



CONTENTS

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Agenda item 133:<br>Declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month and a Peace Day  | 1251 |
| Agenda item 32:<br>Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa:<br>(a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ;<br>(b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on the Drafting of an<br>International Convention against <i>Apartheid</i> in Sports;<br>(c) Reports of the Secretary-General<br>Report of the Special Political Committee..... | 1253 |

*President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).*

**AGENDA ITEM 133**

**Declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month  
and a Peace Day**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Costa Rica to introduce draft resolution A/36/L.29/Rev.1.

2. Mr. PIZA-ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Costa Rica, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/36/L.29/Rev.1, concerning the declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month and a Peace Day. We are really dealing with two draft resolutions which have now been redrafted in the form of a single one. There were originally two parts: the first on the declaration of an international peace year, and the second on the declaration of an international peace day, this latter to be of a permanent character. Both were based on the same general considerations.

3. At the end of this morning's meeting we held consultations with delegations that expressed interest in the draft resolution. Those talks gave rise to some changes; I shall refer to these at the end of my statement, because they have not yet been made available in all the working languages. Thus, I shall discuss the draft resolution in general terms and make the necessary comments on changes agreed to afterwards.

4. In introducing this draft resolution the delegation of Costa Rica is pleased to introduce a proposal unanimously adopted by the International Association of University Presidents at its Sixth Triennial Conference which was held in the capital of my country, San José, from 28 June to 3 July 1981, this time with the specific theme of "Education for Peace".

5. I do not think it necessary to remind the Assembly that peace is the fundamental ideal on which the United Nations is based; nor that this ideal, far from being attained, is so seriously threatened in the world today that mankind is running the risk of its own destruction. The terms of the equation as it now stands speak for them-

selves. On the one hand there is the stockpiling of destructive weapons capable of killing the entire human race 200 times over, and an arms race which every year reaches astronomical figures and now accounts for \$2 billion a day. On the other hand there is a precarious stability, sustained by fear, which constantly threatens to break through the fire barriers and let loose a world conflagration and which is constantly eroded by more or less localized outbreaks of conflict, any of which could cause the final explosion.

6. Nor do I think it necessary to recall that peace, the true peace to which we all aspire and must aspire in the United Nations, cannot be merely the precarious peace resulting from a balance of fear or from international agreements intended to balance the opposing interests of States which are constantly eyeing each other warily, looking for the first opportunity to destroy each other or get the upper hand. Nor can such true peace consist solely in appeasement, which gives the appearance of peace, although in fact it involves domination or injustice, which carry the seeds of its own destruction.

7. Agreed disarmament, détente, arrangements between States, the balance of power, these are but convenient palliatives for conflict and warfare, while domination and injustice are inconvenient, and indeed dangerous. The truth is that, as is so rightly stated in the preamble to the UNESCO constitution:

"... since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

"... a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of Governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and ... peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

8. These considerations are those that led the General Assembly and the highest moral authorities in the world, led by His Holiness the Pope, to propose ways and means conducive to creating in the minds and hearts of men, mainly through education in all its forms, a positive awareness of peace, true peace, based on justice and, as Benito Juárez said, on respect for the rights of others, which little by little will replace the purely negative concept of peace as a lack of conflict or the interval between two wars.

9. Those same considerations led the General Assembly to set up bodies such as the United Nations University, in 1972 and, finally in 1980, the University for Peace, which, with the installation of its first council, on 15 December, will begin to walk without help.

10. Those same considerations led the International Association of University Presidents, which brings together more than 700 institutions of higher education from every part of the world, to conceive of the proposal contained in the draft resolution that it is my privilege to introduce.

11. The concern underlying this draft resolution speaks for itself. First of all, there is the proposal to declare a Peace Year, to arrive at a mass concentration of efforts by the United Nations and by all States and peoples of the world to reflect for a year on peace, to conceive of new ways and means, and to strengthen those that already exist to achieve and guarantee peace, to gain information and to educate others about the ideals of real peace.

12. We have proposed the year 1984 to the General Assembly, but we are leaving it open in order to abide by the guidelines to be decided by the Assembly on the basis of recommendations made by the Economic and Social Council. However, it is urgently necessary that the year be celebrated so that it may begin to have results. We must not allow any other international celebrations or international years to prevent this one being held, and this celebration must not be allowed to interfere with others.

13. We are aware that the proper and useful celebration of such an international year requires careful preparation, the importance of which is reflected generally speaking in the guidelines recommended by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1980/67 concerning the celebration of international years and adopted by the Assembly in its decision 35/424. Hence we have provided in the draft resolution for consultation with Member States, UNESCO, the United Nations University, the University for Peace, the Centre for Disarmament and such other organs and agencies in the United Nations system as the Secretary-General deems appropriate, as well as with the International Association of University Presidents and other recognized non-governmental organizations and with the Economic and Social Council itself, on the specific programme and best means for the observance of the year. Therefore what we are asking the General Assembly to do now is decide to declare an international year of peace and to give some clear indication to the Economic and Social Council that this is in the interest of the entire international community here represented.

14. In this regard, in the initial draft resolution we included in operative paragraph 5, not a recommendation for given guidelines to be adopted now, but examples of items, issues or suggestions in order that States and agencies consulted could give their opinion of them and indicate their possibilities. We included them merely so that the international peace year should not become a celebration empty of substantive content, but rather that, apart from the clearly educational aspect of the year, there should be during the year a reduction in tension, lives should be saved, large sums of money should not be spent on war and conflict, which is completely absurd, and the arms race, which has already reached such extremes, should not attain the level of universal madness. In other words, we should see that the Peace Year should really be a year of peace. The paragraph as now drafted notably softens the wording in order to avoid any controversy or conflict and above all in order to ensure that we can reach a consensus that will as far as possible meet the guidelines adopted by the Assembly.

