and resumed at 3.45 p.m.

6. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting for the election of one non-permanent member of the Security Council is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	140
<i>Number of invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	140
<i>Abstentions:</i>	5
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	135
<i>Required majority:</i>	90

Number of votes obtained:

Panama	111
Costa Rica	16
Cuba	2
Bolivia	1
Colombia	1
Honduras	1
Nicaragua	1
Peru	1
Suriname	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Panama was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1981 (see decision 35/311).

7. The PRESIDENT: I congratulate Panama and, once again, the other States which have been elected non-permanent members of the Security Council.

8. May I also take this opportunity to thank our tellers for their assistance in the election.

9. The representative of Panama has asked to be allowed to make a statement and I now call on him.

10. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are shining moments in the lives of peoples that remain inscribed in their history as a source of pride for their national image. The election of Panama to the Security Council as a representative of Latin America is one of those memorable events, to which the Panamanian nation will respond with the highest sense of honour and responsibility.

11. In keeping with the modern and dynamic, independent, non-aligned and progressive nature of the international policy of Panama, the Panamanian representative in the Security Council is committed to considering the best interests of Latin America and of the peoples of the third world.

12. I believe that I am acting in accordance with duty and conscience and fulfilling the mandate given to me by my homeland in expressing the deep gratitude of Panamanians for the support given to the candidature of Panama by the delegations which by

the convincing force of their votes, have brought my country to the Security Council once more.

13. But, in expressing its gratitude to the Assembly, my delegation wishes, on behalf of the Government and the people of Panama, to pay a very sincere tribute to the fraternal Republic of Costa Rica for its noble gesture in making possible a rapid solution of the electoral problem and hence the election of Panama.

14. No one has more eloquently expressed the feelings of Panama towards Costa Rica than the President of Panama itself, Mr. Arístides Royo, who, in a message just transmitted to the President of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo, says:

“The generous gesture of Costa Rica in withdrawing its candidacy for membership of the Security Council, which has resulted today in the election of Panama to the highest political body of the United Nations, gives rise to the gratitude of the Government and the people of Panama.”

President Royo continued:

“Guided by the same noble sentiments that motivated your generous gesture, I can assure you that our representative in the Council will serve the best interests of Panama and Costa Rica, as well as those of Latin America and the third world. To that end, Panama will consult continuously with the various Governments, particularly your own, because, in addition to being a neighbouring country, Costa Rica is a true friend of our country. Costa Rica has long been a model of civilian government, freedom and democracy, thanks to which Costa Ricans and their leaders can be certain that no circumstance can alter the respect and admiration that it enjoys among the peoples of the world represented in the United Nations.”

15. The presidential message that I have just quoted is a faithful reflection of the feelings of Panama towards Costa Rica. United by the same isthmus and bathed by the Pacific and the Caribbean, Costa Rica and Panama have always been together in the past as their people will be in the future. The truth is that nothing separates us and our geographical unity is no more than the material expression of a political and spiritual reality, since all the circumstances of history invite joint action by our peoples in a shared struggle towards the same goals of justice and progress.

16. In conclusion, I should like to express once more to all the delegations here the thanks of Panama for the votes given to us, while making a formal pledge on behalf of my country to bear in mind in every action it takes in the Security Council the purposes of the United Nations and the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America and of the world, in a spirit of peace, tolerance and coexistence as good neighbours, which will make it possible for the United Nations to face the major problems of our era.

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

17. Mr. CÉZAR (Czechoslovakia): The struggle against the last remnants of colonialism, against all forms and manifestations of racism and racial oppression and against the *apartheid* practised by South Africa, which is one of the most despicable crimes and the most massive violation of all fundamental human rights in the world today, is constantly in the forefront of the attention of the United Nations. Despite the efforts of the majority of Members of this world forum, which are reflected in a long list of resolutions adopted by various bodies of our Organization, and despite the appeals of the entire democratic world community, the Pretoria régime continues to ignore and to flout world public opinion, while persisting in further perfecting and deepening this monstrous system of government. Its entire modern potential, which is being built up through increasing exploitation of the African population, is placed fully at the disposal of the most reactionary racist ideas.

18. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is deeply appreciative of the untiring efforts pursued by the United Nations in the struggle against the infamous practices of the South African racists. It was, after all, in the United Nations that, apart from well-known, systematically exposed and permanently condemned exceptions, the entire international community united in declaring *apartheid* a crime against humanity. We are convinced that the United Nations provides the most suitable platform from which mankind can wage an implacable struggle on a world-wide scale against *apartheid* and racial oppression until final victory. We are firmly convinced that, notwithstanding the difficulties, complexities and long-term nature of our joint struggle, despite the obstacles ever and again artificially erected by darkest reaction and despite new manoeuvres by the Pretoria racists and their protectors, the United Nations will see the day when it will be noted with joy here that *apartheid* and all its accompanying phenomena have been definitively eliminated; that the racial discrimination practised by the South African leaders as one of the most debasing and cruellest forms of capitalist and colonial exploitation has been wiped off the face of the earth, and that it has been finally eradicated and its very roots have been destroyed once and for all. We are bound by our convictions, by the fundamental and ever valid principles of the Charter of the United Nations, by the decisions that we have adopted and by our common responsibility to future generations to strive for and to achieve that objective.

19. The position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on this issue is well known. Today, just as in the past, we denounce racist policies. Czechoslovakia has discontinued its political, economic, cultural and all other relations with the South African régime, severed all contacts with South Africa and continuously and consistently pursued a policy of boycotting South Africa. In keeping with the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], adopted by the General Assembly in 1971, we reject

attempts to describe the policy of *apartheid* as an internal affair of South Africa. We hold the view that violations of approved sanctions against South Africa constitute hostile acts against the United Nations. We denounce the Government of South Africa for its continuing and escalating acts of aggression committed against neighbouring independent States and we protest the fact that the Territory of Namibia, which continues to be unlawfully occupied by South Africa, is being misused for those operations.

20. In accordance with the principles and basic guidelines of Czechoslovak foreign policy and the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, we are fully aware of our duty to fight against both the substance and the manifestations of South African policies and to strive for the removal of this stain from the face of our planet.

21. Also, in future the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will uncompromisingly and rigorously promote all steps and measures by the United Nations, and its bodies as well as other organizations, that will hasten the fall of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in South Africa. We fully associate ourselves with the just demands of the overwhelming majority of the States of the world for expanded measures against the racist Pretoria Government, in particular with regard to the halting of capital investments and all credits and loans, and the imposition of a total embargo on oil exports to South Africa, as well as other measures taken to that end in the political, economic and military spheres and, last but not least, in the nuclear field. Czechoslovakia is of the view that the current situation in southern Africa calls for the application of sanctions against South Africa to their full extent, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

22. We fully share the view that the policies of South Africa represent a threat to international peace and security. This position of ours has been fully confirmed by South Africa's endeavours to acquire nuclear arms for its armed forces, threatening the security of the entire region.

23. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will therefore continue to give its full support to the national liberation struggle of all the peoples in southern Africa. Through the Czechoslovak governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as through international organizations, we shall continue also in the future to provide political and moral support and material assistance to national liberation movements, including participation in the training of their cadres.

24. Notwithstanding all the efforts by the Organization and the entire progressive world community, the system based in all its aspects on monstrous racist principles, the system condemning the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population to the role of modern slaves, still exists. As noted in *The Economist* of 21 June 1980, some 2,000 laws and ordinances have been adopted to build up that system, including 353 special parliamentary decrees relating to the African population, which, understandably, had no part in their adoption.

25. According to the *U.S. News and World Report* of 9 June 1980, some 300,000 Africans are goaled every year simply for breaking the so-called laws controlling the movement of population. The reason why

that system persists is that world-wide efforts to eliminate it encounter furious resistance by the representatives of South Africa's white minority, as well as, and above all, the negative, reluctant, compromising and, in the final result, totally reactionary attitudes of the Governments of a few leading Western countries. The monopolistic circles of those countries continue their co-operation with the Botha Government with a view to the further consolidation of that Government and the use of the whole of southern Africa, all aspects of its policy, all its natural resources, for their global political objectives, for their economic, military and strategic interests. It is only thanks to the all-round assistance of transnational monopoly corporations that South Africa has been able to build up a huge industrial and military potential, which poses a permanent threat to peace. According to data published in the *Strategic Review* of the Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria, September 1979, the budgetary expenditures of the Pretoria régime for armaments have increased 10 times in the course of the last 10 years.

26. Although declarations condemning the *apartheid* régime and the occupation of Namibia by South Africa are abundant in the West, it is the leading Western countries that strive to perpetuate the current state of affairs in the region of southern Africa. They keep consolidating and strengthening all the elements of the Pretoria régime, with special attention to military and police forces. They continue advantageous economic co-operation and are taking maximum advantage of the fact that, in substance, the fate of the racist Pretoria régime is dependent on their support.

27. The white minority, the National Party and its internal allies would by themselves no longer be able to maintain their power in the face of the resistance by the African majority, the national liberation organizations and the world democratic forces. The changing relationship of forces in the world and the growing internal forces striving to eliminate racism give rise to ever more furious and more aggressive South African policies. The deteriorating internal as well as external conditions for the continuation of the *apartheid* régime are the reason for the failure of the so-called bantustanization and the creation of new, so-called more democratic, statutory norms.

28. The racist leaders are not letting up in their desperate efforts to preserve their privileges. They never retreat; they only change their tactics. They try to temporize, to compensate for the increasing political setbacks, to suppress the upsurge of the national liberation struggle and its social driving force, with a view to solving the problem of southern Africa on a neo-colonialist basis. Racism is determined to defend its positions at any price. The ideas of the ruling racist régime were very clearly described in an interview granted by Prime Minister Botha to *Time Magazine* at the end of last year, when he declared that any attempt to liquidate the existing régime would be nipped in the bud and that all forces that could be mobilized would be used for that purpose.

29. That is why our task, the task of all United Nations bodies, other international organizations and the entire world community, is to increase the pressure in order to compel South Africa and those who

extend their help to it to respect United Nations decisions which provide a good basis for the complete liberation of the southern African peoples. That position, which was recently confirmed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, is also Czechoslovakia's position.

30. The Czechoslovak delegation wishes to point out that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is ready to support every United Nations measure that will contribute to the achievement of the goals that have been set, that will accelerate the fall of South African racism and *apartheid* and that will bring liberty to the southern part of the African continent.

31. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): It is our profound conviction that the question of the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa, which has chronically appeared on the agenda of the United Nations over the last 34 years, in certainly one of the most important and tragic issues with which the international community is confronted. The question is important because what is at stake is the dignity and prestige of mankind and the moral values of the contemporary international community, as well as the violation of basic human rights, also enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The question is of an urgent nature also because a determined response from the whole of the international community can no longer be delayed. The issue has, furthermore, an added dimension this year, for the recent accession to independence of Zimbabwe is a fresh, a new reminder to the régime in South Africa that the tide of history towards majority rule is irreversible.

32. Moreover, the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly also coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The record of the United Nations over the last 20 years in this regard speaks for itself. This factor should, if nothing else, provide another important reminder to the Government of South Africa of the forcefulness of the process of decolonization.

33. The Turkish Government has always viewed with great concern the inhuman and institutionalized policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the Pretoria régime. We have time and again joined other delegations in various bodies of this Organization in voicing our fears that, unless this abominable policy is completely abandoned, a violent racial confrontation endangering peace and security in southern Africa as a whole will be unavoidable.

