



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Tribute to the memory of eight international civil servants	1447
Agenda item 28: Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa (<i>continued</i>):	
(a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ;	
(b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against <i>Apartheid</i> in Sports;	
(c) Reports of the Secretary General	1447

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

**Tribute to the memory of eight international
civil servants**

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we take up the agenda, I call upon the Secretary-General.
2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have learned with deep sadness of the tragic accident in which eight of our colleagues died in the United Republic of Tanzania in an air crash on Friday, 5 December. They were: Mr. K. K. Apeadu, Resident Representative of UNDP in the United Republic of Tanzania; Mr. H. M. Caspari, the Assistant Resident Representative, Mrs. Helen Lewis-Jones Caspari, Co-ordinator of UNFPA and wife of Mr. Caspari. Mr. Hen-chie Chen and Mr. Jubilet Mfuru, of UNDP; and Mr. Eva, Mr. Poikolainen and Mr. Baldwin, of FAO.
3. I have expressed by deepest sympathy to the families of the deceased as well as to the Administrator of UNDP and the Director-General of FAO at the loss of those dedicated international civil servants. It is a special blow to us in the Secretary-General's Office, since, before being posted to the United Republic of Tanzania, Michael Caspari was a much respected and beloved member of my Executive Office.
4. This tragedy poignantly reminds us of the important activities of so many of our colleagues in all parts of the world.
5. Our hearts go out to the bereaved families whose loss we share.
6. The PRESIDENT: I should like to associate myself with the statement just made by the Secretary-General and, on behalf of the General Assembly, to extend deep sympathy to the families of the victims of this tragedy, who died in the line of their duty with the United Nations.

7. May I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation in tribute to the memory of those who gave their lives while serving the Organization.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

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

8. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now resume its consideration of agenda item 28. The debate on this item was concluded at the 64th meeting, on 17 November 1980, with the understanding that the draft resolutions would be introduced at a later date.

9. I call on the representative of Sierra Leone to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.13 and Add.1.

10. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Draft resolution A/35/L.13 and Add.1, which I have been asked to introduce by more than 50 sponsors from all the regions of the world—Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America—is the culmination of the exhaustive debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government which took place here some three weeks ago. The debate clearly demonstrated the nature and scope of the growing danger which the *apartheid* system poses with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security in Africa. In the face of such growing danger the responsibility of the United Nations and indeed of the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa, their national liberation movements and, indeed, the neighbouring African States of South Africa becomes all the more urgent.

11. *Apartheid*—the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised by the minority racist régime of South Africa for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group over the others and systematically oppressing them—is too well known to warrant detailed elaboration. The salient features of this draft resolution will, however, be emphasized in order to establish why action must be taken to arrest the menace that is *apartheid*, the continuance of which poses a further serious threat to international peace and security.

* Resumed from the 64th meeting.

12. The practice of *apartheid* by the Pretoria régime is a total negation of the fundamental human rights of the 20 million indigenous inhabitants of South Africa. Such gross violation demands of the United Nations, as the custodian and defender of human rights, and indeed of the international community as a whole the fulfilment of its responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa.

13. By this draft resolution the Assembly would reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements by all available means, including armed struggle, for the exercise of their right to self-determination and the elimination of the *apartheid* régime. The legitimacy of the struggle is based on the challenge to the *apartheid* régime by the national liberation movements in the struggle for self-determination.

14. The numerous resolutions adopted by the Assembly define wars of national liberation as those in which people are fighting against colonial domination in the exercise of their right to self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex]. Numerous resolutions adopted by this body in the past have established that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. The General Assembly is again called upon to reaffirm that the deportation of and other inhuman acts perpetrated against the civilian population and their persecution on political and racial grounds by the racist régime are crimes against humanity. The General Assembly, in its resolution 96 (I) of 11 December 1946, unanimously affirmed this point. The people of South Africa should be granted equal and full political, economic and civil rights, and they must be free to determine their own destiny.

15. In order artificially to divide the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa, deprive them of their land and thus strengthen the power base of the white minority, the Pretoria régime has continued its cynical and callous policy of uprooting millions of Africans from their birthplace and resettling them in harsh geographical regions of the country. I am referring to the shameful policy of so-called bantustanization. In terms of that policy, 80 per cent of the South African population is accorded 13 per cent of that part of the country's land with little or no natural resources. Representatives may be familiar with the book *The Discarded People*¹ which so graphically captures this inhuman policy. The General Assembly is therefore called upon once again to denounce the creation of the so-called bantustans, and to call upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent bantustans.

16. A policy of oppression inevitably generates a struggle for freedom by the oppressed to free themselves and to build a free society. In the course of this year and in the past year the Pretoria régime unleashed a new wave of brutal repression, indiscriminate torture and killings of workers, school-children and other opponents of *apartheid*. That

régime must be left in no doubt of the opprobrium with which the international community views such policies.

17. Equally ominous with reference to the present situation in South Africa is the feverish attempt by South Africa to acquire nuclear capability as a means of intimidating and silencing the entire continent of Africa. This policy poses a very grave threat, not only to Africa but to the entire world. It is therefore more than time for South Africa's military and nuclear collaborators to be aware of this fact and to put an end to such collaboration.

18. Like the members of all similar régimes, the Pretoria racists express themselves internally as oppressors and externally with aggressive designs. In a futile effort to maintain the *apartheid* system, the régime has turned itself into a predator on neighbouring African States, while at the same time attempting to destabilize them. South Africa has committed repeated acts of aggression against Angola and persists in its occupation of Namibia with a superciliousness that baffles even its most loyal collaborators. Such actions are all perpetrated in defiance of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Beyond any shadow of doubt they pose a threat to international peace and security.

19. The Security Council earlier this year determined that the policy of *apartheid* seriously disturbs international peace and security. We submit that the situation in South Africa is a veritable threat to this peace and security and in any case there is a thin line between a disturbance of international peace and security and a threat thereto. The Security Council is therefore under an obligation to put into effect comprehensive mandatory sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

20. Draft resolution A/35/L.13 and Add.1 represents a continuation of the effort to eradicate the evil system of *apartheid*. That struggle should not be viewed as a parochial cause, nor should it be viewed as only an African cause. It should be a universal cause, for it is the struggle to vindicate the essence of our common humanity, without regard to pigmentation.

21. In view of the foregoing, which I have set out succinctly, the sponsors of the draft resolution hope, and indeed expect, that this text will be given full force and the support of the Organization.

22. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Benin, to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.14 and Add.1.

23. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin has the honour of introducing to the General Assembly draft resolution A/35/L.14 and Add.1, entitled "Military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa". The sponsors were guided in their consultations on the drafting of this text by a number of elements that emerged clearly from the recent debate in the plenary Assembly on the racist régime in Pretoria.

24. The draft resolution we are introducing therefore poses the weighty and serious problem of the military and nuclear collaboration between the racist, Fascist

¹ Cosmas Desmond, O.F.M., *The Christian Institute of S.A.*, (Braamfontein, Transvaal).

minority régime of South Africa and certain Western countries and Israel, Members of the Organization. We cannot emphasize too strongly that one of the direct consequences of that close collaboration is the possession of increasingly large stockpiles of formidable conventional and nuclear weapons by a régime which operates and prospers from the repression of its people and aggression against its neighbours. The *apartheid* régime, because of the fundamental injustices that characterize it, can only maintain itself and survive by resorting to those means of war, repression and destruction. Today the fact that the racist, Fascist minority in Pretoria disposes of advanced military and nuclear technology should give us all cause for serious concern and alarm.

25. The sponsors of draft resolution A/35/L.14 and Add.1, in expressing that concern, have sought at the same time to draft a text which should enable the international community to acquire a clearer and more precise awareness of the dangers that the *apartheid* régime and some of its Western protectors create for international peace and security.

26. The operative part of draft resolution A/35/L.14 and Add.1, thus sets forth a series of concrete measures in paragraphs 3 (a) to (i), whose consistent and effective application would enable us to ensure the cessation of any form of military and nuclear co-operation between certain countries and the *apartheid* régime.

27. The second important element we have sought to bring out relates to compliance by all States in the international community with the embargo on arms and related equipment sent to South Africa, as advocated in Security Council resolution 418 (1977). The important work carried out by the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) shows that the embargo has not always been carried out. We have noted numerous violations, which give rise to further concern on the part of the sponsors of this text. That is why in operative paragraph 1 provision is made for a clear condemnation of all such violations to date. The Assembly would also take steps to see that the Security Council attempted to work out other machinery for ensuring the strict and scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

28. Those are the concerns that the sponsors of draft resolution A/35/L.14 and Add.1 wished to bring before the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

29. Ready for the revolution. The struggle continues.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Algeria to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.15 and Add.1.

31. Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Among the many myths upon which the racist Administration of South Africa bases its propaganda in order to justify its régime of institutionalized racism and to perpetuate its oppression and exploitation of the black South African people, we believe it useful to recall a few, if only to highlight once more the need, indeed the urgent need to respond to the constant defiance South Africa continues to hurl at the rest of the international community.

32. That South African Administration first invokes certain historical rights over South African territory and a so-called mission of civilization and social progress vis-à-vis the black South African population. Thus, in the name of this anomalous humanism, South Africa established the system of *apartheid* which is characterised in its most common form and manifestations by blatant racism, the practice of so-called separate development, the creation of deprived enclaves known as bantustans and, finally, by the practice of a form of collective exploitation and oppression of an entire people to satisfy the interests and boundless appetites of an immoral and unscrupulous white minority.

33. The behaviour of the racist minority that governs South Africa has been the subject of reprobation and condemnation by the entire international community. That same international community has, over the years, gradually exhausted all possible measures of persuasion designed to make the Pretoria régime abide by international law and, in particular, to respect the fundamental rights of the indigenous majority.

34. However, all the efforts of the international community have thus far been disregarded by the Pretoria régime, which has not only concentrated and intensified its systematic oppression of the South African people, but has also embarked on a series of ever more deliberate and destructive acts of aggression against neighbouring independent countries, thereby unequivocally revealing its intentions and its obstinate determination to continue to defy the international order and the universal conscience.

35. Today, no one has any doubt that the *apartheid* régime is practising, first, an official and institutionalized system of discrimination and racism which has been defined as a crime against humanity and, secondly, an international policy based on systematic aggression against neighbouring countries and on permanent defiance of all other countries that disapprove of its warmongering and its pathological arrogance.

36. Under those conditions, it is no exaggeration to emphasize, as we have done throughout recent years, the fact that the *apartheid* régime, through its adventurist practices and policies, has become a continuing threat to international peace and security. Consequently, heeding the lesson learned from all the fruitless efforts made thus far to bring that anachronistic régime to reason, the majority of the international community has deemed it necessary to have recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter in order to prevent the spread of that threat, while preserving the rights of the oppressed South African people.

37. It is on the basis of those facts that I have the honour, on behalf of the more than 50 sponsors of draft resolution A/35/L.15 and Add.1, and on behalf of the Algerian delegation, to introduce this text on comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

38. In its measured tone as well as in its clarity, the preambular part of the draft resolution merely recalls the dangers posed by any form of collaboration with South Africa, a country that is obviously only seeking to strengthen its power the better to subjugate the black indigenous majority and at the same time to intimidate neighbouring countries, the African con-

continent as a whole and the rest of the international community. The preambular part also recalls the various debates that have been held on the problem of the imposition of sanctions against South Africa by the Security Council. And, finally, it recalls the continued and even increasing collaboration that exists in the relations between certain Western and other countries and the racist South African régime.

39. The operative part of draft resolution A/35/L.15 and Add.1, strongly recommends a number of urgent measures that are more than ever necessary, pending of course a final decision by the Security Council on the question of the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

40. The draft resolution then pays a particular tribute to all Governments that have taken legislative and other measures to put an end to any form of political, military, economic and other collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, while condemning certain Western and other countries that, along with transnational corporations, continue to lend support to that régime.

41. A series of practical recommendations are then proposed to all Member States, to international agencies and organizations, both within the United Nations system and outside it, designed to promote an international trend in favour of the common goals of the struggle against the system of *apartheid*.

42. The operative part of the draft resolution once more encourages the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to continue its activities in order to bring about the total eradication of the scourge of *apartheid* and, lastly, it calls upon Governments, parliaments, non-governmental organizations, anti-*apartheid* and solidarity movements, trade unions, religious bodies and other groups to promote, in collaboration with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

43. That is the spirit of draft resolution A/35/L.15 and Add.1. We remain firmly convinced that the measures advocated in the text represent the minimum that we consider we can expect from the international community in order to give the people of South Africa their due and to prevent at the same time any irreversible deterioration of peace and security, both on the African continent and for the whole of our planet.

44. It is for that reason that the sponsors hope that draft resolution A/35/L.15 and Add.1 will be adopted by a very broad majority and without any major difficulty.

45. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Nigeria to introduce draft resolutions A/35/L.16, A/35/L.17, A/35/L.18, A/35/L.21 and A/35/L.27.

46. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): The five draft resolutions which I am privileged to introduce today on behalf of over 60 Member States are further proof that the Charter of the United Nations is a living document; for these draft resolutions are not only an expression of the universal condemnation of the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa but are indeed a vibrant vindication of those provisions of the Charter so central to our commitment to the establishment of a new international order free of colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and violations of human

dignity. These draft resolutions also complement some 13 other draft resolutions which several other delegations, representing virtually all the regions and political systems of the world, will be introducing, in an unprecedented act of international solidarity and mobilization against *apartheid*.

47. Draft resolution A/35/L.16 relates to an oil embargo against South Africa; draft resolution A/35/L.17 and Add.1 relates to cultural, academic and other boycotts of South Africa; draft resolution A/35/L.18 and Add.1 relates to the role of transnational corporations in South Africa; draft resolution A/35/L.21 and Add.1 is concerned with an international conference on sanctions against South Africa; and draft resolution A/35/L.27 and Add.1 deals with the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* by Governments and relevant intergovernmental organizations.

48. The long and painful debate which took place here a few days ago on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government was exceptional in many respects, but first of all in its total unanimity in condemning *apartheid* as an intolerable affront to the human conscience and spirit. No single delegation—not even those of States that profit from their economic and commercial ties with South Africa—had a word to say in support of any aspect of those inhuman policies.

49. Secondly, everyone recognized the tragic irony of the fact that because of its racist policies South Africa, a founding Member of this Organization, was and will continue to be an international outcast, a polecat, morally fetid and politically unfit to take its seat in this Assembly. In fact, since *apartheid* became its fundamental law South Africa has effectively ceased to be a respectable member of the international community. South Africa has since been kicked out not only of virtually all the bodies of the United Nations system but also of the Commonwealth of Nations and other international political and cultural organizations. Unable to make any contribution to the great issues of our time since the days of General Smuts, South Africa now consorts only with the few remaining pariah nations, such as Taiwan. As if to dramatize this absurd irrelevance, the South African Prime Minister even feigned to be too busy to receive the Secretary-General's Special Mission on the question of Namibia last October, on the pretext that he was paying an official visit to Taiwan. Fortunately, and before long, the great people of China will consign these obnoxious dalliances between Taiwan and South Africa to the dust-bin of history, where they rightly belong.

50. Thirdly, the debate showed that South Africa could not veil the rising sun of African liberation. From a so-called bastion of strength, a so-called Christian redoubt, with a self-appointed task of safeguarding Western interests and presence in Africa, the South African Government has become a neurotic wreck of a régime, a menace to its neighbours, a threat to international peace and security and a wounding liability to its friends. The frontiers of African independence having expanded to its very borders, South Africa is now in the eye of the hurricane. This year Zimbabwe became independent. Next year Namibia will become independent. Within the next five years the South African Government will

have to confront one of two agonizing alternatives which could decide the future of the white man in South Africa, and indeed in Africa in general: either South Africa will continue its policy of repression and brutality, leading to more bloodshed and eventual civil war among the races of South Africa, or it will accept the realities of the present age and time and thereby abolish *apartheid*. A majority Government based on the will of its entire people will then resume South Africa's seat in the Assembly.

51. Fourthly, every delegation that took part in the debate argued for some measures or pressures to bring about the desired change in South Africa. As was to be expected, there were differences in the choice of measures and pressures and even as to the timing of the application of such measures or pressures. The important thing to remember, however, is that the Organization must not lose sight of its special concern with and responsibility for the oppressed people of South Africa. Radical change will not come to South Africa without effective pressure from the international community, and from the General Assembly in particular.

52. Fifthly, all delegations accepted the fact that internal opposition to the *apartheid* policies of South Africa was real, strong and growing. Undeterred—indeed, their anger fuelled by the bitter memories of the massacres at Sharpeville and Soweto—the schoolchildren of South Africa rose up last spring. Then followed the strikes by workers and active resistance by community and church leaders throughout the summer.

53. *The New York Times* last Thursday, 4 December, carried a story on what it is to be an artist in South Africa, which is relevant to our consideration. From a book called *Store up the Anger*, by an Afrikaner writer, Wessel W. Eborsohn—which incidentally is banned in that troubled land—*The New York Times* article quoted a passage in which a fictional imprisoned black leader says to his white tormentors: "I hate you more than ever before because you'll always be blind to what you do not want to see and you'll only understand as far as your fear allows you. You'll go on brutalizing and killing until we stop you. And we will stop you."

54. I believe it was Mr. Koh of Singapore who last year quoted a similar moving passage from Alan Paton's best-seller, *Cry, the beloved country*, warning about the need to take timely action before love turns to hate, leading to a truly racial bloodbath in South Africa.²

55. "Fellow Africans," the late Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania exhorted at the time of Sharpeville, "the hour for service, sacrifice and suffering has come. Let us march in unison to the United States of Africa. Let us march to a new and independent Africa. Forward to independence." That was 17 years ago.

56. Even before then, in 1912, as the late Nobel laureate, Chief Albert Luthuli, once explained, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] had aimed at adopting a bill of rights beginning:

"We, the African people of the Union of South Africa, urgently demand the granting of full citizenship rights, such as are enjoyed by all Europeans in South Africa."

In response, the South African Government has decreed that South Africa belongs to only the 4.5 million whites and that the 21 million black nationals of South Africa should be allowed to live in their own country only when they are willing to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when they cease to minister to him. Hence the farcical doctrine of bantustanization or territorial *apartheid*, of uprooting and banishing Africans from their ancestral homes in the urban areas as well as stripping them of all their rights as citizens and nationals of South Africa.

57. According to the press last Friday, 5 December 1980, a so-called Ciskei bantustan voted on 4 December to become the fourth of the nine ill-fated bantustans to agree to independence. This pernicious project is already stillborn. There can never be any bantustan States, separate and independent from South Africa. They will never be recognized by the international community. They are and will remain integral parts of South Africa. We call once again upon the South African Government to rescind forthwith its policy of bantustanization, a vulgar escape from the realities of life in South Africa which cry for a solution based on the granting of full political and economic rights to the 21 million black South Africans of that country.