15. In the revised draft resolution we are proposing the celebration of an international peace day each year. We

have United Nations Day, 24 October, the date of the entry into force of the Charter: there is also Human Rights Day, 10 December, the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We believe that there should also be a peace day, dedicated to a celebration of the main ideal underlying the Organization, strengthening the awareness of peoples and men of a positive and useful conception of mankind at peace.

16. We are proposing the third Tuesday in September each year for the celebration of this day because that is the very day on which the sessions of the General Assembly begin. It can thus serve as a reminder to all peoples that the Organization, with all its limitations, is a living instrument in the service of peace and should serve all of us here within the Organization as a constantly pealing bell reminding us that our permanent commitment, above all interests or differences of any kind, is to peace. May Peace Day indeed be a day of peace.

17. My delegation respectfully submits the draft resolution for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly, in the firm conviction that if, as we hope, it is adopted, we shall be making an important contribution to the establishment and consolidation of peace. The celebration of a Peace Year and the yearly celebration of a Peace Day will be a modest but, we hope, a positive contribution to the attainment of the ideals of the United Nations and hence to the transformation that mankind so sorely needs today in order that real peace with justice may be the basis of the enormous joint effort we have to make for our children.

18. This must be a revolutionary transformation, because we have to remove the vestiges of war and conflict from the minds and, above all, from the hearts of men. It must be a bloodless revolution, but still a revolution, a transformation. Let us not forget that, as a great Spanish thinker said, the greatest revolution in history took only three years and the one who carried out that revolution spilled only His own blood.

19. I should like to inform the Assembly that as a result of the consultations we held earlier today with interested and concerned delegations, we arrived at compromise wording which I shall read out now so that everyone will be aware of it. I would respectfully request the President to postpone any decision on the draft resolution until the new text is available in writing in all the working languages of the Organization. Operative paragraph 1 of the revised text reads as follows:

“1. *Invites* the Economic and Social Council to consider, at its first regular session of 1982, the possibility of declaring an International Year of Peace at the first practicable opportunity, taking into account the urgency and special nature of such an observance as well as the guidelines for international years and anniversaries adopted by the General Assembly in its decision 35/424 of 5 December 1980, and to submit its recommendations to the Assembly at its thirty-seventh session on the basis of appropriate arrangements for the timing, organization and financing of the year”.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the request of the representative of Costa Rica, the General Assembly will deal with the draft resolution on Monday, 30 November.

## AGENDA ITEM 32

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

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

## REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/36/719)

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On Wednesday last, at the 73rd meeting, it was suggested that the list of speakers should be closed this afternoon at 5 o'clock. If I hear no objection it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee in document A/36/719. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

*It was so decided (decision 36/419).*

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

24. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: At the outset may I on behalf of my Government and my delegation offer condolences to the Government of Colombia on the death of our dear colleague Mr. Juan Arango. Our condolences go also to the family of the deceased.

25. As at previous sessions, the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the régime in South Africa remains the central issue at this session of the Assembly. For decades now the Assembly has on an annual basis had to debate the question and to consider what can be done to eliminate this pernicious evil from the international community. So far the *apartheid* régime has wilfully and blindly turned a deaf ear to the entreaties and pleas of the international community that it put an end to its heinous crimes against the oppressed people of South Africa. The crime of *apartheid*, which remains an affront to the international community, has become increasingly intolerable to mankind not only because of its discriminatory philosophy but also because of the serious dangers it poses to international peace and security.

26. The dimensions of the crimes of *apartheid* boggle the mind. Only the oppressed people of South Africa who have been victims of a racist doctrine that is unparalleled for its brutality can tell their full story. But when we speak of *apartheid* South Africa we are referring to a régime which denies the overwhelming majority their basic human freedoms—freedoms that are now taken for granted in the rest of the world. The majority of the people of South Africa have no vote. They cannot live in a place of their own choosing. They are constantly being shuttled around from place to place simply on account of their colour. Families live in enforced separation, and through the obnoxious bantustan policy the blacks of South Africa are now being alienated from their own homeland. Vast numbers of people have been forcibly

ejected from South Africa and forcibly transferred to the bantustans, with which they have had no links whatsoever. The primary objective of this policy is to make South Africa a white country, which it never has been and never could be.

27. In recent years the brutality and the oppression of blacks by the *apartheid* régime has increased to an alarming extent. Soweto is only a milestone in a process of vicious and escalating repression which has continued with unabated vigour. Today the situation has grown worse with the indiscriminate arrest, detention and torture of innocent men, women and children who are considered to be a threat to the régime. At this moment six freedom fighters of the African National Congress [ANC] are facing death sentences under the inhuman and unjust laws of *apartheid* South Africa. The suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa is unimaginable and continues to stir the conscience of the world. Clearly, something has to be done.

28. We in Nigeria have consistently expressed our abhorrence of *apartheid* in the conviction that it not only is a negation of all known civilized norms and standards but represents a serious danger to the peace and stability of our continent. It is an issue over which we will never compromise. Since the attainment of our independence in 1960 we have maintained a complete trade embargo on the racist régime. We do not allow it overflight rights in our country. We have even gone further than that by banning transnational corporations known to be collaborating with racist South Africa from doing any business in Nigeria. We are determined to maintain this policy of economic, political and cultural boycott against South Africa for as long as the racist régime persists with its abhorrent racial doctrine. We are strengthened in our resolve to maintain a policy of sanctions against South Africa by the knowledge that the international community as manifested in the Assembly shares our deep revulsion at and abhorrence of the racist doctrine of the South African régime.

29. Here in the Assembly the strong anti-*apartheid* sentiments of the international community have been fully and forcefully demonstrated by numerous resolutions adopted against racist South Africa. In 1977 even the Security Council, which is usually painfully slow to act, was compelled to recognize the danger to international peace and security posed by the Pretoria régime when by resolution 418 (1977) it imposed a mandatory arms embargo on *apartheid* South Africa.