34. In fact, our fears have always been justified by subsequent events. In spite of continual appeals and demands by the international community, the South African Government has remained stubbornly and defiantly undeterred. It has continued to resort to massive repression, persecution and torture against the opponents of *apartheid* and the indigenous population of South Africa through the enactment of new and arbitrary legislation such as the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act. It has banned numerous organizations and imposed new restrictions on the press. The various races have continued to be artificially separated by a network of legislation which has denied the vast majority its basic human rights

and the protection of the rule of law. The Pretoria régime has continually uprooted large numbers of people from their homes and has compelled many others to live against their will in so-called homelands, often referred to as bantustans. Moreover, through recourse to unjust social, economic and administrative practices, continuous bitterness and strife have been created, causing in the process grave damage to the social and political fabric of that society. Leaders and eminent people of all races in South Africa have seen the danger which these racial policies have created for the country's unity and welfare. They have in various ways expressed their opposition to the current trend of events and have demanded peaceful change. Unfortunately, the message they have attempted to convey has not been duly received. On the contrary, they have been imprisoned, placed under restrictive order or taken into police custody. In spite of this repression, the opposition of the majority is becoming more and more pronounced and widespread. New groups have joined hands with demonstrating students and workers. At present we see churchmen, teachers, lawyers, representatives of trade unions—in short, a larger sector of the public—joining the ranks of those who are willing to pay the price of the struggle for freedom in the prisons of the minority régime.

35. There are few issues on which there has been greater unanimity in the United Nations than the call upon South Africa to abandon *apartheid* and to release its political prisoners. Earlier this year, many prominent people and organizations in South Africa and throughout the world launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners so that they might participate fully in shaping the future of their country. These appeals have received wide support and have been endorsed by Governments and public opinion all over the world, with the exception of the régime in South Africa. Nelson Mandela and other prisoners are not the first, and neither will they be the last, unless the Pretoria régime comes to reason before it is too late and chooses a peaceful solution to this existing problem through a process of dialogue with the political leaders in South Africa representative of the country. The choice facing the leaders of the white minority in South Africa is clear-cut: either they accept radical changes in the near future or they try to survive amid growing antagonism and increased violence in complete isolation—the latter alternative of course being doomed to failure sooner or later.

36. It might be appropriate at this stage to make brief mention of some of the changes that seem to have been introduced by the South African Government over the last two years with a view, so to speak, of ameliorating the situation of the indigenous population. However, these limited measures do not go beyond the purposes of propaganda about bringing economic stability and liberalization to the public, and they certainly fall short of reflecting the will of the majority of the population and thus of dismantling the evils of the system.

37. Furthermore, the implications of South Africa's policy of *apartheid* have not remained confined to South Africa alone, but have always overflowed its boundaries. During the year under review, South

Africa has continued its occupation of Namibia as well as its acts of aggression against such neighbouring front-line countries as Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique, causing not only great human loss of human life and material damage, but also widening the area of conflict in southern Africa.

38. The experience of past years has clearly shown that political pressure exerted through negotiations, dialogue and action taken within the framework of the United Nations has not proved to be effective enough to bring the Pretoria régime to reason. As time goes on, therefore, we become more and more convinced that it is only by the threat of concrete measures to be taken decisively by the international community against South Africa that the present distressing trend can be reversed.

39. In this connexion, we consider that Security Council resolution 418 (1977), imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, represents a landmark in the readiness of the international community to combine concrete action with political pressure against the Pretoria régime. We not only welcome Security Council resolution 473 (1980), which calls upon all States to implement resolution 418 (1977) strictly and scrupulously, as well as to enact appropriate and effective national legislation for that purpose, in a new effort to secure full implementation of the arms embargo by making it more comprehensive; we also should like to reiterate the conviction we expressed from this rostrum last year:¹ that the arms embargo should be complemented by further measures, such as economic sanctions to be adopted individually or collectively. The defiant attitude of South Africa so far makes it quite clear that pressure on that régime must be increased. Here, I should like to associate myself with the most pertinent remarks made yesterday by Mr. Thunborg of Sweden [58th meeting], to the effect that putting an end to foreign investments and financial loans to South Africa, imposing an oil embargo against that country and putting limitations on air traffic to South Africa could be some of the measures to be envisaged within the framework of economic sanctions to be taken against his minority régime with a view to adversely affecting its economy and productive capacity, as well as to isolating it further from the rest of the international community.

40. We feel that it is high time for the Security Council to assume its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and to adopt the necessary economic sanctions in this regard to complement the existing arms embargo.

41. Furthermore, in view of South Africa's ability to produce nuclear weapons and the necessary means of delivery, as is also mentioned in the recently issued report of the Secretary-General² on South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field, and taking into account the great threat such a development may pose for the peace and security of southern Africa in

particular and the world in general, great responsibility falls on those countries indulging in nuclear co-operation with the Pretoria régime to end that co-operation and in the meantime to see to it that effective and proper safeguards are adopted to prevent irreversible tragedies.

42. It is the conviction of the Turkish delegation that, along with the concrete action to be taken against South Africa, the momentum created in the mobilization against *apartheid* at national and international levels during the International Anti-Apartheid Year should be continued to assist the South African people in achieving the speedy elimination of *apartheid* and the liberation of their country.

43. I should like to seize this opportunity to commend the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the members of the Secretariat for carrying out their responsible task of keeping public opinion fully aware of developments in South Africa as well as implementing extensive programmes of mobilization of international action against *apartheid* most diligently and faithfully under the able leadership of Mr. Clark of Nigeria.

44. The Turkish Government's attitude vis-à-vis the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa is clear-cut. As is well known, Turkey does not entertain any kind of relations with the Pretoria régime, whether diplomatic or consular on in the economic, military or commercial fields. Turkey is pleased to contribute, although in modest terms, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*, as a sign of its solidarity with these people.

45. I should like to conclude by reiterating my Government's belief that unless there is a rapid and positive evolution in South Africa the opportunity for a peaceful solution will totally vanish. The Turkish delegation will continue to lend its full support to all measures designed to bring to an end the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and to support all efforts with a view to promoting a new society in South Africa based on majority rule, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, in an atmosphere of pessimism, the General Assembly is considering the question of *apartheid*. This tragic issue, which constitutes one of the major examples of defiance of the authority, dignity and prestige of the Organization, is unfolding in a climate fraught with uncertainty and threat.

47. We have studied with interest the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22], and I should like on behalf of my delegation to join those who have preceded me in paying a tribute to all the members of the Special Committee and to its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, for the serious attitude which they brought to their task.

48. Our appreciation of the objectivity, the quality and the precision of the report is matched only by our revulsion at the course of events in South Africa.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 59th meeting, para. 139.

² *South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.10).

49. According to the report of the Secretary-General on the activities of our Organization, the position continues to deteriorate. He says:

“... the general concern over the system of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa has been heightened in recent months by increasing tensions and violent incidents in South Africa... the world community's concern will continue and grow as long as the manifest injustices of *apartheid* persist” [see A/35/1, sect. III].

50. The racist authorities of Pretoria have not only once again ignored the resolutions of the United Nations and defied the pressure of international opinion, which has condemned *apartheid*, but, worse still, continue to intensify their inhuman policies, every day further strengthening their segregationist policy, thereby making life impossible for the indigenous population of more than 21 million. That policy is being intensified day by day and the Pretoria régime reveals with increasing frankness the hegemonistic intentions it has always harboured with regard to southern Africa.

51. *Apartheid* is not just a moral problem. It is also a political problem, because a white minority persists in its desire to perpetuate its domination over a black majority by applying shocking and unrealistic legislation. It is a problem that concerns the enjoyment by the majority of the right to exercise power. It is also an economic problem because the minority is resorting to force in order to appropriate and exploit the human and natural resources of the country. Finally, *apartheid* is a social problem because of the state of poverty in which black Africans in South Africa are confined.

52. We must, then, consider the question of *apartheid* in its true context—that of a colonial enclave based on racism, the use of brute force, recourse to aggression, exploitation; contempt for and hatred of the indigenous South African. Therefore, to reduce *apartheid* to a question of the violation of human rights would be to ignore the root of the evil.

53. The United Nations can only fulfil all its responsibilities if it determines to envisage and organize all its activities in terms of these principal ideas. We must once and for all admit that we shall only overcome *apartheid* through firm action and means best adapted to that action.

54. The recent events mentioned in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* have again drawn the international community's attention to the tragedy that is daily being played out in South Africa. They reveal the true intentions of the racist rulers in Pretoria and their determination to persist in the policy of *apartheid*. They remind those who continue to hope for some kind of change in their attitude that it is futile to continue to harbour such illusions. Finally, they are part of the implacable logic inherent in the *apartheid* system, which can survive only through repression and aggression. Wherever one looks in that region of Africa, absolute injustice holds sway.

55. New laws which tend to strengthen racial segregation are being promulgated. New repressive measures to punish the adversaries of *apartheid* are being taken. Military measures and police repression are

being strengthened. New arms are being produced and strategic material is being imported.

56. The report of the Special Committee abounds in examples of humiliation, injustice, coercion, terror and police repression, all of which has been raised to the level of a vast system of racial discrimination. Those examples give us an idea of the scope of the misfortune which is suffocating the South African people.

57. The arrogance with which South Africa is defying the United Nations and world public opinion has been amply demonstrated by the various reports of the Special Committee. This attitude of defiance can be explained by the political, economic and military support generously lent to South Africa by its allies. The report of the Special Committee has confirmed that the Western Powers—those which by virtue of the Charter are responsible for the maintenance of peace and security—are South Africa's major partners. How, in such circumstances, can we hope to achieve even the smallest degree of progress in stamping out that evil, and what real meaning can be given to the resolutions on *apartheid* which have been adopted by our Organization?

58. Even more serious is the fact that those countries do nothing to discourage or prevent the sale of arms to South Africa. They lend Pretoria substantial military assistance and continue to help it to produce and develop its own armaments. It is astonishing that the European countries do not realize, or perhaps do not wish to realize, that the support they give the South African racist régime only encourages it in its pursuit of its policy of discrimination, repression and expansion.

59. Pretoria is being somewhat naive if it thinks that through its policy of domination it can contain the liberation struggle of the South African people. Today we are witnessing an extraordinary awakening of a national consciousness which is determined to keep world public opinion constantly on the alert and in a state of continuous concern until *apartheid*, that affront to our most sacred values, is totally eradicated. This is a case of an entire people which has been subjugated and humiliated, and which has risen up in defence of its dignity. It will stop at no sacrifice in order to seize its inalienable rights. No force, however powerful it may be, can halt its inexorable march to freedom or stifle its legitimate quest for the establishment of justice and equality.

60. Dignity, freedom and respect are gaining ground. Like most colonized peoples, the South Africans, in spite of provocations, arrests, persecution and suffering, will carry their liberation struggle to a successful conclusion under the leadership of their liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], because they derive unlimited resources from the popular will and because the liberation process they have unleashed can only lead to full enjoyment of their legitimate rights.

61. The intensification of the struggle and the victories which have already been won should make Pretoria understand that the South African problem can be solved only within the framework of some kind of settlement achieved with the full and direct

participation of the liberation movements. Indeed, a settlement is not and could not be conceivable without them.

62. The time has now come for Pretoria to face facts and to understand that it is more than useless to wish to impose through collective repression, widespread terror and humiliation a policy of discrimination which has been condemned by all.

63. This year, as in past years, our debate could again end, after eloquent statements and lively exchanges, with several resolutions which many will vote for, with or without enthusiasm, but which will change nothing regarding the situation in South Africa. And yet, it depends only from us whether this year our debate will constitute an exception and mark a new point of departure for our Organization.

64. In a few weeks we shall celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Let us see to it that this anniversary corresponds to a new strategy against the forces of racial oppression in South Africa. If we wish to spare our Organization further failures, we must seriously study ways other than those which have been explored thus far. Our actions and our attitude could be decisive for the future of our South African brothers. In order to act, let us transcend our differences and become aware of our solidarity.

65. In its recommendations, which we fully support, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has outlined the most appropriate way for the United Nations and the international community to promote the attainment of justice and equality in South Africa.

66. There has been unanimity thus far as to our duty to lend all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the urgent need to make world public opinion aware of the multifaceted nature and seriousness of the racist practices of the white minority vis-à-vis the South African people. Defections have been occurring in the United Nations, however, on the question of the need for a meeting of the Security Council to consider the question of *apartheid* and the timeliness of measures such as the strengthening of the embargo and economic sanctions against Pretoria. We urge Pretoria's partners to undertake a new evaluation of the situation, and we remind them that it is dangerous to sacrifice the cause of world peace and international morality to immediate interests which can only be considered transitory.