58. The five draft resolutions I am now introducing deal with various aspects of sanctions necessary to arrest the deterioration of the situation in South Africa. The call for sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter is not new. It has assumed an increasing urgency since the Sharpeville tragedy of 1960. If South Africa has persisted in its intransigent pursuit of its racist policy in spite of the threat of international sanctions, it is because the United Nations has been paralysed by the stubborn support given to South Africa by certain Western Powers. Fortunately, even the resistance of these Western Powers has begun to crumble. More importantly, the Nordic States and certain other Western countries have indicated agreement on the need for sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

59. The Assembly should show its support for this healthy development by recognition of the following critical facts. First, the liberation of South Africa and Namibia is the only unfinished business in the emancipation of Africa. If no forceful action is taken now, South Africa will become a greater menace in the whole region and try to undermine the independence already achieved by the African peoples at great sacrifice and with the encouragement of the United Nations. Secondly, the situation in South Africa is at a critical stage, with political consciousness and struggle growing, as well as repression and bantustanization on the increase behind the facade of propaganda about illusory reforms. A wider conflict appears inevitable unless urgent and effective action is taken by the United Nations.

60. It is in this context that the Heads of State and Government of the States members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and of the non-aligned

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 57th meeting, para. 152.

movement have endorsed the suggestion of the Special Committee for the convening of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa. The proposal has evoked an enthusiastic response in many quarters. I may recall that the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and the Copenhagen World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women have all adopted resolutions strongly supporting the conference. The Special Committee has received enthusiastic replies from many organizations it has consulted. The overwhelming majority of States support sanctions against South Africa.

61. Virtually all the trade-union movements of the world support sanctions. All the leading religious denominations support sanctions, as do numerous other non-governmental organizations. Yet we have not been able to make progress in the Security Council, except in the case of a mandatory arms embargo, which itself urgently needs reinforcement. We feel, therefore, that there is an urgent need for a frank and honest dialogue at the highest level of the community of nations. We hope that the proposal for the holding of an international conference will receive unanimous support and that all countries—especially the Western countries—will be represented at the highest possible level so as to convince the world that the West is indeed against the inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid*.

62. Pending the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, we are anxious that individual States, organizations and men and women of conscience should take whatever measures they can and make the necessary sacrifices, in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa—the children, the women, the trade unionists and the churchmen who are heroically resisting *apartheid*.

63. In this connexion, I should like to place special emphasis on three aspects covered by the other draft resolutions I have the honour of introducing.

64. First, I shall deal with that on an oil embargo against South Africa. All the member States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and other major oil-producing countries have imposed an oil embargo against South Africa in a commendable demonstration of international solidarity; but oil continues to flow to South Africa illegally. The Special Committee has received information concerning illegal deliveries of oil from several countries to South Africa. We are in contact with the countries concerned to explore means for tighter monitoring of their regulations and exemplary punishments of the ship-owners and other companies involved in this despicable trade to oil the military and repressive machinery of South Africa. The countries in which the tankers are registered are also being contacted to take action. It is their minimum responsibility to see to it that the regulations of other countries are not violated by their ship-owners. We would also appeal to the Western countries concerned to stop the supply of sophisticated refined oil products to South Africa. Some of the oil is openly going to South Africa from Brunei, a Non-Self-Governing Territory administered by the United Kingdom, through the Shell Oil Company. We would urge the United Kingdom to stop the supply of oil from that Asian country. I should like to commend the

sailors and the non-governmental organizations that have co-operated in promoting the oil embargo. I should like to express great satisfaction at the initiative of the Parliament of the Netherlands and the Parliamentary Commission of Belgium in supporting national legislation on an oil embargo. We hope other European Parliaments will follow their noble example.

65. I should like to make an oral revision to draft resolution A/35/L.16 on an oil embargo. Operative paragraph 4 should now read as follows:

“Urges States to take effective legislative and other measures to ensure the implementation of such an oil embargo against South Africa as well as embargoes already imposed by States individually or collectively, including the following:”.

The wording then continues as it is.

66. We attach great importance to the draft resolution on cultural, academic and other boycotts of South Africa because they would involve action by men and women of culture. If cheap labour for mines, factories and farms is one main purpose of *apartheid*, the complete control of African educational and cultural life, thereby effectively limiting the aspirations of Africans, is the main tool of *apartheid*. The Bantu Education Act virtually seeks to ensure that there is no place in South Africa for Africans above the levels of certain forms of labour.

67. We commend the numerous sportsmen, writers, playwrights, musicians and others who have boycotted South Africa and resisted tempting offers from the racist régime. We intend to promote such action in the future.

68. After the numerous debates and resolutions of United Nations bodies and a number of conferences, seminars and symposia I need not elaborate at any great length on the role of powerful transnational corporations in South Africa in assisting the racist régime to develop its military machine, enabling it to violate and prepare for sanctions and providing the capital and technology which have enabled it to acquire nuclear weapon capability.

69. We are not dealing with any ideological question but with the facts as they relate to South Africa under the *apartheid* régime. The interdependence of the transnational corporations and South Africa reinforces *apartheid*—and this is a fact. Unlike the position in the rest of Africa, subsidiaries of transnational corporations in South Africa have easy access to managerial and technological skills. Such differential treatment is not economic but political, and is intended to ensure that neighbouring African States depend on South Africa, thereby providing a spurious reason, a pretext, for Western vested interests to argue against the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

70. The United Nations and its Member States must promote action against the key transnational corporations which are involved in South Africa and are acting in opposition to the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

71. Lastly, the draft resolution on the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* by Governments and intergovernmental organizations needs no elaborate introduction. It is aimed at matching our words with action. The non-fulfilment of our

resolutions gravely undermines the authority and image of the United Nations itself, apart from betraying our deepest convictions as expressed in those resolutions.

72. Having declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity, Governments of Member States are under a moral and political—and I would even add legal—obligation to terminate their political, military, economic and other relations with South Africa. The current campaign for mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is a logical development of this desire to implement our resolutions. The Declaration adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU last July at Free-town [see A/35/463] aimed at discouraging and banning investment in South Africa is proof of the determination of the African States to implement United Nations resolutions.

73. The success in the drive to expel South Africa from all intergovernmental bodies of the United Nations system and thereby to isolate it from all economic, political, military, nuclear and other forms of co-operation is an effort to implement our resolutions.

74. So, too, is the increasing support for the liberation movement of South Africa in its quest for the liberation of the 21 million South Africans from the degradation and oppression of *apartheid*.

75. On behalf of the sponsors, I strongly recommend the five draft resolutions to the Assembly for support and adoption.

76. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Zambia to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.19 and Add.1.

77. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): I have the honour, on behalf of more than 60 sponsoring States, including my own, to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.19 and Add.1.