30. At many international conferences the international community has articulated its opposition to any racist doctrine not only by condemning *apartheid* South Africa but by calling for sanctions against it. At the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris last May, there was a consensus that the situation in South Africa was characterized by South Africa's repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, which presented the world with real dangers of a wider conflict. In response to that danger the Conference urged the international community to take urgent, energetic and concerted action to counter the continuing breaches of the peace by the racist Pretoria régime through the application of mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. Similarly, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], at its eighteenth session, held at Nairobi in June, and the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February, both

condemned the racist régime for the deteriorating situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole. They called on the Security Council to discharge its full responsibilities to the international community by invoking comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* South Africa. Equally, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Melbourne in September/October, expressed its deep concern about the rapidly deteriorating situation in southern Africa, which it rightly blamed on the racist doctrine of the Pretoria régime.

31. It is a matter for deep regret and concern that despite all these resolutions, admonitions and warnings, the racist régime of South Africa has not only persisted in its dangerous course, but has also intensified its repression of the black people of South Africa. Its constant military forays against its African neighbours have also been intensified with incalculable consequences for the peace and stability of the world. What is even worse is that in desperation the racist régime has frantically stepped up its programme for the development and acquisition of nuclear weapons. Is it not clear enough that these weapons are intended to deter the international community, particularly Africa, from resisting its racist doctrine? Is it not intended to intimidate those who openly challenge the racial practices of the régime? There is abundant evidence that certain Western countries have collaborated with South Africa in its development of a nuclear arsenal. Is this not a disservice to the international community, which calls for the appropriate response?

32. Nigeria will not be deterred in its strong opposition to *apartheid* and holds South Africa's allies responsible for the consequences of the nuclearization of Africa. We will continue to give the freedom fighters of Africa all the material resources at our disposal for the prosecution of their just war against their racist oppressors in South Africa. For us this is the path of national honour and we will not be deterred from this path of honour regardless of the price and sacrifice. We are only strengthened in our resolve by the consistent failure of certain Western Powers to discharge their international responsibilities in the face of persistent acts of provocation and aggression by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Those who for reasons of economic considerations are collaborating with the *apartheid* régime bear a heavy responsibility for the outright war that now threatens to engulf the whole of Africa.

33. Even at this late hour, it is our hope and expectation that they will come down on the side of justice and freedom by invoking Chapter VII of the Charter for the application of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime. Short of a wider conflict from which no one will profit, the only option that we as responsible members of the international community are left with is the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against that racist régime. Nothing less than that will impress on the racist régime our total opposition to its heinous crimes in South Africa. Sooner or later, the people of South Africa, through armed struggle, will overthrow the racist régime. On that day of reckoning, all of us as individuals and as Governments will be called upon to give an account of our response to the misery and suffering which has been the lot of the blacks of South Africa for over a century.

34. The past year has seen a further development of the mobilization of the oppressed people of South Africa against racist tyranny in their land. Workers, schoolchildren, religious leaders and journalists have defied in-

timidation and terror to demonstrate their indomitable will to be free and their willingness to sacrifice even their lives so that their children will be free. The massive boycott of the festivities organized by the régime in May to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the racist Republic—a boycott which not only blacks but also many white men and women of conscience joined—showed that the racist régime survives only through brute force and, of course, the good will of some external Powers. The nearly total boycott of the elections to the South African Indian Council showed that the racist régime's manoeuvres to divide the black people are in vain.

35. Meanwhile, the armed resistance of the national liberation movement has greatly advanced this year. Freedom fighters have attacked police stations, *apartheid* institutions and even military installations at the risk of their lives. There is no doubt that the struggle will escalate until *apartheid* is totally destroyed. The international community, which has denounced *apartheid* as a crime akin to slavery and which has recognized the legitimacy of the oppressed people, must rise to the occasion. Action by the international community will determine whether freedom will come through the martyrdom of the flower of youth, from the killing and maiming of people of all colours or whether a new, non-racial and just society can be built through a process of consultation. That is why we stress the urgency and importance of action by the international community, and especially by the major trading partners of South Africa, which can make a vital contribution if only they abandon their short-sighted and selfish policies and look to the future.

36. I commend to every member of the Assembly the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/36/22 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2] and the draft resolutions that will soon be submitted on the basis of those recommendations. I commend in particular the proposals on mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, on the arms embargo, on the oil embargo and on the cessation of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. These proposals are nothing more than an appeal to stop all collaboration with evil and to support all those who are striving for justice.

37. But I must emphasize that what we seek is not mere resolutions, but the effective implementation of those resolutions. In this regard, I should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all Governments and organizations which have lent their co-operation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in the discharge of the important responsibilities assigned to it by the General Assembly.

38. It will soon be 70 years since the African people of South Africa established a national movement to struggle for justice, for their inalienable rights, for their land and for the right to vote. It will soon be, on 10 December, Human Rights Day, 20 years since the late Chief Albert Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of the great non-violence movement he led, not only for the rights of the African people but also for the rights, the security and the future of all the people of that country. We are determined, no matter what the cost, that Africa must be totally free and in our time, God willing. South Africa and all its people, irrespective of race, colour or religion—belong to Africa. They must and they will build their future on the continent in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

39. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to introduce the report of the Committee.

40. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to introduce the annual report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/36/22 and Corr.1] the Special Committee's special reports—on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [A/36/22/Add.1] and on the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [A/36/22/Add.2] as well as the report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981.<sup>1</sup>

41. The annual report reviews the many activities which the Committee undertook in 1981. It also contains conclusions and recommendations which the Committee regards as essential for concerted and effective mobilization of international action to eliminate the hateful system of *apartheid*, and thus to give sure support to the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

42. These conclusions and recommendations are presented with a feeling of extreme urgency in view of the very serious situation obtaining in South Africa. That situation results in particular from the intensification of repression in South Africa and the repeated acts of terrorism and aggression against neighbouring countries, including the renewed attacks against the People's Republic of Mozambique last January and the massive and unprovoked aggression against Angola last August.