67. All efforts at moral suasion having failed for many years, the only effective means of changing the situation would be the application of total economic sanctions and the strengthening of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. In the face of many violations, States have been called upon to take all concrete measures to fill the gaps and close any loopholes in the arms embargo.

68. Furthermore, the Tunisian delegation believes that total economic sanctions are politically timely, economically feasible and legally justified. And in order to be effective, the sanctions must be total and must be complied with by all States.

69. It is high time that the Security Council discharged its responsibilities as defined in the Charter

and finally contemplated effective measures for the serious implementation of sanctions against the racist Government of Pretoria. Such a decision would be in keeping with the concerns of freedom-loving States and the legitimate aspirations of the African majority in South Africa, which sees in this one of the most effective ways of freeing itself from the yoke of colonial domination. The failure of all efforts which have been attempted thus far should lead the Security Council to face up to its responsibilities and prevent a general conflagration, which will not be long in coming if we do not take the necessary measures. This is the only way which remains open. That form of action is all the more urgent because it is the only way of stopping the racists in their headlong advance.

70. Any measures which the Security Council might be called upon to take should have the total and unreserved support of all the Member States, and in particular of South Africa's partners. The latter should put an end to their present policies, which are only aggravating an already explosive situation. We urgently appeal to them to rise above the futile and invidious philosophy of immediate gain.

71. We think that in the interest of international peace and security the Security Council should not hesitate, in the face of Pretoria's arrogance, to have recourse to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and adopt the mandatory sanctions that the situation prevailing in South Africa amply justifies and that offer the only means of ensuring a peaceful settlement of the question of *apartheid*.

72. In conclusion, my delegation would like to reaffirm its complete solidarity with the South African people in the noble struggle they are waging under the leadership of the ANC, and to assure them that Tunisia will continue to give that struggle its total support until a democratic multiracial régime is installed in South Africa.

73. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): The problems of *apartheid*, the system of institutionalized and official racial domination in the Republic of South Africa, has been a priority item on the agenda of the General Assembly for many years. It gives me no satisfaction to predict that it is certain to continue to be an issue of increasing concern to the United Nations and to the international community in the years to come. Our nations, collectively and individually, will be obliged to speak out on the issues raised by the practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. We shall be obliged to do so because such practices are inconsistent with the principles of the Charter, which demand universal respect for human rights, human freedom and human dignity. We shall be obliged to do so because such practices can have serious consequences for international peace and security.

74. But the question on which the future of South Africa hinges is whether the Government and the talented people of that country are prepared to confront the stark realities of their situation and to make the stark choices that will determine whether their future is one of peace, prosperity and racial harmony or one of racial dissension, violence and upheaval.

75. This has been a year of heightened turbulence and turmoil in South Africa. It has been a year that

has witnessed a massive student boycott of South Africa's segregated schools, a boycott which paralysed the educational system for months. We have seen during the past year a growing consciousness on the part of the so-called Coloured community of South Africa, and an increasing identification of their own aspirations to justice and dignity with those of their fellow citizens who compose the black majority. We have also witnessed a growing cohesion within the black community as increasingly outspoken black leaders seek common ground from which to pursue their demands for equal rights and equal justice.

76. The response of the South African authorities to those developments has thus far been one of confusion and vacillation. On the one hand we have seen the familiar and always futile resort to repressive measures in an attempt to stem the mounting pressures for change, as occurred this summer when hundreds of boycotting students and their supporters within both the white and the non-white communities were detained. At the same time, we have seen with increasing frequency the frank admissions by leading South African citizens that the policy of separate economic development, as most clearly embodied in the so-called homelands policy, has failed. Increasingly, whites are joining blacks in questioning the grand *apartheid* scheme. Government leaders and policy-makers, confronted with the growing evidence of the failure of the *apartheid* system, appear to be seeking some new alternative, as is clearly evidenced by the plethora of new constitutional schemes being floated and discussed.

77. I do not believe that we can ignore the ferment now taking place within South Africa, nor should we ignore the commitments to change, even if sometimes delayed or rhetorical, made by South African Government officials, or the changes that have been instituted during the past year. Clearly, there exists a greater debate among South Africans today. Clearly, there is an effort to administer *apartheid* with greater finesse.

78. We should not denigrate the importance of those changes or of the evidence that sensitivity is greater today. Indeed, we applaud those changes. But neither should we delude ourselves about their true significance. It would be a serious mistake to interpret this growing recognition of the need for change as a sign that the Government and the white community have made a commitment to the fundamental structural changes that will be required in South African society. For we have yet to see full political participation on the part of the majority of South African citizens in the government of their country. We have yet to see all South African citizens participate in the decisions even with regard to those changes which are at present taking place.

79. The Republic of South Africa is today at a crucial juncture in its history: it must choose one of two paths in dealing with the legitimate demands of the majority of its people. One is the path of peaceful arrival at that political consensus which provides the basis for peaceful and democratic government among differing groups. The other is the path of further resistance to change.

80. One need not search far for examples to recognize that the path of resistance, the failure to promote peaceful change to agreed goals at a sensitive pace, will lead in the near term only to violence and an increasingly polarized society. In the end, such resistance will not smother the desire of all South Africa's people to enjoy their full civil, political and human rights. When we consider the example of Zimbabwe, we can only look back with sorrow at the number of lives and the many years that were lost in the struggle between those who opposed the inevitable and those who were convinced of it. The situation in Zimbabwe has shown that negotiation can bring about far-reaching yet orderly change, and that a peaceful, albeit difficult, transition can be achieved where the people as a whole recognized that it is in their interest to do so.

81. I do not mean to imply that the specific solution for Zimbabwe is the solution for South Africa. We are all aware of the considerable differences between the two countries and of the unique character of the situation in South Africa. My Government has made a point of not proposing any specific blueprint for a settlement in South Africa. Indeed, we have stressed that such a design is for the people of South Africa—all the people of South Africa—to develop jointly. I believe, however, that the tragic years of warfare in Zimbabwe and the fragile process of reconciliation that is now under way in that society offer both a warning of the dangers of resistance to change and the hope that a peaceful settlement in South Africa can yet be achieved.

82. The future of South Africa depends on the direction now to be taken by the people and Government of South Africa in eliminating the policy of *apartheid* and on the realization by all its citizens of equal rights, including equal political rights, and a full and free voice in the determination of their destiny.

83. I am convinced that no progress will be made in South Africa until all South Africans, whatever their race, come together and find that level of accommodation that will provide the basis for a just and representative Government. Here, too, the South African authorities appear to be making a tentative beginning by seeking to establish a new national forum within which discussions of the country's future might take place. But they must know that these efforts will remain suspect in the eyes of both black South Africans and the international community so long as certain segments of the population are excluded and so long as the agenda excludes any discussion of the fundamental and far-reaching changes that must be undertaken if a just and equitable political and social order is to be established.

84. I strongly urge the South African Government to provide a signal of its readiness to begin a genuine dialogue with all its people. Such a signal could be made convincing through a variety of actions designed to correct injustices of the past and establish faith in the future: an unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to *apartheid*; an end to violence against peaceful demonstrators against *apartheid*, and against those in detention, including political prisoners; abrogation of the bans on political parties and organizations opposed to *apartheid*; termination of all

political trials; and the provision of equal educational opportunities to all South Africans as a major step towards the eradication of *apartheid* at its source.

85. Such actions would not only provide evidence of South Africa's own good faith in preparing to develop a representative Government but would also release from imprisonment, detention, restriction or exile political leaders whose participation would be most important in any effort to reach a successful accommodation.

86. Change will come to South Africa and it can come either because of the decisions of the South African Government or in spite of them. It will take a strong and confident South African Government to recognize the inevitability of change and to work for such change rather than against it.

87. Now, particularly in the light of some recent events, there are those who believe that political or economic developments outside South Africa will somehow ease the predicament which South Africa faces, that new faces will be more accommodating than old. Such hopes are founded on a false premise. The South African Government and people should know that their problems come from within, not from without. No nation can with honour closely associate itself with South Africa so long as *apartheid* continues. That isolation which has progressively enveloped South Africa since the founding of the United Nations will inevitably continue, no matter what new faces there are.

88. As long as there is *apartheid* in South Africa, there will be frustration, denied aspirations and violence. The longer *apartheid* remains, the greater the frustration and the more widespread the violence. I am a firm believer in peaceful change and in the ability of such change to resolve even the most intractable of problems. I believe that the situation in South Africa can be resolved peacefully, provided that South Africa is so inclined. We urge South Africa to seize this opportunity to set fundamental change in motion to bring about the elimination of *apartheid*. We are concerned that if more time passes the opportunity may be lost, and perhaps the prophetic words of Alan Paton will come true. Members will remember the lines in *Cry, The Beloved Country* when he quotes Msimangu, who had no hate for any man but had great fear that "one day when they turn to loving they will find that we are turned to hating".

89. Finally, I believe it is important to address the question of what role and what responsibility this body, and the international community more generally must play in this developing situation.

90. The Government of the United States has joined other members of the international community in condemning the *apartheid* system in South Africa. We have joined other members of the Security Council in imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, and we have gone beyond the requirements of that resolution by imposing even stricter measures in our own national legislation and regulations to halt the flow of arms and related equipment to South Africa. We felt these steps were necessary to underscore our firm opposition to *apartheid*.

91. But I believe, as we look to the future, that we and other members of the international community

must find ways to demonstrate a positive attitude as well, by offering our encouragement and our good offices as the mediators and facilitators of change. This course is certain to be long and difficult, certain to be fraught with frustration. But, if we are genuinely committed to the possibility of peaceful change in South Africa and to the emergence of a society where there is racial justice and equality that fully benefits all of the people, it is a course which must be taken.

92. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since the very beginning of the work of the United Nations, the item on the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa has each year been on the agenda of the Assembly and of the Security Council.

93. This perseverance bears witness to our dedication to the principles of the United Nations, but also to resistance to the practical application of those principles. For those of us who struggle against racial discrimination, this debate represents the renewal of a commitment and, for those who have chosen the path of complicity, the reiteration of a condemnation.

94. As the number of independent nations increases there is a growing international will to put an end to discriminatory practices. Thanks to the momentum of liberation movements in Africa, the determination of South African majorities to achieve racial equality has been strengthened. None the less, there has been a concurrent increase in the economic and political power of the Pretoria Government, through a network of clear, although disguised, alliances.

95. My delegation has already made an appeal in the United Nations Council for Namibia for the total demystification of this vital issue. South Africa is not only the incarnation of reprehensible forms of oppression and disdain for the human being but also reflects an over-all balance of power which is contrary to our principles.

96. The persistence of a way of life bordering on slavery is only a seeming anachronism. Such systems survive because there are still forces that place their own economic and strategic interests before respect for the most basic human rights. Hence South Africa is the most arrogant bastion of the colonialist mentality, against whose manifestations we fight in all forums in order to establish a new international economic order and more just relations among peoples.

97. Unfortunately, the *apartheid* régime is not only a remnant of the past but also a symbol of the present. While it perpetuates ancient forms of exploitation, it also inspires the struggles which are being waged this very moment, at different levels, by the developing countries, as well as the obdurate resistance that meets those struggles.

98. The global and complex character of the question of South Africa emerges clearly from the fact that it has proved impossible to apply the arms embargo decreed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). On the one hand, the international community formally upholds a key decision. On the other, some members of that very community, using a strange double standard, let that decision be violated and its objectives be frustrated.

99. The Mexican delegation joined others in the Security Council is asking the Committee entrusted with studying the implementation of the embargo to recommend measures aimed at closing all the gaps and loop-holes that have rendered the embargo inoperative. The relevant report³ sets forth the obstacles in the path of an effective embargo, which have made possible a network of international co-operation, thanks to which the South African régime today enjoys a formidable and sophisticated military industry.

100. Nuclear collaboration with South Africa is another regrettable example of the foregoing. For so many countries, such as mine, which have assumed serious political obligations concerning the use of nuclear energy, it is disheartening that South Africa, whose international reliability is non-existent, is receiving more intensive co-operation in these fields than any of our own States, with the serious consequences that that entails for the peace and security of the world.