78. The world community of nations has, through the General Assembly, declared *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity and it has called for its abolition; yet *apartheid* remains intact. *Apartheid* is an octopus whose tentacles encircle the necks even of the oppressors. Any system which is based on institutionalized racism is founded on a terribly unreasonable premise. The international community must work for the elimination of *apartheid* not only because it negates human values but simply because it is inhuman to oppress the majority black population in South Africa purely on the basis of the pigmentation of their skin.

79. *Apartheid* is by definition a system of oppression which invites rebellion on the part of the oppressed. *Apartheid* also stands for aggression against all those who genuinely oppose that system. Above all, *apartheid* is a threat to international peace and security.

80. This situation calls for the intensification of action against *apartheid* by all the forces that believe in human decency. *Apartheid* pits blacks against whites in South Africa, and in Namibia, to which it has been exported illegally. It is common knowledge that racist South Africa cannot exist on its own without outside help. The few members of the United Nations that collaborate with South Africa and give it sustenance must therefore realize the folly of their unenlightened policies, which only help to buttress racism. The best

way to help South Africa is by bringing it home to the Pretoria régime that the system of *apartheid* should be eradicated and replaced by a democratic system of government under which people of all races can live together in peace and harmony.

81. Draft resolution A/35/L.19 and Add.1 is a straightforward one. It merely underscores the obvious. It is in fact an enabling draft resolution which, when adopted, could advance the international campaigns against *apartheid* in line with previous resolutions. In this effort, the central mobilizing role of the well-known Special Committee against *Apartheid* is fully recognized.

82. In addition to highlighting several specific areas where action is urgent, the draft resolution, in its operative paragraph 2,

“Requests the Special Committee to organize or promote the organization of a seminar on the activities and role of the mass media, as well as of Governments, anti-*apartheid* and solidarity movements and other organizations, in publicizing the crimes of the *apartheid* régime and the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movement of South Africa”.

83. We believe that the international community, which is unanimously opposed to *apartheid*, should render moral and material assistance to combat *apartheid*. Consequently, we appeal to all Member States represented here to support the draft resolution on international campaigns against *apartheid*, in which the United Nations should take a leading role in concerted action to eliminate *apartheid*.

84. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Sudan to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.20 and Add.1.

85. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: On behalf of the delegations of more than 50 sponsoring countries, I am happy to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.20 and Add.1 which deals with relations between Israel and South Africa.

86. I am sure we are all aware of the increasing seriousness of the situation resulting from the strengthening of bilateral relations and co-operation between the two racist régimes of Israel and South Africa.

87. The second report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22/Add.2], gives an account of the increasing gravity of the situation regarding relations between Israel and South Africa in the military, economic and cultural fields, as well as of official visits, including the visit to Pretoria of the Israeli Minister of Defence in March this year, and his talks with South African leaders on security affairs and their exchange of military and technological experience, especially in the nuclear field. That recent visit took place within the context of a series of visits exchanged by military representatives of the two countries.

88. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* refers also to the contribution of the South African racist régime to the establishment of a new settlement in Israel near Jerusalem. The report also reveals the strengthening of economic and trade relations between the two countries. South Africa's

exports to Israel, in fact, rose from \$8.1 million in 1971 to \$79.9 million in 1979, while imports from Israel rose from \$9.4 million in 1971 to \$37.7 million in 1979.

89. In its preambular part the draft resolution refers to General Assembly resolution 34/93 P. In that resolution the General Assembly strongly condemned Israel's continuing and increasing collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa. The Assembly also expressed its concern at the continuing collaboration of the two racist régimes, in particular in the military and nuclear fields, and considered that such collaboration was a serious hindrance to international action for the eradication of *apartheid* as well as an encouragement to the South African régime to persist in its criminal policy of *apartheid* and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa and the entire African continent.

90. In the operative part of the draft resolution, the General Assembly strongly condemns the continuing and increasing collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa and demands that Israel desist forthwith from and terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields. The Assembly also demands that Israel abide scrupulously by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It requests the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to keep the matter under constant review and report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate.

91. We are convinced that the international community will spare no effort and will adopt the measures necessary to exercise every form of pressure on those two racist régimes, condemned by the Assembly, and that it will at the same time give its full support to draft resolution A/35/L.20 and Add.1.

92. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.23.

93. Mr. RANGA (India): My delegation considers it a great honour and privilege that once again the task of introducing a draft resolution on the campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa has been entrusted to India. I have great satisfaction in introducing draft resolution A/35/L.23 on behalf of all its sponsors.

94. Since the draft resolution was submitted the Supreme Court in Pretoria has imposed brutal sentences on nine freedom fighters in South Africa. Three of them, Nkimbithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo and Naphthali Manana, have been sentenced to death on charges of high treason and attempted murder. Six others have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 10 to 20 years.

95. It will be recalled that those patriots were accused of having conspired with the ANC membership in planning the attack on a bank in the white Pretoria suburb of Silverton in January this year and of having conspired together and taken part in a grenade raid on a police station in Northern Transvaal.

96. Today, when the brave sons and daughters of South Africa who are languishing in its dreaded prison houses are in our thoughts and prayers, the intended hanging of these three comrades, Lubisi, Tsepo and Manana, has roused the conscience of the freedom-

loving people all over the world. On behalf of the people of India, I should like to express to those brave freedom fighters our genuine feelings of support and solidarity in their hour of trial.

97. Another important development which has taken place in recent days is the historic declaration which was made by ANC on 28 November last. On that occasion the South African liberation movement declared its adherence to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,³ and additional Protocol I of 1977⁴ on the humanitarian conduct of war, with all its responsibilities and rights.

98. Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of ANC, in a statement at the ceremony, said that the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross were to be congratulated. They had helped to develop the law so as to extend the concept of an international armed conflict to cover wars of national liberation in which, to use the language of Protocol I, peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist régimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination.

99. Let us take special notice of that important declaration on the part of the liberation movement in South Africa, which is of unique historic importance to the world movement for national freedom and the freedom of peoples. It gives notice to the United Nations and, more so, to the racist régime of South Africa and those States that are co-operating with it that the freedom fighters in that country are entitled to the status of prisoners of war. I wish also to remind the Government of South Africa that under similar circumstances the British Government in India stayed its hand, without proceeding with the trials of the officers of the Indian National Army in 1946. Therefore, I make this appeal from the rostrum of this Assembly, in the name of humanity as a whole, to the Government and courts in South Africa to respect the spirit behind the declaration made by the South African liberation movement and to abstain from exercising the hangman's dastardly function against the freedom fighters in that country.