43. In view of these extremely serious circumstances, which mean there must be no delay by the international community in its action to destroy *apartheid*, the Special Committee places great emphasis in its conclusions and recommendations on the timeliness and feasibility of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions in the political, economic, cultural, academic and all other fields of relations with South Africa, and sets out in specific terms a considerable number of steps which could be taken.

44. Similarly, the Special Committee goes on to recommend in its second special report that the General Assembly proclaim 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The main purpose of proclaiming this international year is to mobilize all Governments and international organizations, as well as trade unions, religious bodies, students and youth, women and other sectors of the world public for action to implement the declarations of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. Those declarations are contained in the report of the Conference.

45. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly endorse the detailed programme for the International Year set out in the annual report. The Special Committee hopes that the observance of the International Year will result, as a minimum, in a series of specific actions by the international community which will give an impetus to the campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

46. I should like also to draw the Assembly's attention to the great importance attached by the Special Committee to the continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, and its serious implications with regard to the development of the military and nuclear capability of South Africa. In spite of claims to the con-

trary, the collaboration has become systematic and covers a wide range of political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural relations. That is why the General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of the Special Committee, adopted resolution 35/206 H on 16 December 1980, in which it strongly condemned the continuing and increasing collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa, and requested the Special Committee "to keep the matter under constant review and report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate". The related special report was prepared for consideration by the General Assembly in accordance with that request made to the Special Committee.

47. In conclusion, I should like to express the great appreciation and thanks of the Special Committee to the Secretary-General for his continuing co-operation in the work of the Committee.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Mr. Neil of Jamaica, to introduce the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

49. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, I have the honour to introduce its report [A/36/36 and Corr.1].

50. As the General Assembly will recall, the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which was established in 1976, has for the past four years been working on the preparation of a draft convention aimed at the elimination of *apartheid* in sports. In its resolution 35/206 M, the General Assembly requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention for consideration by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

51. Owing to the persistence of difficulties in reaching agreement on one aspect of the draft Convention, the *Ad Hoc* Committee was unable to complete the drafting. In effect, the positions of the delegations remained unchanged on the substance of the proposal presented in draft article 10 B, which would require measures against third parties who act contrary to the principles of the Convention. The drafting group of the Committee again made intensive efforts to arrive at a formula on which agreement could be reached. In the course of these discussions, constructive proposals were put forward and there was some indication that one of these proposals, which is specifically mentioned in paragraph 12 of the report, may provide the basis for a consensus. If this were achieved, the *Ad Hoc* Committee would in all likelihood be able to complete the draft Convention by the thirty-seventh session, since agreement has been reached on the text of all other aspects of the draft Convention.

52. In the course of the year the *Ad Hoc* Committee also held extensive consultations with experts and interested parties on issues relating to the draft Convention. The discussions with the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa were particularly useful in this regard, as were those held with a number of organizations active in the area of sports at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

53. The Committee also gave careful consideration to the views and comments submitted by Member States

pursuant to paragraph 7 of resolution 35/206 M. It particularly welcomed suggested amendments, which were all discussed by the drafting group and which would be further examined in the process of completing the draft Convention.

54. In conclusion, I draw the attention of the General Assembly to the recommendation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 13 of its report. In view of the progress made by the Committee and the possibilities that now exist for the successful completion of its work, the *Ad Hoc* Committee considers that its mandate should be extended to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft Convention for the consideration of the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session.

55. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): *Apartheid* has been designated a crime against humanity; the perpetrators of this crime have been placed in the dock, prosecuted and convicted. But how is it that they escape punishment? How is it that they continue to commit their racist crimes? How is it that those criminals continue to walk among honourable men, while the victims continue to suffer and the punishment continues to be borne by the victims of *apartheid*? They are paying in human, social, political, economic and social terms to an extent unbelievable to those who may stand at this podium to debate their conditions.

56. Virgil announced in his *Eclogues*, "from a single crime know the nation". And with the crime of *apartheid* we know the racist régime of South Africa and the system upon which a small minority has built a republic for itself, seeking to disenfranchise and disinherit the majority of the inhabitants of the ancient land.

57. We have heard in many forums and in many forms the listing of South Africa's manifestations of *apartheid*. If history is indeed little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind, as Gibbon said, then the history of southern Africa is one in which the crimes committed by the racist minority régime in Pretoria will fill volumes.

58. Not too long ago the late Jean-Paul Sartre declared that *apartheid* is both a practice and a theory and, as such, it has not confined itself within the borders of the Republic but has spread its tentacles all over southern Africa, while its lifeline comes from its Zionist and imperialist allies.

59. I would just like to give a few examples of how the *apartheid* policies of the Pretoria régime have been put into practice. Through the militarization of the *apartheid* State, South Africa terrorizes not only its own majority inhabitants, but also the independent States of the region by constant acts of armed aggression and invasion, such as the attacks against the People's Republic of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. The planned military expenditure for 1981 is estimated at 2.8 billion rand, a 7,000 per cent increase since 1974. In the past few years, the Pretoria régime has promoted its racist armed forces from being the tools of its racist policy to becoming the decision-makers of a military State. South Africa is also now a big exporter of weapons systems. In Namibia, the racist armed forces, including paramilitary forces, number about 100,000, from where they launch wave upon wave of attacks against the Angolan people and their territory. In fact, the *apartheid* war machine still has troops in some parts of my country today.

60. The economic policies of the *apartheid* State have as their partners a number of Western industrialized countries, without whose support as suppliers or buyers the South African economy could not survive, because what Pretoria does not need to import it needs to export to fuel its racist structure. Despite the Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa, adopted by the European Community,<sup>2</sup> many foreign companies continue to pay their workers starvation wages, and the Sullivan principles for the guidance of United States companies doing business in South Africa<sup>3</sup> have fared no better in implementation. Even at their best, those codes are designed to whitewash a system that cannot be saved by cosmetic cover-up. It cannot be modified, adapted or adjusted. It has to be dismantled; it must be destroyed.