101. During recent months South Africa has promoted a policy of apparent change, aimed at domestic coercion and at the deceiving of international public opinion. To that end, it has enlisted the support of a large number of foreign corporations, some of which have adopted so-called industrial codes of conduct. The purpose of those codes is to soothe consciences and to offer justification to investors who benefit from a system of racial exploitation.

102. To use the words of the African National Congress of South Africa: "At the heart of the policy [of *apartheid*]... lie the true objectives...—the maximization of profits and the maintenance of the material and human resources of the country for super-exploitation by local and transnational corporations." In other words we have here a cynical version of the economic links that in many cases characterize the neo-colonial economic system.

103. This is the thirty-fourth year we have been studying this question in the United Nations. The Mexican delegation wishes to reiterate its unswerving opposition to and rejection of the South African régime, for what it is and for what it symbolizes. We likewise reaffirm the decision of our Government not to sell crude oil or its derivatives to South Africa and to support any measure—if necessary, those which are contained in Chapter VII of the Charter—in order to isolate South Africa economically and politically.

104. We also express the hope that we may convert our commitment into effective action, so that among all nations, among all people of goodwill, we shall be able to meet this challenge, the greatest challenge to the moral authority of the United Nations.

105. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Luxembourg, who will speak on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community.

106. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout the annual debate on *apartheid* in this body the international community has demonstrated its unanimous rejection of the system

of segregation and racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa. The nine States members of the European Community, for their part, have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned that system.

107. The nine States members of the European Community are aware of the many political, economic and human aspects of *apartheid* and they earnestly deplore its evil effects. The *apartheid* régime, based on racial segregation, discrimination, exploitation and repression, imposes enormous sacrifices on the majority of the South African population in order to ensure political and economic domination by a minority. For us, this system constitutes an insult to the dignity of man and a violation of the concept of personal freedom.

108. *Apartheid* is all the more to be condemned in that it is an institutionalized form of the denial of basic human rights. In this respect, it cannot be reconciled with the principles which constitute the very basis of the societies of our countries. It represents a direct challenge to the principles and purposes of our Organization.

109. The cycle of violence engendered by *apartheid* has on many occasions aroused deep feelings throughout the world. The most recent examples of this have been the strikes and demonstrations in recent months and the repression that followed. This situation causes us serious concern.

110. These are the considerations which, as we see it, should guide the General Assembly in its consideration of the problem under discussion.

111. I shall now give the views of the members of the European Community on the various aspects of *apartheid*.

112. The nine members are actively pursuing the objective of a fundamental change through peaceful means, in the system of racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa. They could not be satisfied with simple modifications. We have noted that certain measures have been adopted or announced by the South African authorities in order to modify certain aspects of the legislation on *apartheid*. The nine members hope that this indicates a new awareness on the part of the South African authorities and the beginning of the abandonment of *apartheid*. If that is the case, this could be a step in the right direction. It should be made clear that in our view the entire system of *apartheid* must be eliminated and must give way to a Government based on truly representative democracy. The Community Members feel that all the means in their power, and especially the existing means of communication, should be used to this end.

113. In the same spirit, the nine European countries condemn the policy of creating bantustans practised by the South African Government and demand that this be ended. They have not recognized any of those artificial territories.

114. At the same time as we condemn the legislation on *apartheid*, we denounce the application of racist laws by what are often arbitrary and brutal means. The frequency of political trials and the number of political prisoners in South Africa bear witness to the systematic and merciless oppression of those who are

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14179.

trying to build a just and equitable society. In this regard, we reiterate our demand that the South African Government free immediately and unconditionally all those imprisoned because of their political beliefs.

115. The nine members of the European Community are concerned about the special forms of discrimination practised against black workers in South Africa. They welcome in this regard the encouraging initial results of the implementation by European companies of the Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa, adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine Countries of the European Community at Brussels in 1977.⁴ They have no doubt that progress can still be achieved in defining and applying this tool. The nine members will intensify their pressures to promote peaceful change. They will continue to consider ways and means that they might use in common in order to influence the South African Government.

116. The United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*. The nine member States share this over-all objective of our Organization. In particular, they strictly observe the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

117. The nine European countries adhere strictly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and reject any form of *apartheid* in sports. While respecting the independence of private organizations and the basic right of people to travel freely, the Governments of the nine Community members will continue resolutely to discourage sports contacts which involve racial discrimination.

118. The States neighbouring South Africa have for some time been making efforts to reduce their dependence on that country. We are encouraged by these initiatives designed to strengthen regional co-ordination and self-sufficiency in the economic sphere. The nine countries will consider during the conference to be held at Maputo at the end of this month the manner in which they can join in this very important initiative.

119. Furthermore, the Community is continuing to make contributions to the United Nations Funds and to private non-governmental organizations whose objective is to help South Africans who have been forced to abandon their homes.

120. In conclusion, the nine members reiterate their condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and their conviction that it is doomed. If the Government of South Africa continues to oppose the establishment of a society based on equality and justice without distinction as to colour or race, the prospects for a peaceful evolution in that country will disappear. The nine members hope that the South African Government will respond without further delay to the expectations of the international community.

121. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARKOULI (Cyprus): Once again the question of the racial policies of *apartheid* practised by the South African régime has come up for consideration before the General Assembly. For more than three decades now the United Nations has been struggling persistently for the eradication of

the doctrine and practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, but oppression of the black majority in South Africa has not yet ceased. On the contrary, it has increased and continues to constitute one of the most burning and humiliating issues of our time.

122. The inhuman policy of oppression, exploitation and discrimination that the Pretoria régime exercises over millions of black South Africans, whose main fault is that of not having been born white, remains unchanged. It has even been aggravated in a way that seems to reflect, on the part of the South African régime, complete disregard of and insensitivity to the increasing opposition of its innocent victims and the strong and unanimous condemnation of the international community. The racist régime of South Africa continues to thrive and flourish and the dignity and most fundamental rights and freedoms of the Africans of that country continue to be grossly violated.

123. The Charter of the United Nations is based on the dignity of all human beings and seeks, among other basic objectives, to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. It has by now been accepted that any doctrine or theory of racial differentiation or racial superiority is intrinsically false and has also been shown by history to be morally condemnable and to have at all times led to considerable social injustice and wars culminating in human destruction and extinction.

124. The racist régime in South Africa has formulated the philosophy and has institutionalized the doctrine that black people are inferior and has denied them their most fundamental rights and freedoms, imposing on them living conditions calculated to result in isolating and segregating them and preventing them from participation in the political, social and cultural life of their country. Because the fundamental characteristic of the system of *apartheid* is that its whole structure, be it legal, political or economic, is based on racial discrimination, inequality and injustice, it has been confronted over the years with the strong condemnation and abhorrence of the nations of the world that identify themselves with the oppressed people in their relentless struggle to rid South Africa of racism, oppression, exploitation and plunder. That is because the cause of human dignity, of man's fundamental rights, is a common responsibility that we must all, in whatever country, of whatever colour, of whatever religion, assume.

125. To this increasing international condemnation and indignation the South African régime shamefully responds by continuing to adopt more repressive measures. This year's report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22] provides substantive information concerning the increased repression by the South African régime of the opponents of its system. The work of the Special Committee is extremely commendable and we should like, at this point, to express here our sincere appreciation to the Special Committee for its tireless efforts to review all aspects of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa and their international repercussions and to promote the widest possible dissemination of information on the crimes

⁴ See A/32/267, annex.

of *apartheid* and the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

126. The memories of the Soweto massacre and the student uprising of 1976 and 1977, in which thousands of schoolchildren were killed, injured and arrested, remain burning and inextinguishable. As revealed in the report of the Special Committee, the past year has been characterized by a new, growing level of national resistance against *apartheid*. Mass demonstrations of black students, protesting against persisting racial discrimination and oppression in education, have been subjected to cruel repression. Black workers' strikes for a living wage and trade union rights have been suppressed by mass arrests of trade unionists. Thousands of political prisoners and detainees suffer inhuman torture and maltreatment. While trying to deceive the world into believing that it favours the so-called reforms that would lessen racial oppression, the South African régime enacts more repressive legislation based on the policy of *apartheid* and designed to safeguard and perpetuate white domination over the vast majority, the blacks.

127. The Cyprus delegation strongly condemns all these repressive measures, which not only mean that the South African régime is turning its back completely on world opinion, but also show real defiance of the international community. Most tragically, they open the way to the entire elimination of the shabby vestiges of freedom and the hope for a peaceful solution, thereby bringing nearer and nearer the inevitable possibility of violent resistance and racial confrontation. It is therefore imperative for all nations to intensify their actions to promote isolation of the South African régime and liberation of the black majority, thereby averting a wider conflict. The United Nations has the prime and solemn responsibility to see that its fundamental objectives and purposes are not challenged and that its basic principles are not grossly violated. That is imperative not solely because of the intrinsic justice and principles involved but, most importantly, because the continuing militarization and the nuclear capabilities of South Africa constitute a grave threat to international peace in the African continent and the world as a whole.

128. United Nations resolutions have repeatedly called for specific measures to be taken by Member States, including the termination of economic, military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The vast majority of States have taken concerted actions for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and have disengaged themselves from all sorts of economic and other ties with the *apartheid* régime. Yet, as we unfortunately see from the recent reports of the Special Committee, certain States continue to put economic and other considerations above principles and professed beliefs, above the mere requirements of conscience, and continue to maintain substantial economic relations with South Africa. All nations have a special obligation to humanity at large to do their utmost to implement the United Nations resolutions and exert the strongest possible pressure on South Africa to force it to accede to the just demands of the black majority.

129. Cyprus for its part has no relations whatsoever with South Africa, having since its independence imposed trade, economic and other sanctions against

South Africa and prohibited any air or sea communications with it. We do not maintain in any diplomatic, consular, cultural, sports or other relations whatsoever with it. Moreover, within our limited potentialities, we are regularly contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and other United Nations Funds for South Africa. We are a small developing country with our own financial difficulties, which have considerably increased since the well-known 1974 events, but we are fully committed to the principle of racial and ethnic equality in every country. We stand firmly and whole-heartedly by the oppressed people of South Africa and we are ready to support, as we have unflinchingly done over the years, any initiatives of the United Nations that would facilitate and pave the way for the eradication of racial discrimination in South Africa.

130. The Cyprus Government strongly condemns the policy of bantustanization, under which the South African régime intends to crowd 70 per cent of its population into 13.5 per cent of its territory by announcing the so-called independence of the bantustans, which are designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of *apartheid*, perpetuate white-minority domination and dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights. The forcible uprooting of people and their mass transfer to other areas, in order to alter the structure of a country and produce its artificial dismemberment, violate the country's territorial integrity and the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people.

131. South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination constitutes one of the darkest pages of our time. It has become urgent—indeed imperative—that concerted efforts for the total eradication of the policy of *apartheid* be increased, especially by supplementing the arms embargo by comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is also essential that the struggle for freedom and self-determination be intensified. The example of Zimbabwe is encouraging and lights the way for the struggling and oppressed people of South Africa. History has shown that the struggles of peoples that fight for a just cause, for their freedom and human dignity, always lead, however long it takes, to their liberation. The march of history is never reversed and the struggle of people against *apartheid*, oppression and injustice will inevitably succeed.

132. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): There is hardly any other issue in international relations with respect to which the international community has achieved a higher degree of agreement that it has on the rejection of *apartheid* and the need for its elimination, as a system that degrades human dignity and threatens international peace and security. There is virtual unanimity that *apartheid* is a crime against mankind, a crime which regrettably remains unpunished.

133. However, since it has not been resolved, the question of *apartheid* is once again on the agenda of the General Assembly. To make matters even worse, the efforts being exerted to solve it are far from being commensurate with the objectives to be attained.