100. The people of India have a special niche in their hearts for the leaders of the people of South Africa who are suffering and have sacrificed all in their struggle against the racist régime of South Africa. Only last month, the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding was conferred on Mr. Nelson Mandela in New Delhi. It was accepted on behalf of Mr. Nelson Mandela by Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of ANC.

101. Speaking on that occasion, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid her tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela and to the valiant groups of people who have been struggling through the years for what is man's acknowledged and undeniable right to live in freedom and to shape his future. She said that wherever people cared for freedom and human dignity, Mr. Nelson Mandela's name was known and respected, but he himself was today being denied both freedom and dignity in his own home. She said:

“The white man's burden has too long been carried on the shoulders of the black and the brown.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

⁴ A/32/144, annex I.

A struggle for freedom can be suppressed, its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated, but the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out; some spark will persist to burst into flame somewhere, some time, to light the way and illuminate hearts and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior, no matter what laws South Africa decides for itself. History cannot be denied nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted. *Apartheid* cannot survive."

102. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate India's support for and solidarity with the black majority of South Africa in its struggle against the oppressive racist régime.

103. Draft resolution A/35/L.23 recalls past resolutions of the United Nations concerning political prisoners in South Africa. It notes with grave concern the intensified repression of the opponents of *apartheid* through detention, torture and killing and the institution of political trials under arbitrary laws providing for death and other inhuman sentences.

104. The preambular paragraphs welcome the demands by the South African people for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa. They also take cognizance of the provisions of Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, whereby freedom fighters in wars of national liberation are entitled to prisoner-of-war status.

105. The draft resolution now contains seven operative paragraphs, but we are proposing one additional operative paragraph.

106. Operative paragraphs 1 to 3, which remain unchanged, demand again that the racist régime end repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*, release Mr. Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, cease trials under arbitrary repressive laws and recognize the prisoner-of-war status of captured freedom fighters; request Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to exert their influence towards that end; and upon parties to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto to ensure respect by the South African régime for these treaties.

107. The new operative paragraph expresses condemnation of the death sentences imposed on the three freedom fighters on 25 November 1980.

108. Operative paragraphs 5 to 8—formerly paragraphs 4 to 7—warn the racist régime of South Africa against executions of freedom fighters and others convicted under its repressive legislation; request all Governments and agencies within the United Nations system to promote campaigns in solidarity with political prisoners and detainees in South Africa; urge all Governments, judicial associations, other organizations and individuals to provide greater material, legal and other aid to South African political prisoners and restrictees and to their families; and request the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, with the assistance of the Centre against *Apartheid* of the Secretariat, to continue to promote the world campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

109. My delegation is aware that the States Members of the United Nations fully recognize the gravity of

the situation in South Africa, which not only affects the black majority of that unfortunate country but also endangers world peace and security. My delegation, therefore, sincerely hopes that the Member States will adopt this important draft resolution by consensus as they have done in the past years.

110. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the sponsors I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.22 and Add.1 on assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

111. In the preambular part of the draft resolution the Assembly, while noting the intensification of the liberation struggle in South Africa, reiterates the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community in alleviating the problems of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

112. In operative paragraph 1 the Assembly appeals to all States to provide all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. In operative paragraph 2 the Assembly makes a similar appeal to UNDP and other United Nations agencies to increase their assistance in conformity with the growing needs of the liberation struggle. We believe that that can be achieved in consultation with, and with the advice of, the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. In operative paragraph 3 the Assembly urges those United Nations agencies that have not done so to ensure that liberation movements in South Africa recognized by the OAU participate in their meetings and conferences and have sufficient financial provision to enable them to do so. To enable the liberation movements to maintain their offices in New York in order to participate in the deliberations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other relevant United Nations bodies, in paragraph 4 the Assembly is asked to decide to continue to authorize adequate financial provision within the United Nations budget for that purpose.

113. The thrust of this draft resolution is also to highlight the role of the liberation movement in the total liberation of Africa. Its role has always been the determining factor. No reasonable man doubts, for example, that had it not been for the successful armed struggle spearheaded by the Patriotic Front the liberation of Zimbabwe would not have taken place. In fact, we said last year, and we have reiterated this year, that it was the successes of the Patriotic Front on the battlefield that forced the rebel Smith to come to the conference table.

114. It follows, therefore, that the total liberation of southern Africa can be achieved only if we continue to give assistance to the national liberation movement. In that regard, the South West Africa People's Organization remains our only hope if the liberation of Namibia is to take place as speedily as possible. Similarly, the eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa, leading to the total liberation of that country, will be achieved much faster if we increase our assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

115. With those remarks, my delegation hopes that it will not be difficult for the Assembly to adopt the draft resolution.

116. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Tunisia, to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.24 and Add.1.

117. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) [*interpretation from French*]: On behalf of the sponsors, the delegation of Tunisia has the honour to introduce to the General Assembly draft resolution A/35/L.24 and Add.1 on the dissemination of information on *apartheid*, which is sponsored by more than 60 States.

118. For many years now the General Assembly has been supporting the need to disseminate, in a continuous manner and on a large scale, information to support the international mobilization against *apartheid*.

119. At all levels the international community has joined its efforts the better to isolate Pretoria and to promote conditions favourable to the replacement of the *apartheid* system by a more just system that accords with the aspirations of the majority of the population, a more human system based on dignity and respect for man.

120. The dissemination of information on *apartheid* has enabled us to inform international opinion of the proliferation and gravity of the racist practices of the white minority against the South African people. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has this year given new scope and momentum to the struggle against *apartheid* by informing international public opinion everywhere—but particularly in countries that continue, in spite of everything, to maintain direct or indirect relations of co-operation or common interest with the racist régime of Pretoria—concerning the meaning and importance of the struggle being waged by the South African people against repression, oppression and injustice. Those are precisely the considerations that are recalled in the preambular part of the draft resolution that is now before the Assembly, particularly in its second, third and fourth paragraphs.

121. The operative part of the draft resolution sets forth a series of specific actions to be undertaken by various bodies within the United Nations, and in particular by the Secretariat, to ensure adequate dissemination of information on *apartheid* and on the efforts being made by the United Nations to provide assistance and support for the struggling people of South Africa.

122. The draft resolution contains an appeal to all Governments and organizations to contribute generously to the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*.