61. The infamous Pass Laws, which imprison people in their own country, form the core of the influx control system, and have resulted in millions of Pass Law prosecutions from 1965 to the present. The Western transnational corporations, in bolstering the *apartheid* system, have contributed by creating the system of migrant labour and all the poverty and deprivation resulting from it. *Apartheid* was built on the mining system and the mining system has been built on slave labour. South African coal, for example, is attractive to importers mainly because it is one of the cheapest in the world, as a result of the low cost of black labour in the mines. Pretoria's biggest coal customers are most of the countries members of the European Community, the United States and Japan. Five per cent of Pretoria's earnings from minerals comes from coal exports. Thus, importers of South African coal are contributing to the *apartheid* system as much as the racist junta itself. South Africa's mining industry employs some 700,000 workers, of whom 90 per cent are black. Pretoria's \$40 billion investment programme in gold mining alone is being aided by the capital markets in London and in New York. After 1973, Pretoria stopped publishing statistics of foreign investment in South Africa in order to protect its Western imperialist partners. Over the last 10 years, large numbers of foreign banks from most Western countries have participated in Eurocurrency loans. Many of these loans, as well as technical and scientific assistance, have all gone towards building Africa's first nuclear capability, the one in South Africa, with which it terrorizes the entire continent today.

62. There is so much documentation, so many facts and figures on how the *apartheid* system works, what it does to its own people, what it does to the political and economic life of southern Africa and, above all, about the links between a number of Western Governments and bodies and the racist Pretoria régime. I say Governments, because in a number of these Western countries, a number of civic and other groups have supported anti-*apartheid* action. Unfortunately, government action is needed to destroy the *apartheid* system. We can debate until the end of the century, but unless the international community takes effective action and forces all the Members of the United Nations to observe and implement the countless resolutions that already exist on the subject, the situation will not change. In this connection, we support all the resolutions on *apartheid* and give our support to all future ones, no matter how stringent they may be. The international community should demand that the Western friends of South Africa comply with these resolutions.

63. As recently as some hours ago we were given another demonstration of the *apartheid* system in action. A gang of South African mercenaries, aided by their friends

from the former Rhodesia, landed in Seychelles in an attempt to destabilize the situation there—a tactic we know only too well in our own region. How many other such attempts must the independent countries of Africa suffer at the hands of Pretoria's State terrorism before its friends cease to defend the indefensible?

64. The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and *Apartheid* Régimes in Southern Africa held its second session at Luanda from 30 January to 4 February. Among its recommendations were an urgent demand for strict respect of the principles and rules of general international law, the implementation of resolutions concerning the right of the Namibian people to independence, the effective application of sanctions, the payment of indemnity by South Africa to Angola and other front-line States, and the intensification of solidarity with the struggle against the crimes and acts of aggression of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

65. To those nations, friends and supporters of the South African *apartheid* régime, I should like to quote the following from the opening address of the Nuremberg trials:

“The first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated.”

66. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting on 18 September 1981, I call on the representative of the African National Congress.

68. Mr. MAKATINI (African National Congress of South Africa): On behalf of the African National Congress, its National Executive Committee and the entire oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, I am honoured to express our gratitude to the Assembly for granting us the opportunity once again to express the avowed will of our people to achieve its stated goal: the establishment of a democratic State in South Africa.

69. Please accept the apologies of Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who has been prevented by pressing and unavoidable obligations from being with us today. It was his intention, on the eve of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of ANC on 8 January 1912, personally to present the aspirations of the struggling masses of South Africa and to make an appeal to this body at this crucial stage of our struggle.

70. It has therefore become my pleasant task to congratulate Mr. Kittani on his assumption of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His country's and his own personal commitment to the noble fight for justice, peace and social progress on behalf of the oppressed inspire us with confidence to execute our struggle with even greater vigour. We hope that under his able leadership this year's debate on *apartheid* will further strengthen the international campaign for the isolation of that abominable *apartheid* régime, lay the foundation for its total destruction and pave the way for the inevitable triumph of the ideals and objectives contained in the ANC Freedom Charter—objectives that so closely conform to

the lofty purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

71. The maintenance of peace and security is one of the cardinal purposes that were unanimously endorsed by the founding fathers when, in the wake of the Second World War, they met to establish the United Nations. To that end they resolved that the United Nations would “take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression”. Ever since then, and indeed for nearly the past two decades, the General Assembly has repeatedly determined that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

72. On the basis of that position the General Assembly has repeatedly called on all Member States to sever or refrain from establishing diplomatic, economic, military, nuclear, cultural and sports relations with the *apartheid* régime. In this connection, the General Assembly has also called on all Member States to give moral, political and material support to the national liberation movement of South Africa in support of the legitimate struggle that it is waging in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people and for the establishment of a democratic State based on the principle of universal suffrage.

73. ANC, the undisputed leader and authentic representative of the struggling people of South Africa, expresses its appreciation and gratitude to all those Member States whose policies have been in active solidarity with the struggle of our people to rid the earth of the scourge of *apartheid*.

74. The countries of the non-aligned movement have declared that there will be no peace, security and stability in southern Africa until the *apartheid* system is destroyed and replaced by a democratic State based on majority rule guaranteeing the birthright of the South African people as a whole, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed. Immensely encouraged by the role of the OAU in the liberation struggles of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe—victories that dismantled the erstwhile Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury racist axis and drastically changed the balance of forces in favour of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and ANC, the sole and authentic representatives of the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa—and mindful of its unswerving commitment to the total liberation of the beloved African continent, we of ANC, on the twentieth anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe—spear of the nation—solemnly declare that we shall not cease to carry forth the struggle nor shall we ever lay down arms until freedom is achieved.