134. At the very moment that we are again considering this question, the racist minority régime in South Africa is continuing to defy the United Nations and international public opinion by persisting in its policy of oppression at home and its policy of aggression abroad. Arrests, torture, persecution and all other forms of degradation of the human person have become and everyday occurrence in the life of that State, reminding us of the Nazi régimes in Europe between the two world wars. Bloody clashes with the people, such as those in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Soweto in 1976, are becoming ever more frequent. And now, in 1980, it is innocent children, students, women and old people who are increasingly becoming the victims of police terror. At the same time, the racist régime in its futile agony is striving to internationalize its conflict with the oppressed people of South Africa and to postpone its own inevitable collapse. To this end, acts of aggression and terror against neighbouring Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique have become an everyday practice. It is evident that the Pretoria militarists expect to intimidate the neighbouring countries and to undermine their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and its liberation struggle.

Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe), Vice-President, took the Chair.

135. Once again, as on many occasions in the past, it has been proved that when it is not possible for a people to attain independence by peaceful means, it has to take up arms. The growing resistance of the people of South Africa is a case in point. It is becoming ever more obvious that there comes a time of ever sharper clashes between the ruling minority and the oppressed majority, when the latter demands that its inalienable rights, which are guaranteed to every people under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be recognized. Simultaneously with the growth of that resistance, the people will also gain strength from the support of the international community for their liberation struggle. But his solidarity should be stronger, more comprehensive and more concrete. That is our obligation to an oppressed people, and its fulfilment is our contribution to the elimination of a focal point of crisis that is becoming more acute and global every day.

136. Instead of drawing the obvious conclusions regarding the absolute necessity of changing the existing situation, the racist South African régime, like every other system based on coercion, is endeavouring by maintaining a reign of terror to crush the resistance of the people and to preserve its own vital positions and the interests of the ruling minority.

137. Following Soweto and Sharpeville, the victims of South African terror are increasingly becoming a symbol of the liberation struggle. The historical myths concerning the absolute masters of the fate of that people have been dispelled. The struggle of the people of South Africa has become part of the general struggle for liberation from foreign domination. The belief that the amorphous mass will remain a victim of privilege and interest in the race for profits is proving every day to be an illusion by which even its proponents can no longer be deluded.

138. The system of *apartheid*, based on inequality "from the cradle to the grave" in all domains of political, economic and social life will suffer the fate of all oppressive systems.

139. The racist authorities in Pretoria will not be able to avoid this even by applying the policy of bantustanization with which they are trying to hoodwink the world by establishing so-called independent States. The actual aim of this policy is to disrupt national unity, to prevent the forming of a national consciousness and to secure a source of cheap labour.

140. The racist régime is trying to extend the system of bantustans to illegally occupied Namibia, where it is endeavouring to perpetuate the exploitation of the natural resources of that international territory by giving power to a puppet régime. At this very moment we are witnessing an attempt by South Africa to sabotage the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia by, among other things, making the absurd demand that the United Nations desist from supporting the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

141. Regrettably, that policy and those practices of the racist minority régime still enjoy the direct or indirect support and assistance of various forces. It is unacceptable, in our view, that even in official circles in some countries a tolerant stand is adopted concerning *apartheid*, giving preference to the economic interests of transnational corporations or to strategic considerations in the context of extra-regional confrontation.

142. The resolutions of the General Assembly have been calling upon Member States for a number of years to boycott and isolate South Africa and thus compel it to renounce its policy of *apartheid*. These resolutions urge the cessation of all co-operation with the racist régime in the political, military, economic and cultural spheres and in the field of sports. In spite of this, according to the comprehensive report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, 38 States Members of the United Nations have diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa, while some countries also maintain close and active economic relations with that country. Hundreds of transnational corporations operate in South Africa. They assist in the over-all development of the South African economy. There is also close co-operation with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields, and the oil embargo imposed by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the arms embargo based on the decision taken by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) are ignored, circumvented or tacitly violated. We note with regret that co-operation continues in the fields of sport and culture. All this gives cause for concern and impels us to suspect, and even to conclude, that the declarations and public condemnations of the policy of *apartheid* that are heard at United Nations meetings are not conducive to effective action aimed at eliminating that remnant of racism from international life as the lowest form of deformation of the human conscience.

143. At the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979,

which was devoted entirely to the problems of southern Africa, as well as at all of their conferences, the non-aligned countries pledged themselves to lend not only all-round moral and political support but also material assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa—ANC and PAC—which are recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. Such support and assistance are, in addition to United Nations actions in the diplomatic and political spheres, the best way to bring about the rapid eradication of the system of *apartheid* and the liberation of the South African people from a system of exploitation and discrimination that has been legalized by that country's constitution and that poses a threat to regional and universal peace and security.

144. Consistent with its own nature and in accordance with its non-aligned policy and the positions on *apartheid* taken by the non-aligned countries since their first summit meeting—the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961—Yugoslavia, within the limits of its capabilities, has been giving all-out support and assistance to the struggle of the people of South Africa. We maintain close and friendly relations with the liberation movements of South Africa.

145. Within the framework of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations and at other international conferences, Yugoslavia has always called for broad international support for the struggle against *apartheid* and it is ready to support all measures and actions taken by the United Nations and the Security Council with a view to eradicating definitively from the soil of South Africa *apartheid*, racism, racial discrimination and colonialism, as sources of aggression and instability and as threats to peace. In our opinion, such measures should be mandatory in character, based on Chapter VII of the Charter. In taking this position we are convinced that we are contributing to the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the establishment of peace and the strengthening of the independence of the countries in that region, and that we are preventing it from becoming an arena for the rivalry of Powers in their quest for spheres of interest.

146. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): On 28 November 1975 the General Assembly proclaimed that “the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements” [see resolution 3411 C (XXX)].

147. Faithful to its commitments, the General Assembly year after year assesses the situation in South Africa with a view to adopting further measures aimed at eliminating *apartheid* and establishing a democratic society based on justice and equality.

148. Since its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly and the international community have witnessed important events in southern Africa. No doubt the most remarkable element is the victory of the people of Zimbabwe, which acceded to independence in April last. The triumph of the Patriotic Front is both an encouragement to the liberation struggle of the South African people and a resounding failure for the policy of hegemony and colonial and racist expan-

sion of the South African Government. The active solidarity of the front-line African States with the people of South Africa is another challenge to the Pretoria policy.

149. The situation in southern Africa is fundamental in the determination of peoples to free themselves from colonial and racist domination. In South Africa, the world has witnessed the heroic resistance of the South African people to the oppression of the Pretoria authorities. The Burundi delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to that valiant people, whose progress on the path towards freedom commands the admiration of us all. In fact, in spite of the policy of barbaric repression of the racist South African Government, the South African people stood as one man against the *apartheid* régime. In this connexion suffice it to mention the demonstrations against that inhumane policy that have taken place, such as the national uprising of black students against racial discrimination in education, and the unprecedented strikes of black workers demanding a minimum living wage and recognition of their trade union rights. The boycotts of buses, the rent strikes organized by African groups, and the national campaign for the liberation of the great patriot Nelson Mandela and the release of all political prisoners are all part of the fight of the South African people against the tyranny of the Pretoria authorities.

150. The Burundi delegation wishes to commend the progress of the armed struggle in South Africa, the main targets of which are South African police posts and the industrial installations that are strategic in the survival of that régime, which has been outcast by mankind, such as oil-from-coal processing plants and the weapons industry.

151. Within the framework of that over-all struggle, we cannot overlook the resistance of churches, members of the clergy and other forces of progress, which today is more visible than ever before in South Africa.

152. In the face of that heroic resistance the South African régime has stifled the voice of reason. In fact, instead of benefiting from the lesson taught by the liberation of African peoples and other peoples of the world, the Pretoria régime has chosen the course of violence. Not satisfied with the massacres it ordered against the peaceful demonstrators of Sharpeville and Soweto, the South African racist régime has once again massacred children, students, mothers, workers and other adversaries of *apartheid*. It has just promulgated new repressive laws in order to deprive the South African people of its basic rights and to muzzle the press which is not an accomplice to its ignominious acts.

153. In its policy of escalating violence and aggression not only against the people of South Africa but also against the peoples of the region, the racist South African régime has, one the one hand, ordered the torture of innocent persons and the passing of the death sentences in South Africa and Namibia, and, on the other hand, launched frequent attacks against Angola and Zambia, causing enormous material and human losses. The forces of aggression occupied vast zones of those sovereign States for long periods. The South African régime has also hatched subversive

plots against the Governments of Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

154. The international community has been deeply concerned by those heinous acts of the Pretoria régime. The Security Council, the body which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, has had those grave acts, which constitute a threat to international peace and security, brought before it.

155. In its resolution 473 (1980), the Security Council strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation and for its massive repression against the opponents of *apartheid*. It called upon the South African Government urgently to end violence against the African population, to end repression and to eliminate *apartheid*. That important body of the United Nations also called urgently upon the racist régime to release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders with whom it must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country.

156. We would also recall resolutions 454 (1979) and 475 (1980) of the Security Council, which condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, and resolution 466 (1980) which condemned its aggression against the Republic of Zambia.

157. Of course, as usual, the South African régime, knowing that it can always count on a negative vote in the Security Council and sure, therefore, that it can escape the effect of any binding measures that the Council might adopt against States that do not comply with its decisions, has not in any way responded to those resolutions.

158. In the face of the South African régime's constant defiance of the South African people, the states of the region and the international community, our Organization has no alternative but to take effective measures to prevent the outbreak of a catastrophic conflict in that part of the world.

159. Most of the speakers who have spoken at this rostrum have quite rightly underlined the danger that the South African régime poses for mankind. Yet some delegations believe that the time has not yet come for the international community to adopt measures of pressure and constraint against South Africa. Those who defend that thesis do not lack for arguments. Some blithely evoke non-violence; in other words, they propose that the South African people use only peaceful means to obtain their freedom. It goes without saying that this approach deliberately disregards the prevailing situation in South Africa.

160. The South African people has been compelled to take up arms to struggle against its oppressor, which has at its disposal the most sophisticated of military means. Let us say from the start that there can be no comparison between the means of defence available to the South African people and the modern weaponry, consisting of tanks and combat planes, available to the South African army of oppression.

161. Let us recall that the advocates of non-violence themselves unleashed a merciless war against the Nazi régime whose philosophy corresponded to that of *apartheid*, since both are based on the concept of racial superiority.

162. At this stage in our debate we should like to recall to those who defend the idea of peaceful means that the measures recommended by the General Assembly under Chapter VII of the Charter are basically peaceful in nature. In fact, they involve an arms embargo against South Africa, an end to nuclear collaboration with South Africa, an oil embargo against South Africa, an end to investments in South Africa and to the granting of loans to that country, measures against *apartheid* in sports and the application of economic sanctions against South Africa.

163. The question I wish to pose is what credence we can accord to the statements made by those delegations, when they oppose the adoption by the Security Council and the General Assembly of those basically peaceful measures.

164. Other delegations are opposed to those measures on the basis of the argument that foreign investment improves the lot of the South African majority. In this respect, I should like to recall that the South African people, represented by its national liberation movement, is in favour of the adoption of those measures against South Africa. Let me also refer to the declaration adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-fifth ordinary session, held at Freetown from 18 to 22 June 1980. In essence, the Council of Ministers considers that foreign investments and bank loans help to bolster the *apartheid* régime and encourage its intransigence and defiance of world public opinion. More specifically, the Council of Ministers considers that the so-called fair employment measures such as the Code of the European Community and the Sullivan Principles are harmful to the liberation struggle, regardless of the argument that such measures are purported to be designed to create a possible constructive role for foreign investment in South Africa [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I].

165. That declaration was, unfortunately, confirmed by the acts of a certain number of transnational corporations in South Africa that refuse to recognize the rights of black workers' unions and have engaged in whole sale discharges of black workers in reprisal for their recent strikes. It is a secret to no one that those transnational corporations actively participate in the production of weaponry and in the organization of the forces of aggression in South Africa.

166. In the light of all of this and in view of the intransigence of South Africa, the delegation of Burundi fully supports the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22, chap. III]. We wish to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in general and to its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, in particular, for the remarkable work which has been accomplished during his term of office.