123. It contains a special request that the highest priority be given to the dissemination of information on *apartheid* and that the production of radio programmes for broadcasting to South Africa be continued and expanded. Those broadcasts give valuable encouragement to the South African people in their determination to resist *apartheid*; and they make it possible for the oppressive minority to hear the voice of the international community and to measure the scope of the condemnation of them.

124. In the draft resolution the General Assembly invites all Governments, information media and organizations to counteract the propaganda of the *apartheid* régime and to co-operate with the Special Committee in exposing the activities of groups and

transnational corporations which assist in that propaganda. In addition, the General Assembly commends the specialized agencies on the co-operation they provide in disseminating information on *apartheid*.

125. The adoption of this draft resolution would enable us on the one hand to support the work already done by the Special Committee and, on the other to increase the funds placed at its disposal in order to inform public opinion and mobilize anti-*apartheid* energies throughout the whole world.

126. Those are the basic points contained in the draft resolution, which we hope will be unanimously supported by the members of the Assembly, which will thus provide proof of their solidarity and their commitment to the struggle being waged to eliminate *apartheid* through eminently peaceful means.

127. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Barbados to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.25 and Add.1.

128. Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados): In my capacity as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour and privilege of introducing to the Assembly, on behalf of its more than 60 sponsors, draft resolution A/35/L.25 and Add.1 on *apartheid* in sports.

129. I should like to recall here that the *Ad Hoc* Committee was established by the General Assembly under its resolution 31/6 F of 9 November 1976 and was requested, *inter alia*, to prepare a draft declaration on *apartheid* in sports and to undertake preparatory steps towards the drafting of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

130. Representatives may also recall that the General Assembly, in its resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977, adopted and proclaimed the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports and requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

131. At the thirty-third session of the General Assembly the *Ad Hoc* Committee submitted a progress report and introduced its first draft Convention consisting of 9 preambular paragraphs and 23 articles. At that same time there were some five articles on which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had been unable to reach agreement. Accordingly, the General Assembly, in its resolution 33/183 N of 24 January 1979, requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to completing the draft Convention during 1979.

132. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly the *Ad Hoc* Committee reported significant progress in reaching agreement on all but one of the articles of the draft Convention. On 12 December 1979 the General Assembly, by its resolution 34/93 N, again extended the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

133. As the Rapporteur pointed out when introducing the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*56th meeting*], the Committee concentrated its attention on the area of the draft Convention on which no agreement had been reached, that is, on article 10. Regrettably, the *Ad Hoc* Committee did not succeed in its efforts to reconcile the differing opinions on article 10 and it has become increasingly clear that the issues raised

in connexion with that article require very careful and very patient negotiations in order for an acceptable solution to be found.

134. At the same time the *Ad Hoc* Committee has become increasingly alarmed at the recent upsurge in sporting contacts and relations with South Africa, and is of the view that it is becoming urgent for the draft convention to be speedily finalized.

135. Since draft resolution A/35/L.25 and Add.1 is quite clear, I shall refrain from commenting on each individual paragraph. I wish, however, to draw attention in particular to the fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs which express concern at the action of a number of sports bodies in continuing exchanges with South Africa and the attempts by some national sports committees to readmit South African associations to membership of international sports organizations from which they had previously been banned. The failure of some Governments to attempt to prevent such developments or even to minimize them is a source of concern to the Committee.

136. I should also like to draw the Assembly's attention specifically to certain operative paragraphs.

137. In operative paragraph 3 the Assembly requests the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention at the thirty-sixth session; in operative paragraph 4 it authorizes the *Ad Hoc* Committee to widen its consultations appropriately. In this connexion, I should like to inform the Assembly that the *Ad Hoc* Committee acted as host of a delegation from the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa in September, and the Council has invited a delegation from the *Ad Hoc* Committee to attend its Executive Committee meeting at Freetown from 17 to 20 December; operative paragraph 5 is aimed at the further isolation of sporting events in South Africa, by asking the media to refrain from covering or providing publicity of sports exchanged with South Africa; in operative paragraph 7 the Assembly requests the Secretary-General to invite comments and views from all the Member States on the revised draft of the international convention against *apartheid* in sports by 30 April 1981.

138. It is anticipated that the response of Member States will assist the *Ad Hoc* Committee with its work, provided its mandate is once again extended.

139. On behalf of the sponsors, I invite representatives to adopt draft resolution A/35/L.25 and Add.1 unanimously.

140. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Philippines to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.26 and Add.1.

141. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): It is an honour for me to introduce to the General Assembly draft resolution A/35/L.26 and Add.1 on women and children under *apartheid*, which is sponsored by more than 70 delegations, including my own.

142. It is evident that *apartheid* dehumanizes and continues to dehumanize the black people of South Africa by depriving them of their inalienable rights and dignity. The impact of *apartheid* and racism has been devastating for both men and women in South Africa. However, there is a crucial dimension to the

effect of *apartheid* on women and children because they are more adversely affected.

143. *Apartheid* has a devastating effect on women. They are doubly discriminated against: first, because they are Africans; and secondly because they are dependants of men and are therefore considered inferior to them. Even working women suffer from discrimination because only cheap labour is open to them. It is a common pattern in family life for the men to go away on contract labour, and leave the women and children home. Most husbands do not send enough support money and most often the women have to struggle not only for their own survival but also for their children's under extremely adverse conditions.

144. *Apartheid* is equally destructive to the children. It has been said that *apartheid* is genocide against children. Surveys have given the following statistics: first, about 200 of every 1,000 African children die in infancy, as compared to 20 of every 1,000 white children; secondly, in rural South Africa 30 to 50 per cent of the African children die before they reach the age of five; thirdly, in 1979, two thirds of the African children in school were infected with tuberculosis; and, fourthly, three out of five South African refugees are children, and most of them live in squatter camps or "plastic" towns.

145. There are endless facts to show how children have suffered and continue to suffer because of *apartheid*, and it is inconceivable that these are the same young ones who in future are expected to be the props and leaders of their country.

146. The international community has become very much aware of the plight of women and children under *apartheid* and consequently it has taken all possible steps to alleviate their present unfortunate situation.

147. In every area, health, education and family relations, they are deprived of their rights to a normal existence and the only way by which they can be rescued from their predicament is, in our view, through the total destruction and elimination of *apartheid*. In that connexion, it is heartening to note the commendable work being done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Task Force on Women and Children. Recognition must also be given to the efforts made by the International Seminar on Women and *Apartheid* and by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women.

148. It is in that context that the sponsors submit draft resolution A/35/L.26 and Add.1. The draft resolution acknowledges the heroic struggle of black women for their inalienable rights to their land and its resources, for their dignity and their honour and finally for their national liberation.