75. It is with deep humility that we express recognition and gratitude to the OAU in general and the neighbouring States in particular for the great sacrifices that their Governments and people—our brethren—have continued to make on our behalf. We wish to declare from this rostrum that that trust, confidence and solidarity in common combat and suffering by our brothers and sisters and progressive mankind the world over shall not be betrayed.

76. Furthermore, let it be known that we shall not betray the brotherly Namibian people fighting under the leadership of SWAPO and who, for a number of years, have borne the major burden of this our common fight against

the common enemy based in Pretoria. We shall intensify the armed struggle and all other forms of struggle within the borders of that beleaguered but beloved motherland, South Africa. Indeed, in the spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, we shall not tire to play our historic and strategic role of ensuring the speedy liberation of the whole of southern Africa.

77. We salute the nations of Belize, Vanuatu and Antigua and Barbuda on their attainment of independence and admission to membership in the Organization. To us, their independence and attainment of statehood is yet another reservoir of strength and source of inspiration in our struggle for liberation.

78. We salute our comrades-in-arms, the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [*FRETILIN*], the liberation movement of East Timor, the Puerto Rico Socialist Party, the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro [*POLISARIO*] of Western Sahara, SWAPO, and the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] of occupied Palestine, the sole representative of the Palestinian people in its struggle against the Zionist entity called Israel, the close collaborator of the illegitimate Pretoria régime. We also express our solidarity with the peoples of Chile, El Salvador, Grenada and Nicaragua in their fight against international imperialism.

79. Five years have elapsed since the Soweto uprising and massacre which triggered world-wide indignation and condemnation. It has now become clear that the highly orchestrated rhetoric about the need for change has given way to stepped up brutal repression, militarization, arms build-up and a brazen policy of destabilization and aggression against the neighbouring countries. The socio-economic condition of our people has worsened as they continue to be denied basic human rights and forced to live in abject poverty deliberately created and perpetuated by the *apartheid* régime. White minority rule not only continues, but has become more ferocious as the anger and resistance of our people threaten its existence. The *apartheid* régime has also stepped up its repression against student, community and trade union leaders and activists in a vain attempt to stem the rising tide of strikes, boycotts and protests that have continued unabated since 1976.

80. Furthermore, and in an attempt to divide and weaken the ever-broadening front of patriotic forces drawn from all ethnic and racial groups and mobilized under the banner of ANC, the Pretoria régime recently resorted to the diabolical manoeuvre of granting limited voting rights to the so-called Coloured and Asian communities as part of its strategy to divide and rule the blacks. We salute the Indian people for dealing a deadly blow to this plot designed to isolate them from the mainstream of the unfolding revolution. The attempt to make them third-rate partners of the white racist criminals against the vast black majority has met with dismal failure as the successful ANC-organized boycott of the so-called Indian Council elections demonstrated only two weeks ago.

81. The *apartheid* régime has also stepped up the tribal fragmentation of the indigenous African people as part of the policy of bantustanization aimed at having the so-called Bantu homelands serve not only as reservoirs of cheap labour but also as dumping grounds and concentration camps for the jobless and homeless hundreds of thousands who are daily being forcibly moved from the urban areas.

82. The projected proclamation on 4 December of the barren and impoverished Ciskei as another so-called independent entity is part of the strategy in terms of which millions of indigenous blacks are being declared foreigners in the land of their birth, while the hated tribal chiefs are provided with tribal armies intended to be used against ANC activists and freedom fighters. However, the mounting anger of the people in the Ciskei and other bantustans, where the agents of the Pretoria régime have resorted to a spate of political assassinations, continues to grow and threatens to transform these intended internal buffer zones into internal sanctuaries for the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe, spear of the nation.

83. Six ANC freedom fighters have been sentenced to death following brutal torture and arbitrary trials which were marked by the broad application of the so-called principle of common purpose and conspiracy designed to pave the way for the imposition of capital punishment on all opponents of the *apartheid* régime, who are to be charged for any armed action that has taken place in the country regardless of direct knowledge, or involvement in the commission, of such acts.

84. The Fascist character of the *apartheid* régime once again manifested itself on Thursday last week, when, through its agents, it savagely murdered Griffith Mxenge, a prominent black lawyer, who, after serving a term of imprisonment on Robben Island, earned the admiration of the oppressed people and the hatred of the régime by his tireless role in providing legal defence for ANC freedom fighters and other patriots who daily face arbitrary trials for their opposition to the system of *apartheid*. The deceased, who had last been seen entering his car opposite his office, was found stabbed to death and his body brutally mutilated in a manner reminiscent of the tactics resorted to by the racist commando group that invaded Mozambique and killed 12 ANC refugees at Matola, on the outskirts of Maputo, at the beginning of the year. This dastardly crime and the other assassinations recently carried out in the Ciskei, where the mother and father of Thozamile Gqwetha, the leader of a black labour union, were burned to death in a mysterious fire, as was Deliswa Roxisa, an activist of the South African Workers Union, who was shot by the police, seem to point to a new pattern that includes the killing of Joe Gqob, the late ANC representative recently murdered in Zimbabwe. They point to a new pattern that marks a tactical departure from the killing in prison cells of over 50 political detainees, including Steve Biko. Today, in a vain attempt by the perpetrators to escape condemnation, the most feared and hated leaders, activists and their loved ones are being assassinated outside prison. ANC has appealed to all justice-loving Governments and non-governmental organizations strongly to condemn this latest act of terrorism by the Pretoria régime.

85. The campaign of destabilization and wanton aggression being carried out by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring countries has now reached alarming proportions and calls not just for strong condemnation. It also calls for urgent and collective military support of those countries whose sole crime is, in the exercise of their right to self-determination and in their loyalty to the United Nations resolutions, to dare express moral and political support of and solidarity with the opponents of the inhuman *apartheid* system.