167. In connexion with the specific recommendations which the Committee has brought to the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, my delegation would like to urge that the following measures be taken.

168. First, I shall speak of the arms embargo against South Africa. In its resolution 418 (1977) the Security Council decreed a binding arms embargo against

South Africa. Unfortunately, in violation of that resolution, South Africa has been able to acquire a powerful system of artillery and missiles. This was possible only through the complicity of certain Member States and transnational corporations. Here we should like to appeal to all Governments to comply with the provisions of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the arms embargo against South Africa.

169. Secondly, I turn to the question of putting an end to nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The international community is aware of the serious danger posed by the acquisition of the nuclear weapon by South Africa. It is therefore essential that an end be put to all collaboration in that field. The possession of nuclear weapons by that country constitutes a grave danger to mankind in general and to the people of South Africa and the States of the region in particular. We hope that IAEA will suspend all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field.

170. Thirdly, with regard to the oil embargo, the delegation of Burundi shares the view of the Special Committee that

“The acts of violence by the racist régime against the people of South Africa and Namibia, and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States, are only possible because of its ability to fuel its machinery for repression and war. The supply of oil and oil products to South Africa is, in effect, collusion with that régime in its crimes.” [A/35/22, para. 341.]

171. In this connexion, we wish to pay a tribute to the Governments that have adopted measures in respect of the arms embargo against South Africa and also to condemn the secret arrangements concluded by certain transnational oil corporations and oil transport companies to provide South Africa with oil and oil products by means of illegal deliveries from those countries that prohibit the export of their oil to South Africa and as part of the so-called barter arrangement. It goes without saying that that embargo can be effective only if two conditions have been met, First, the Security Council should decree that binding embargo at the earliest possible moment, and secondly, an end must be put to all co-operation or collaboration with South Africa in the field of coal-based oil production.

172. Fourthly, on the question of stopping investments in South Africa and the granting of loans to that country, the Burundi delegation unreservedly supports the recommendations of the Special Committee. However, the Security Council's reluctance to take decisions prohibiting investments in South Africa and the granting of loans to the *apartheid* régime is regrettable. Taking advantage of that omission, some Western countries and many transnational corporations make sizable investments and loans to the South African régime. For example, new plants for converting coal into oil represent an investment of more than \$6 billion, according to the report of the Special Committee. According to the same report, a 120 million marks bond issue, as part of a government loan, is to be placed on the market by a number of major European banks. The Finance Minister of the racist South African régime has said that the new issue is a mark of the confidence shown in South Africa by foreign countries.

173. Fifthly, in the matter of measures against *apartheid* in sports, the Burundi delegation believes that the isolation of South Africa in the field of sports will have a considerable impact on the white population in South Africa. That is why we support all sports organizations that have refused to take part in any sports competition with the representatives of the South African régime.

174. The Burundi delegation believes that the time has come to take every possible step aimed at the total isolation of South Africa. My country, Burundi, which fully supports the ideals of the Charter, has enacted legislation prohibiting any form of link with South Africa.

175. Thus, the Burundi Government refuses to grant any landing or transit rights to aircraft arriving from or proceeding to South Africa. These measures have been dictated by the Burundi people's policy of solidarity with the brother people of South Africa, to whom, on behalf of my Government, I express our wishes for further victories in its struggle for justice and equality.

176. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): In his statement on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community, the representative of Luxembourg voiced our common abhorrence of the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. The Netherlands Government fully subscribes to that statement and has repeatedly condemned that form of racial segregation and discrimination.

177. *Apartheid* arouses sharp indignation in my country and that is why my Government attaches the highest priority to its elimination. We reject *apartheid* because it constitutes a denial of the fundamental equality of man. The exploitation of the black majority, which is barred from attaining equality in the political, economic and social fields, must be rejected. We are opposed to the concept of separate development on a racial basis as being contrary to justice and to our moral convictions.

178. Blacks in South Africa are denied the most basic political rights. Thus, it is thought by the South African Government that the future for the South African society should be found in denying the black majority its rightful citizenship and relegating it to the impoverished outer fringes of the country. This practice of deportation to the so-called homelands causes untold suffering to human beings. Their future is hopeless in those areas with no economic viability. Black unemployment testifies to that and constitutes a growing political menace to South African society as a whole.

179. The situation for the urban blacks in just as precarious. The harassment of those people, who are constantly reminded that they are strangers in their own country, is an insult to human dignity. To be sure, recent steps have been taken by the South African Government to soften the influx-control and grant the right of permanent settlement for certain categories of urban blacks. Moreover, steps have been announced that would mitigate the hated pass-law system. Although we, of course, welcome any alleviation of the burden of the black population, the fact remains that only a minority has thus far benefited

therefrom. The others continue to be denied work, a home and even the right to live with their family.

180. There is no indication that the bantustan policy is being abandoned. On the contrary, one hears that one of those artificial creations, the Ciskei, is to become independent. Let there be no illusions: the international community will again withhold recognition, as was the case with the three other homelands that became independent.

181. Thus, when considering these fundamental aspects of the *apartheid* system, the Netherlands Government is forced to conclude that changes thus far have only been of marginal importance, considering the fundamental and urgent reforms that are necessary. We do not wish to prescribe how the South African society is to be organized. But violations of human rights, in the political, economic and social fields, wherever they take place, are matters of rightful concern to the international community.

182. The black majority is not allowed a say in matters pertaining to their constitutional future. We have noted the creation of the President's Council, but blacks are not represented in that body. Freedom of political expression and meaningful participation in government are therefore kept outside their reach. This adds to the frustrations caused by discrimination in the economic fields, where blacks suffer from unequal wage policies, lack of training and of opportunities for employment.

183. The strikes of the past year in major branches of South Africa's industry point to the growing awareness of the non-white population that their living and working conditions are degrading. Ever since the Soweto uprisings, which resulted in the killing of hundreds of students, complaints have been voiced by non-white students about unequal treatment and the consequent lack of chances in future life. Those grievances have repeatedly been met with force, which was severely condemned by the international community.

184. Repression also characterizes the way in which the authorities treat dissidents in South Africa. Opposition is stifled, and resort is frequently taken to political trials, arbitrary arrests, bannings and other forms of repression. The withdrawal, earlier this year, of the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, is indicative of that practice. It shows that South Africa's concept of justice and democracy is alien to the one generally accepted in the world. We call for the immediate release of the political prisoners in that country.

185. That is *apartheid* as we see it: it stands out in a tragic way since its racism is entrenched in the law of South Africa. And it is neither dead nor dying as some seem to believe. It has, however, no chance to survive. We hope and expect that the future will belong to those who believe in a truly multiracial society based on equality and on a South Africa in which everybody will be allowed to participate in shaping the country's destiny.

186. None the less, the Netherlands Government does not wish to turn a blind eye to efforts from within South Africa towards meaningful change. Those

efforts hold out the best hopes for abolishing *apartheid* and for peaceful transition to a truly multiracial society.

187. But the Netherlands will continue to apply pressure on the South African Government. In doing so, we will act, first of all, through the United Nations, because we believe that the different organs of the Organization have an important role to play in bringing about the abolition of *apartheid*. In this context, my Government strictly adheres to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa decided upon by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977). To be sure, the sale of arms to South Africa had already been prohibited in the Netherlands on a voluntary basis long before that decision.

188. With respect to the reputed nuclear capability of South Africa, I should like to draw attention to the recent report of the Secretary-General on this subject, entitled *South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field*. As for my own country, no nuclear exports to South Africa have taken place or will take place. My Government calls once more on South Africa to become party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] or, as a minimum, to accept full-scope safeguards.

189. In case fundamental changes in South Africa's racial policies do not come about, and the prospects for a peaceful solution of the problems of that society remain illusory, my Government is convinced that increased international pressure will become unavoidable.

190. We are prepared to support selective economic sanctions—notably on the supply of oil. However, my Government considers that these measures must be effective in furthering our aims. In other words, enforcement measures should either be decided upon by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, or be initiated by a sufficient and relevant number of countries that are in a position to exert meaningful pressure on South Africa.

191. Together with our partners in the European Community, we have adopted a Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa. We believe that these firms, by following a progressive and non-discriminatory policy with regard to wages and employment, can make a valuable contribution to the process of social change in South Africa.

192. I now want to say a few words on steps taken by my own country. We continue to withhold medium-term and long-term credit guarantees to South Africa. We have furthermore decided to expedite the denunciation of the cultural agreement with South Africa. Together with our BENELUX partners, we are in the process of taking the necessary legal steps to give effect to our common decision to impose visa requirements for South African nationals visiting our countries.

193. The Netherlands wishes to manifest its solidarity with the victims of *apartheid* and their families. We therefore contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa—both of

which organizations are dedicated to relief for the persecuted and arbitrarily detained. My Government also provides humanitarian and educational aid to the South African anti-*apartheid* movements, ANC and PAC.

194. Finally, I would draw the attention of the Assembly to the following considerations. The Netherlands Government views the problem of *apartheid* in the broader regional context of southern Africa. We have welcomed the emergence of the sovereign State of Zimbabwe. But the system of *apartheid* in South Africa and the unlawful occupation of Namibia remain sources of tension and a threat to peace and stability in the region. Their persistence has a destabilizing effect on the economic development of peripheral States as well. Conversely, we are convinced that positive changes which occur in the neighbourhood and which satisfy aspirations to equal rights and human dignity, in the long run, cannot fail to make themselves felt in South Africa, thus promoting increasingly effective pressures from within.

195. My Government therefore has pledged substantial financial, technical and expert aid to States neighbouring on South Africa. At the forthcoming conference to be held at Maputo, the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs intends to examine ways to contribute to the southern African States' objective of mutual co-operation and increased self-reliance. We urge other States to associate themselves with this important endeavour.

196. The aim of economic independence from South Africa is, of course, of particular relevance to further measures that might be taken against South Africa. My Government is consulting with other Governments about the possibility of concerted action, including economic measures, to bring about peaceful change in South Africa. But we cannot overlook the detrimental effects of measures on the economies of South Africa's neighbours. It is for this reason that the special aid programme of the Government of my country must not be viewed in isolation, but as a necessary complement to a policy aimed at peaceful change in South Africa and early independence for Namibia, the realization of which all of us in this Assembly must strive for.

197. Mr. MUNSOOR (Sri Lanka): Let me thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, for the exhaustive documentation they have provided the General Assembly for its consideration of this item.

198. Sri Lanka speaks late in this debate and there are a number of other speakers yet to be heard. The statements made by the several speakers may appear repetitive. It may be said that this same story has been told year in and year out in this forum and elsewhere, but both the sentiments and the number of speakers are evidence enough of the international community's concern and support for the struggle of the people of South Africa against the inhumanity and injustice of the system of *apartheid*. Few agenda items before the General Assembly have aroused as much interest as this item. Equally, on very few items has there been such overwhelming agreement or consensus, as reflected in United Nations resolutions. However, there are certain nuances or shades of emphasis in the

approaches taken by different delegations to the process of eliminating *apartheid*, even though the essence of the debate is that *apartheid* as a system is to be universally condemned as morally unconscionable and politically unjust.

199. The South African economy has flourished partly because of the abundance of that country's resources. It is equally clear, as the Special Committee has indicated, that the *apartheid* régime could not so flourish in isolation. In the military field, the full implementation and reinforcement of the arms embargo against the régime is particularly vital.

200. Violations of the embargo are clearly taking place and a highly ominous trend is reflected in the repeated reports of nuclear collaboration by various foreign groups with the régime. Despite all the retaliation by the *apartheid* régime, including acts of aggression against neighbouring States, the liberation struggle in neighbouring Zimbabwe has culminated in a heroic victory for the people of that country. The fading away of the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia has shaken the so-called stability of the South African régime and will have its own impact on the future of the *apartheid* system.

201. Despite its façade of prosperity, military superiority and defence impregnability, the régime in South Africa appears to have taken cognizance of the inevitable. The level of political consciousness in South Africa has advanced. Nation-wide uprisings are held back only by brutal suppression and by the repressive acts of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and the Department of National Security (DONS). Agitation by student groups, church groups, trade unions, minority groups, traders and businessmen is being clearly linked to the over-all nation-wide rejection of *apartheid* and the desire for a democratic, non-racist society.