149. The highlights of the draft resolution include the endorsement given to the Declaration and recommendations of the International Seminar on Women and *Apartheid* and the endorsement accorded to the relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, which are all commended to the attention of Governments and organizations.

150. Under the terms of the draft resolution the General Assembly would urge all organizations of the

United Nations system, Governments, international and regional intergovernmental organizations, women's and anti-apartheid and non-governmental organizations to give the highest priority to the question of measures of assistance to women in South Africa and Namibia during the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women. It also embodies an appeal to all Governments and organizations to support the various projects of the national liberation movements and front-line States designed to assist refugees, both women and children from South Africa and Namibia.

151. By the draft resolution the General Assembly would request the Commission on Human Rights to investigate crimes against women and children in South Africa and also request the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Task Force on Women and Children: first, to promote and monitor the implementation of the relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women; secondly, to publicize the plight of women and children under apartheid and their struggle for liberation; and thirdly, to encourage national, regional and international conferences on women and children under apartheid and to co-sponsor such conferences as may be appropriate.

152. With such specific objectives in mind, the sponsors hope that draft resolution A/35/L.26 and Add.1 will obtain the unanimous approval of the General Assembly. Lest we forget, each and every one of us here present today represents the hope and aspirations of the victims of apartheid, particularly of the women and children, for a better life and a more humane existence than the deplorable conditions under which they now live.

153. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Senegal to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.28 and Add.1.

154. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) [*interpretation from French*]: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly, on behalf of more than 50 sponsors, including Senegal, draft resolution A/35/L.28 and Add.1 on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

155. The policy of apartheid is the object of censure and condemnation by the entire international community. All countries in the world that value peace and freedom cannot but rejoice at such a fact. They also welcome the effective action, on an international scale, carried out by the Special Committee against Apartheid, presided over with such competence and devotion by Mr. Clark of Nigeria.

156. In order to get a sense of the remarkable work done by the Special Committee, it suffices to refer to the fully documented reports submitted year after year on its international action for mobilization against that offence to the conscience of mankind represented by apartheid. The measures advocated by the Special Committee against Apartheid appear to us in more than one respect fundamental for the eradication of that scourge and they should be effectively implemented to that end. We also consider it important that, in the exercise of its functions, the Committee should be strongly encouraged, particularly in its task of

promoting effective international action to support the legitimate struggle of national liberation movements in South Africa.

157. The sponsors of the draft resolution believe that the liberation struggle in southern Africa has now entered a decisive and crucial phase, which calls for the attention and active support of the whole international community. They are aware of the importance of the mandate that the General Assembly should give to the Special Committee in order to make it ever more capable of carrying out its activities in the fields of mobilization, co-ordination and public information, in co-operation with the South African liberation movements recognized by the OAU and the United Nations. Such action should help to further isolate the South African régime in the international arena, so as to compel it to respect the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly on the question we are at present considering.

158. Armed with such a mandate, the Special Committee could monitor the implementation of all United Nations resolutions on apartheid, while at the same time promoting the organization of international campaigns against apartheid and any other action that falls within the framework of its programme of work, as defined in the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

159. For all these reasons, I would commend to the General Assembly the adoption of this text on behalf of its sponsors.

160. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Sweden, who will introduce draft resolution A/35/L.32 and Add.1.

161. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): My delegation has the honour of introducing, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/35/L.32 and Add.1.

162. During its four previous regular sessions, the General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority, resolutions 31/6 K, 32/105 O, 33/183 O and 34/93 Q, in which it urged the Security Council to consider steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. We regretfully note, however, that the Security Council, while being seized of the question of South Africa, has so far been unable to reach agreement on steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments and financial loans.

163. Since the Assembly adopted resolution 34/93 Q, the motives for taking steps in this direction have, if anything, become even more pressing. A diminishing inflow of capital for investments and other purposes into South Africa would be an effective means of putting pressure on the South African régime to change its racial and aggressive policies. Among other things, it would make it more difficult for that country to carry through its ambitious and costly build-up of its military and nuclear capacity and its energy reserves for the purpose of withstanding internal and international pressure. The sponsors of the draft resolution therefore find it urgent to strengthen efforts to stem the flow of resources to South Africa for the purpose of investments.

164. Some countries may find the scope of the draft resolution too limited. However, as was the case in

previous years, the sponsors have formulated the operative element of the draft resolution in such a way as to make it possible for the widest range of countries to vote for it. Possible broader support for this kind of action would be a clear signal to South Africa that the world community as a whole is strongly reacting against its *apartheid* policy.

165. The draft resolution we are now introducing should be seen as one element in a broad and joint international effort to bring an end to the *apartheid* policies, and it is in this spirit that we commend it for adoption by the General Assembly.

166. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Finland to introduce draft resolution A/35/L.33 and Add.1.

167. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization has a clear obligation to work for the total eradication of the policy of *apartheid*. Until this objective is achieved, the international community has to do whatever can be done to alleviate the suffering caused by that policy and to assist the victims of *apartheid*.

168. This is the principal objective of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, established by the General Assembly in 1965 [resolution 2054 B (XX)]. As pointed out in the Secretary-General's report [A/35/509], the Fund gives grants to voluntary organizations, to Governments of host countries of refugees from South Africa and to other appropriate bodies for the following purposes: first, legal assistance to persons persecuted under the repressive and discrimi-

natory legislation of South Africa; secondly, relief to such persons and their dependents; thirdly, education of such persons and their dependants; fourthly, relief for refugees from South Africa; and, fifthly, relief and assistance to persons persecuted under the repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia.

169. In view of the increasingly difficult situation of the opponents of *apartheid*, the need for the assistance rendered by the Trust Fund is greater than ever. Fortunately, the increase in the contributions to the Trust Fund in recent years shows a growing international solidarity with the victims of *apartheid*. However, still larger contributions are needed in order to meet the ever-increasing requirements.

170. It is against this background that on behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour of introducing draft resolution A/35/L.33 and Add.1. The draft resolution contains an appeal for generous contributions to the Trust Fund and to the voluntary agencies concerned. The sponsors trust that this appeal will receive a positive response. Furthermore, we believe that the General Assembly will again demonstrate its solidarity with the victims of *apartheid* by adopting this draft resolution unanimously.

171. The PRESIDENT: This concludes the introduction of draft resolutions under agenda item 28. Inasmuch as some of these draft resolutions have administrative and financial implications, the voting will take place after we have received the reports of the Fifth Committee.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.