86. Angola has, since the invasion of 1975, been the victim of the permanent and undeclared war of aggression in which thousands of defenceless civilians have been



killed in cold blood while the economic infrastructure is systematically destroyed. Mozambique has also been the target of periodic military incursions, as was the case during the Matola raid and other less publicized acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime. Zimbabwe has been the victim of economic and military sabotage while over 5,000 former Sellous scouts, together with hundreds of dissidents from Mozambique, Zambia and Lesotho, are being financed, armed and trained in preparation for destabilizing those countries.

87. As members know, Lesotho is not a front-line State. It is true that it has been steadfast in the strict compliance with at least two of the United Nations positions and appeals to all Member States in general, including the neighbouring countries, to provide education for the ever-increasing flow of student refugees who flee repression and slave education in South Africa. The other United Nations position that is strictly implemented by Lesotho and one that has earned the anger and hatred of the Pretoria régime that is now harbouring, financing and arming the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army, is the refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria and the refusal to recognize the bantustans. That principled position taken by that small but stout-hearted country that is so vulnerable to South Africa's well-known belligerent position, merits the respect and all-round support of all Member States. ANC renews its appeal for financial, economic and military support to all the neighbouring countries. The sacrifices they are making are for the attainment of the lofty purposes of the United Nations and its credibility and respect.

88. Seychelles, another small peaceful country, whose commitment to the cause of liberation in southern Africa in general and in South Africa in particular and whose compliance with the United Nations call for the severance of all ties with *apartheid* South Africa was not long ago concretized by the stoppage of landing rights to South African planes and tourism, has just repelled a ferocious invasion and *coup d'état* attempt by a force of over 100 racist South African commandos. According to yesterday's *Johannesburg Star*, that commando raid included American and former Sellous scouts from erstwhile Rhodesia. When routed by the Seychelles airport guards, who had been taken by complete surprise, as no one could expect an invading force to descend from a passenger plane, the so-called mercenaries hijacked an Air India plane and commandeered it to Durban where they had come from. Again the Pretoria régime's extraordinary capacity for lying is hard at work, and the world is now being told that this abortive *coup d'état* was planned overseas, that the leader of the commandos had informed the South African Government while knowing that it would not have anything to do with such an operation. There is no doubt that this criminal act which constitutes a flagrant violation of fundamental principles of international law is the work of the Pretoria régime.

89. The statements and acts of solidarity that have continued to come from Washington have no doubt emboldened the *apartheid* régime to engage in ever-more brazen acts of aggression in pursuance of its terrorist campaign. The assurances given by President Reagan that the United States cannot leave *apartheid* South Africa in the lurch since it is a friend and ally, the secret talks between the Pentagon officials and the racist generals who head the military intelligence service, the statement by Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, that it is not the task of the United States to choose between black and white in South Africa, between the forces of

liberation and the forces of oppression and domination as we understand the statement, the vetoing of the Security Council resolution aimed at condemning Pretoria for the aggression committed against Angola, are but a few statements and acts that encourage that régime which has used its Fascist legislation to arrogate to itself the right to intervene in all African countries south of the Equator.

90. Objective observers cannot but now link the stepped-up acts of aggression by South Africa with the statement reported in the London *New Statesman* as coming from some of the Washington Administration aides and saying that the United States policy in the future will be that of rewarding those African countries that befriend South Africa, and punishing and toppling those that support SWAPO and ANC. They will link the South African audacity in attempting to overthrow the Seychelles Government with the United States declared policy of supporting the formation of the South Atlantic alliance, involving the navies of some Latin American dictatorships, such as Chile and others, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other.

91. It is a well-known fact that in certain United States military and political circles, *apartheid* South Africa is seen as an important component in the strategic network to build an order to ensure the much spoken of need to secure the oil sea routes and to make the formation of the South Atlantic treaty organization the intended southern hemisphere counterpart of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] a reality. Along those lines, the island of Diego García in the Indian Ocean has been turned into a formidable military base and military ties between Pretoria and Chile are also being rapidly strengthened. We cannot but be suspicious that the abortive *coup d'état* was part of that strategy.

92. The hostility against the African Member States as a whole cannot be in doubt. We appeal to all Member States to treat this with the seriousness it deserves, and to take appropriate collective action. The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime is long overdue. Should our position be deemed unfounded in the eyes of some, particularly the United States, we call on that delegation to join in the strong condemnation of that invasion of Seychelles and other countries neighbouring South Africa. We call on the General Assembly to consider a separate resolution which should not only urge the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria régime, but should also declare that in future any attack on one Member State will be seen and treated as an attack on all the Member States.

93. The *apartheid* régime's heightened aggressive postures also stems from the fact that in the past 12 months, ANC has significantly intensified the armed struggle and today enjoys an unprecedented high level of support among the people of all ethnic and racial groups who effectively conceal and protect the freedom fighters of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the spear of the nation. According to the régime's own admission, the armed attacks against police stations, electric power stations, military bases and other strategic installations, have during this year increased by 200 percent. As can be expected, the régime only reports on those that take place in the cities, such as the highly successful attack of the Voortrekehoogte, the biggest military base on African soil, situated on the outskirts of Pretoria. The striking power capacity which ANC has now built can be deduced from the statement of Professor Moorcroft of the Witwatersrand University, that

the only thing to save the white minority rule in South Africa would be the outbreak of a third world war.

94. We wish to appeal to all Member States committed to the fight for the destruction of the *apartheid* system and the establishment of a democratic State in South Africa to give and increase financial and material support to ANC—support that is commensurate to the requirements dictated by the Fascist and aggressive as well as intransigent character of the Pretoria régime, which has for so long been armed to the teeth and is incorrigibly committed to ever-mounting aggression against the African States.