202. The national liberation struggle is no longer confined to sporadic activity but has developed into a genuine national movement, which cannot be held back indefinitely by armed might. The tide of an entire people cannot be held back by force of arms even though the *apartheid* army is now, as reported recently by the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, "on a war footing for the first time in the confrontation".

203. In this inexorable process, what role is played by the international community, by the United Nations? The report of the Special Committee reviews the action taken by the international community against *apartheid*: attempts to isolate the régime, to implement sanctions effectively, to close loop-holes in the arms embargo, to halt investment and to halt nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and the mobilization of international conscience against *apartheid* by meetings, protests, the observation of days of solidarity, and so on.

204. All these steps can help to hasten the day when the South African people will rid themselves of the system of *apartheid*. The international community must, however, continue to advance not only by words but by action the efforts of the South African people. Plaintive calls to go slow should not be directed to the international community by those who are apprehensive of drastic changes in the *status quo* in South Africa. It is of little value for the interna-

tional community at this time to arbitrate on questions of the pace or speed of the dismantling of *apartheid*, while the whole of South Africa could erupt in political flames. Rather, the international community must firmly and in unison tell the South African régime that it must reconcile itself to reality. It is, for the Assembly, more than a moral responsibility, which must be taken up by all of us. It is a challenge, and failure to respond to it would be disastrous for all.

205. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is an accepted fact that *apartheid* has today become one of the most dangerous challenges faced by the international community, for *apartheid* is a backward ideology, the result of an imperialist mentality that is linked to the myth of racial superiority created by Western imperialism in the countries under its domination. Today we still find peoples groaning under the domination of the systems of *apartheid* and struggling for the right to self-determination and independence and to rid themselves of the racist régimes that have imposed on them the cruellest sort of oppression and injustice. Our duty, now more than ever before, is to support the struggles of those peoples against the racist régimes and the dangers they represent, not only for them but also for all the peoples of the world in their common struggle against such régimes.

206. That is what is being experienced by the peoples of South Africa at the hands of the junta of the Pretoria régime, and by the Arab Palestinian peoples under the Zionist occupation régime.

207. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has presented its reports [A/35/22 and Add.1-3], and I should like on this occasion to extend my thanks to the Committee and to its Chairman, Mr. Clark, for their valuable efforts to secure the implementation of United Nations resolutions designed to confront the challenge of the racist régime in South Africa.

208. We have noted from the report that the efforts of the United Nations to implement the resolutions adopted by the international community against *apartheid* have met with counter-efforts by some Western States, and particularly by the United States of America and its multinational corporations and by the Zionist entity, in order seriously to dilute the effect of those resolutions and to circumvent the blockade imposed on the racist régime in South Africa, in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

209. For instance we note that Security Council resolution 181 (1963) called upon all States to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. Later that year the Security Council broadened its embargo. Moreover, the Security Council and the General Assembly have repeatedly expressed their concern over South Africa's growing military build-up and the Council adopted resolution 418 (1977). That resolution called on all States to further prohibit contractual and licensing agreements relating to the production, sale and maintenance of arms, ammunition, military equipment and vehicles. States were called upon also to refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons.

210. In spite of these strong resolutions the determination of some Western nations, headed by the United States of America and the Zionist entity, to persist in their co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa in the military field is still apparent. The co-operation between the racist Zionist entity and the racist régime in South Africa in the nuclear field has led to the test explosion of a nuclear device in September last year off the coastline of South Africa, as has been corroborated by various scientific sources. The dangers which threaten Africa and the world at large as a result of the acquisition by the two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel of nuclear weapons are clear to all, particularly since those two racist régimes have not signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Co-operation in the nuclear field serves the ambitions of the two parties and their expansionist aims. The provision of military support to the racist régime in South Africa will give it further strength and power against the liberation movements of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and will also encourage it to carry out further aggression against neighbouring African States, particularly when we consider that the racist régime in South Africa has begun to increase its military expenditure considerably, up to a figure of \$2 billion.

211. In addition to the foregoing, the General Assembly has asked all countries, in several resolutions, to cease commercial exchanges with the racist régime in South Africa. However, we notice that the rate of trade has increased and some Western countries, particularly South Africa's main trading partners, are not adhering to the resolutions of the United Nations in that respect; in fact, exactly the opposite has taken place: they have stepped up their co-operation with that system and further co-operation is taking place in the fields of investment, loans, oil supply, monetary affairs and transport, in addition to the maintenance of diplomatic, cultural, educational and sporting relations with the racist régime in South Africa. That co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa goes against the interests of the peoples of South Africa and is in direct contradiction to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It provides that system with the means of continuing its existence by providing it with economic, industrial and financial support. Furthermore the multinational companies co-operate with that system in building up a military arsenal which will allow the racist régime to become entrenched, strengthen it against the national liberation movements and transform it into a base for aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

212. I should like to point to the Political Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, where it is stated that:

“The Conference expressed its serious concern over and resolutely condemned the continuing economic, military and nuclear collaboration of the imperialist Powers... with the racist régime of South Africa. It stressed that this co-operation had not only facilitated the establishment and consolidation of the *apartheid* régime's repressive and oppressive apparatus but also increased Pretoria's war potential, including its plans for nuclear devel-

opment, which constitute a threat to the South African people, independent neighbouring States and international peace and security.”⁵

213. My delegation strongly rejects the idea which calls for the non-application of the sanctions laid down in the Charter of the United Nations on the pretext that that could threaten international peace and security. It is the continuation of this policy of non-recognition of the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples that are still suffering under racist and imperialist domination which is what constitutes the real threat to international peace and security. The co-operation and support provided to the racist régime in South Africa and to the Zionist entity by some countries are also a threat to international peace and security and encourage those racist régimes to continue applying imperialist and racist policies. Co-operation with the racist régimes is in clear contravention of the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject and the resolutions of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held at Geneva in 1978,⁶ and which condemned zionism and its relationship with the racist régime in South Africa. Such co-operation also impedes the just heroic struggle waged by the people of South Africa in order to acquire their full freedom and sovereignty.

214. A firm basis for setting up sound and lasting international relations and upholding the principles of international peace and security is the recognition of the right to self-determination of the peoples that still suffer under racism and imperialism in any part of the world.

215. Iraq has affirmed the right of all oppressed and colonized peoples to self-determination. Iraq therefore strongly supports the struggle of the African people for independence and freedom and to overcome racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It also provides material and moral support to those peoples in their struggle for freedom, humanity and dignity. Iraq will stand by the side of all peoples that struggle in order to achieve their just rights.

216. The General Assembly has adopted the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. Iraq has ratified those instruments and would like to extend its welcome to the growing number of countries that have adhered to those instruments. We call upon the countries that have not yet ratified them to speed up the completion of the formalities for adherence to them so as to achieve the noble objectives they aim at.

217. In conclusion, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa who have made and are continuing to make enormous sacrifices in the face of the most brutal type of injustice and racial oppression; to the people of Namibia, led by their organization, SWAPO, in their struggle for freedom and independence; and to

the front-line African States for their militant attitude. We extend our full support to them in their struggle against racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

218. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations for many years now has been almost unanimous in taking decisions branding the disgraceful system and practice of *apartheid* as a crime against mankind and as the most monstrous form of gross massive violation of human rights. *Apartheid* constitutes the cruelest form of tyranny; it is an affront to the human conscience and a gross form of fediance of the peoples of the entire world as well as a threat to international peace and security.

219. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which fully supports this view of *apartheid* and which is deeply opposed to it as something extremely repugnant, would like to dwell on some of the main reasons for the resilience of that régime.

220. The racist South African régime enjoys the powerful backing of a number of imperialist Powers, whose collusion with the racists is the main reason for the existence of *apartheid* and for the growth of its aggressiveness. The conclusion that it is precisely Western imperialism, and mainly the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], that furnish the main prerequisite for and conditions of the maintenance of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism on the African continent, is recognized by the United Nations as an indisputable fact. The maintenance of southern Africa under the control of the racists and colonizers is necessary for imperialist elements in order to satisfy their selfish strategic interests. It is precisely for this reason that the NATO countries are continuing and intensifying their political, economic, military, nuclear and other collaboration with the Pretoria régime, the *apartheid* régime.

221. With the help and co-operation of a number of imperialist Western countries, the Republic of South Africa has been converted into a bastion in the war against the national liberation movements in Africa. The member countries of NATO arm the racist régime of Pretoria so that it can impede and oppose progress towards political and economic liberation in Africa and so that it can function as a spring-board for counter-revolution. The world is particularly concerned and apprehensive about the nuclear collaboration with South Africa, which constitutes a great danger to peace and security throughout the world.

222. In practice, this policy is carried out by means of close co-operation with the racist régime on the part of a number of transnational corporations and national monopolies of imperialist Powers. The transnational corporations, with their tremendous economic power, not only ensure for themselves tremendous profits at the expense of the black and coloured populations of South Africa, which are oppressed by their use as slave labour, but actually control the major natural resources of South Africa. It is precisely in this context that the role, the meaning, the machinery and the policies of the Western countries and the activities of their monopolies in South Africa become comprehensible and clear. The existence of *apartheid* and its resilience are ensured by imperialism by means of enormous investments.

⁵ A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 76

⁶ See *Report of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 14-25 August 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.XIV.2).

According to official data, the volume of capital investment by the United States and Western European countries in the economy of South Africa increased from 5.8 billion rand in 1970 to 22 billion rand in 1978—that is, almost fourfold.

223. The transnational corporations show particular interest in Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa. There are 24 major foreign corporations operating in Namibia.

224. The extension of this assistance and support to the racists is a violation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and is contrary to the demands of the international community for the cessation of co-operation with the *apartheid* régime.

225. In opposing the application of the sanctions provided for in the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa, the representatives of the imperialist Powers say a great deal to the effect that there can be observed in the actions of the racist régime some “positive” elements and “signs of improvement”. They refer to reforms allegedly being carried out by the Pretoria racists. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, of which the Ukrainian SSR had the honour of being a member, firmly rejects all these manoeuvres. *Apartheid* is such a vile criminal system that it cannot be changed for the better or improved. It must be destroyed.

226. The sole objective of the South African leaders’ policy of “window-dressing” *apartheid* is to rescue them from their present plight, which has become even worse since the victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the success of the Zimbabweans in winning independence for their country.

227. The racist rulers of South Africa are trying to reverse the course of history. While carrying out a policy of dressing up *apartheid*, they have been trying to increase overt military pressure on neighbouring countries and to conduct secret subversive activities there. South Africa today supports reactionary anti-Government gangs engaged in sabotage and subversion on the territory of Mozambique, and the mass media report that the South African racists are using mercenaries who fled Zimbabwe for the purpose of carrying on an undeclared war against the newly independent State. Money and weapons are being supplied by the South African authorities also to support the Angolan renegade Savimbi, and criminal attacks are being carried out on Angolan territory. And South African forces are continuing the illegal occupation of Namibia.

228. In an interview with the newspaper *Jornal de Angola*, the President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, declared that the present situation in Namibia is extremely explosive, owing to an intensification of repression by the South African racists and the physical destruction of SWAPO’s leaders and members by special commando units trained in South Africa. He also noted that the policy of procrastination and delay in the negotiations on Namibia is aimed at gaining time in order to allow for a change in United States policy in connexion with the advent of a new Administration.

229. However, this adventurist course, which is causing tragic suffering for the people of South Africa, is doomed to failure. The successes of the national

liberation movements in Africa and the triumph of the courageous people of Zimbabwe are inspiring the South African majority—oppressed, perhaps, but not broken—to struggle with even more determination against racism, *apartheid* and oppression and for freedom. The people of South Africa will inevitably carry out the sentence already passed by history on the régime of *apartheid* and racism, and can count on the full sympathy and support of the international community.

230. The Ukrainian delegation would like to draw attention to document A/35/22/Add.1, which convincingly shows that, because of the acts of sabotage by the racist régime, backed by the imperialist Powers, the important decisions of the Organization aimed at eliminating *apartheid* are not being successfully implemented. The best assistance the international community can give to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia is, first and foremost, to demand categorically that South Africa carry out the decisions of the United Nations and to continue to insist on this.

231. We feel that it is extremely important that at its thirty-fifth session the General Assembly take decisions categorically condemning States that are continuing to co-operate with South Africa and call upon all States to apply immediately the measures designed to put pressure on the Pretoria régime, including the measures prohibiting the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa and ending capital investment in that country.

232. The Ukrainian SSR delegation demands implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the embargo on arms supplies to the South African racists. It demands that this embargo be strictly observed. The criminal racist régime of Pretoria, which is brazenly ignoring the will of the United Nations, leaves the international community no alternative but to use coercive measures and to apply to South Africa the comprehensive sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We support the proposal that the Security Council take an appropriate decision in this area, as mentioned by many delegations, as we do the decision on the convening of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

233. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to declare its readiness to co-operate closely with all delegations interested in the adoption of effective and specific measures and decisions by the United Nations in order that the task of eliminating *apartheid* may be carried out speedily and effectively.

234. Mr. ISMAIL MANSOR (Malaysia): Over three decades have passed since the question of *apartheid* was first raised at the United Nations. Yearly, resolution after resolution has been adopted by the General Assembly condemning the policy of *apartheid* and urging an end to that obnoxious system. Yearly, Member States have been asked to co-operate by taking appropriate steps ranging from the severance of all forms of contact with South Africa to sanctions and embargoes against that State. The purpose has been to isolate the white minority régime in the territory from the international community and deny it any support, aid and co-operation which could strengthen the régime and its practice of *apartheid*.

235. Today, however, the illegal white minority régime in South Africa is as strong as ever an *apartheid*, far from crumbling, is in fact becoming more pervasive. That is so because several countries in a position to put pressure on South Africa have failed to take the necessary measures called for by the United Nations. That lack of political will on the part of the countries concerned has enabled the South African régime to pursue its *apartheid* policy in total disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

236. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22] outlines the various acts of repression carried out by the South African régime against the opponents of *apartheid*. These include indiscriminate arrests of students and trade-union leaders and the imposition of banning orders and severe prison sentences on freedom fighters. Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees and prisoners are common acts perpetrated by the South African police. World-wide demands for the release of Nelson Mandela, the black African leader, who has been languishing in the dreaded Robben Island prison for the past 16 years, have fallen on deaf ears.

237. Equally disturbing to my delegation are the reports of military collaboration between some States and the minority régime of South Africa. Such collaboration, in the form of new supplies of sophisticated military equipment, transfer of technology and investment in armament industries, constitutes a serious breach of the resolution on an arms embargo against South Africa. At the same time, the flow of foreign capital and investment for the economic development of South Africa is continuing in spite of repeated calls for an end to such co-operation. Together they have frustrated the efforts of the international community to pressure South Africa into abandoning its policy of discrimination and oppression. Those are clearly irresponsible actions against a people struggling for equality and justice.

238. My country has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid*, which discriminates among men on the basis of colour and suppresses the black majority in order to preserve the supremacy of the white minority in South Africa. Such a policy not only goes against the principle of human equality and dignity but represents a source of tension and conflict which threatens international peace and security. In denying the black people of South Africa their rights, their dignity and their rightful role in the life of their own country, the policy has engendered serious frustration and resentment among the overwhelmingly black part of the population. At the same time, it has encouraged them, and rightly so, to resort to all means available to them, including armed struggle, in order to free themselves from the shackles of *apartheid*. News of the increasing momentum of the anti-*apartheid* movement among the South African workers and students, and the black people in general, come as no surprise to the international community.

239. In the light of the repressive attitude of the white minority régime, the anti-*apartheid* movement in South Africa deserves our full support and encouragement. My delegation for its part wishes to reaffirm its whole-hearted support for the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*. We also wish to pay our warm tribute to all the leaders of the

liberation movement in South Africa for their dedication to and sacrifice for the worthy cause.

240. My country was amongst the first to break off all contacts and links with South Africa. There is a total ban on all trade and economic relations between Malaysia and South Africa and a complete prohibition on travel between the two countries. Malaysia is also one of the countries that took the lead in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. We shall continue with our policy of complete boycott against South Africa until the voice of the international community is heeded.

241. The key to the success of the struggle against *apartheid* by the people of South Africa lies in the international community's whole-hearted support for their cause. The world has acknowledged *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity and has determined that it should be eliminated. What is lacking, however, is the political will of many Members of our Organization. I wish to take this opportunity to urge those who still maintain military and economic relations with the minority régime in South Africa and those who continue to collaborate with it in whatever field to demonstrate their sense of responsibility and commitment by severing all relations with South Africa. As for the white minority régime, we would urge it to see the writing on the wall. Unless it changes its policy, that régime will be drowned in a tide of violence and bloodshed. We hope this may be averted by a peaceful transition towards equality and justice for all, irrespective of colour and creed.

242. Mr. RANGA (India): I consider it a great honour, as the representative of a country whose support for the struggle against racism and all kinds of domination is well known to the entire world, to be able to address the General Assembly on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

243. I consider myself particularly privileged today, in view of my close personal association with the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who was also the father of the crusade against the barbarous system of *apartheid*. As I stand before you today, vivid memories of my involvement in the struggle against imperialism and colonial domination led by this frail but iron-willed man come to my mind. Like me, there were hundreds of thousands of young men and women at that time who jumped into the fire and flames of the Indian freedom struggle at the beck and call of this great leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

244. As is well known, it was in South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi conceived, devised and perfected a unique non-violent weapon, *satyagraha*, for the liberation of the oppressed and for the freedom of his people. Almost the first thing Mahatma Gandhi sensed on arriving in South Africa as a shy young man of 24 was the oppressive atmosphere of racial snobbishness and discrimination prevailing in that country. Indians who had settled in large numbers in South Africa, a majority of whom were indentured labourers, were, along with black Africans, looked upon as mere beasts of burden by the white settlers and were subjected to all kinds of inhuman laws and regulations and social ostracism. Mahatma Gandhi's sense of social justice and humanism was quickly aroused by his personal experience of the indignities

to which his countrymen, as well as black Africans, were subjected. To begin with, he took upon himself the task of mobilizing the Indian community to fight against this inhuman social injustice. This was the beginning of a long and momentous struggle. The turning point came with the decision of the Natal Government to introduce a bill to disfranchise Indians. Mahatma Gandhi immediately understood the ominous implications of the bill and advised his compatriots to resist it by concerted action. He had gone to South Africa to act as a counsel in a lawsuit. But the destiny of humanity had a nobler mission for him. The developments in South Africa obliged him to extend his stay by 20 years, to invoke his latent spiritual resources and to turn misfortune into a creative spiritual force. It was this force which has come to energize and enrich the revolutionary urge of the submerged and suppressed masses of the world to strive for their human rights.

245. The struggle against racism and discrimination continued in one form or another, and the recognition of the justice of the cause expounded by Mahatma Gandhi also spread. Mahatma Gandhi foresaw that a showdown with the South African Government was sooner or later inevitable and knew from experience that no brute force, however diabolical, could quell the innate spirit of man ready to defy and willing to suffer. What he found he could do himself he set about to train others to do. Individual resistance could be expanded and organized into a collective mass struggle in the prosecution of a moral equivalent of war.

246. In 1907 there came an act requiring all Indians, men and women, to register and to submit to fingerprinting. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Indian community to refuse to submit to this indignity and to court imprisonment by defying the law. In 1908, he was arrested and other *satyagrahas* followed. He was arrested a second time in the same year. In 1909, he was arrested a third time. The *satyagraha* spread. At one time there were about 50,000 indentured labourers on strike and several thousand other Indians in jail. In this struggle, Mahatma Gandhi was ably aided by his wife Kasturba and his British associates, including Mr. Henry Polak. The Government tried repression and even shooting, and many lives were lost. In the end, as a biographer of Mahatma Gandhi put it:

“General Smuts did what every Government that ever opposed Gandhi had to do—he yielded.”

It was the first result of its kind. In January 1914, a provisional agreement was reached and the main Indian demands were conceded.

247. Although Mahatma Gandhi first took up the issue of racial discrimination because people of Indian origin were discriminated against in South Africa, in later years India's concern extended to all non-white races, with the South African Government adopting racial discrimination as an official policy, separating communities on the basis of race and denying them equal rights and privileges.

248. I may add that Mahatma Gandhi blessed the Colonial and Coloured People's Freedom Front, as well as the Pan-African Congress organized at the end of the Second World War by Lord Fenner Brockway, Jomo Kenyatta, George Padmore, Professor

A. G. Stock, Mr. Makonnen, the author Mr. Peter Abrahams and myself. He thus lent his support to our demand that the right of all Coloured and colonial peoples be recognized by the post-war world Powers.

249. The pioneering role of India found its historic recognition as part of the human rights movement when the United Nations began its consideration of racism in South Africa in 1946⁷ at the request of the Government of India. In October 1946, the General Assembly met for the second part of its first session. Here, India introduced the issue of the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa. During that session, the General Assembly, at India's insistence, adopted resolution 103 (I) in which it declared, *inter alia*, that “it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to... racial persecution and discrimination”. Momentous and revolutionary developments have since taken place in the world, and many nations, big and small, have come into their own after having thrown off the shackles of foreign domination.

250. Today as many as 154 nations belonging to all the continents of the world are playing their constructive roles as cherished Members of the United Nations. Zimbabwe is among the latest of those honoured countries to join the comity of free and independent nations. On behalf of my delegation I should like to pay our tribute to the heroic people of Zimbabwe for their outstanding achievement. My delegation would also like to place on record India's appreciation of the successful contribution made by the United Nations in the emergence of that new independent nation.

251. In the midst of this triumph of humanity we remember the unfortunate black people of South Africa, and in particular leaders such as Mr. Nelson Mandela, who are still languishing in the dreaded gaols of South Africa. Our hearts go out to those brave and courageous men, women and children who are still struggling to achieve their inalienable rights, including the establishment of majority rule. It is indeed unfortunate that in spite of constant and continuous pressure from the world community, the racist régime of South Africa continues brazenly to ignore all appeals from the world conscience once and for all to do away with the obnoxious and uncivilized practice of *apartheid*. My delegation has noted that some influential intellectuals of South Africa have mooted the idea of white homelands in the midst of the black Africans in that country. In the view of my delegation, nothing short of the total achievement of majority rule by the people of South Africa can be acceptable to humanity at large in our era. Recently we have seen some press reports about relaxation by the South African Government of some of the harsh regulations against black Africans. Although that might be the result of pressure from both within South Africa and outside it, the concessions are, indeed, too little. There is very wide disparity, as in so many other spheres of life, in educational facilities grudgingly provided for black children as contrasted with the liberal and universal facilities made available to white children. How long will it take for the white *apartheid* régime of South Africa to introduce compulsory education for black children on the same scale? No such concessions can ever be a substitute for full

⁷ See A/149.

recognition of the human rights of those people and majority rule in political terms.

252. In the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we read, *inter alia*:

“The danger of conflict has greatly increased as a result of the continued military build-up by the régime and its frantic efforts to acquire nuclear-weapon capability.” [See A/35/22, para. 294.]

In this connexion we deplore that some affluent countries of the world should be unconscionably collaborating with South Africa in various fields, including the nuclear field, thereby encouraging the racist rulers of South Africa to trample upon the human rights and dignity of the black majority. We

should like, once again, to appeal to all countries that are collaborating with South Africa to heed the signs of the time, especially in the wake of the triumphant victory of the brave people of Zimbabwe, and to join hands with the world community in eliminating once and for all the scourge of *apartheid*.

253. My delegation has no doubt that, however long and arduous the struggle of the people of South Africa may be, the ultimate victory will be theirs. They can rest assured that their struggle is also ours. We share their suffering from every act of repression against them. We shall support them resolutely until their victory is achieved.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.