95. In condemning once again those countries that continue to collaborate with the *apartheid* régime in the economic, military and nuclear fields, we wish to recognize the limited but positive steps being taken by some who are now establishing direct contact and strengthening bilateral relations with ANC. We are appreciative of the position taken towards the authorization of ANC offices in Vienna, Bonn, Brussels and Paris—thus adding to the already existing ones in Rome, London and Stockholm, as well as helping further to strengthen the position of ANC in the Netherlands, Ireland and all of the Scandinavian countries. We continue to be extremely appreciative of the unswerving support we receive from most of the socialist countries. We appeal to all Member States to join in the campaign to secure the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners. We thank those Governments that have used their good offices towards the promotion of this important campaign through the naming of public places after, and the conferring of honorary degrees to, Nelson Mandela and other leading political prisoners like Walter Susulu and others. This helps to promote the campaign for these illustrious leaders of our people, who will soon be completing their twentieth year in prison. We appeal to those countries that have not done so to consider that form of support. We appeal to all Member States to join in the campaign to save the lives of six ANC members recently sentenced to death by the *apartheid* régime and to secure prisoner-of-war status for all captured freedom fighters, in keeping with Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Convention of 1949. We appeal to all Member States and non-governmental organizations to promote and commemorate the seventieth anniversary of ANC on 12 January 1982 and the twentieth anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe on 16 December 1981, historic dates preceded by the twentieth anniversary of the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize by the late president of ANC, Albert Luthuli on 10 December 1981, Human Rights Day. We appeal to all Member States and non-governmental organizations for the formation of national commemoration committees towards this end, and for the dissemination in their respective capitals of information to be made available by ANC and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We appeal to all to co-operate in the strengthening of the arms embargo and the putting to an end of nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime. We appeal to all, including the specialized agencies, to increase significantly the voluntary contributions towards providing educational facilities to the ever-increasing population of student refugees who have fled from the repression of Pretoria and from inferior education.

96. Finally, we appeal to all to support the South African Congress of Trade Unions in all forms by providing financial assistance. We appeal to the Western States permanent members of the Security Council to facilitate the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa before it is too late for them to es-

cape the condemnation of having been active in their complicity in the crimes committed by that régime against international peace and security. We appeal to all to launch an international campaign of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa.

97. Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): While the past 20 years in Africa have been characterized by decolonization and the struggle for human dignity, it is an astonishing fact that, contrary to all common sense, a retrograde régime of domination and blind oppression is seeking to persevere, knowing very well it will have to lose in the long run in the southern part of our continent.

98. The illegal Pretoria régime, in order to prolong its reign over 20 million Africans, has chosen the most degrading forms of human debasement: racism and *apartheid*. *Apartheid*, which has rightly been described as a crime against humanity, an insult to the dignity of all men and in particular the black man in South Africa, for whom it is intended, is a threat to international peace and security and the ultimate example of man's injustice to man. It is without doubt a systematic and blatant assault on one of the fundamental tenets of the Organization, that of racial equality.

99. Despite numerous appeals by the international community to the racist régime in Pretoria to abolish its inhuman practices, South Africa today remains a veritable concentration camp for more than 20 million black inmates, the innocent victims of an evil ideology which grades human beings like commodities in the market place.

100. Before I continue, my delegation would like to extend its profound appreciation to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for their comprehensive report. This year, as in all previous years, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has catalogued the extent and escalation of the policies of discrimination practised by the white minority régime of South Africa, on the basis of racism and racial discrimination.

101. In spite of United Nations resolutions, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of the International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, of the International Covenants on Human Rights, of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, the situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate.

102. However, in spite of the efforts of the Pretoria authorities to perpetuate the present order of things and their intensification of repressive acts, opposition to the policies of *apartheid* has continued to increase, and with the independence of Zimbabwe, we of the Comoros delegation are more than ever convinced that South Africa is moving irresistibly towards majority rule, even if that may still demand a long period of struggle by the people of South Africa under the leadership of both ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—in particular ANC, which has increased its struggle against the régime.

103. There have been increasing eruptions of violence in South Africa during the past years, however quick the well-equipped South African police have been in suppressing them. There will be still more serious outbursts of violence in the future as long as *apartheid* reigns supreme.

104. Despite this repression, opposition by members of the majority of the population is becoming more wide-

spread and well articulated. New groups have lined up with the opposition. Students and workers, churchmen, representatives of trade unions, teachers and lawyers have joined the ranks of those who are willing to pay with their blood and in the prisons of the *apartheid* régime the price of fighting for freedom. Today in South Africa mass resistance to *apartheid* has attained new heights and greater effectiveness. Organized and sustained struggles have taken place on several fronts, including a nationwide uprising against Republic Day festivities; a widespread revolt by black students against racial discrimination in education; an unprecedented wave of strikes by black workers demanding a living wage and trade-union rights; rent strikes; bus boycotts by the black and Coloured populations against exorbitant increases in bus fares; and struggles against forced removals and relocations of whole communities in both urban and rural areas.

105. In the international field, we witness the ever increasing isolation of the Pretoria régime in almost all spheres of co-operation and, apart from a few Western countries and Israel, which still collaborate with this abominable régime, the rest of the world tries in one way or another to isolate the South African racist régime.

106. The international community has shown, by the historic Security Council resolution 418 (1977), imposing an arms embargo against South Africa, that it is capable of exerting pressure on South Africa. However, the delegation of Comoros is of the opinion that stronger measures are needed in order to force the régime to change its *apartheid* policies—that is, the Security Council must be asked to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and we here in the General Assembly must take a decision that Member States should cease forthwith all dealings with South Africa, with a view to isolating it politically, militarily, economically and culturally.

107. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December 1948, the General Assembly recognizes that the inherent dignity and the inalienable equal rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. The preamble also reminds us that disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind. Human rights must be protected by the rule of law so that man will not be compelled to rebel against tyranny and oppression. Article 7 of the Declaration states that all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law and that all are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of the Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

108. Those are the ideals and aspirations set forth in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, where faith in human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person are reaffirmed. Those were the principles that were trampled under foot during the two world wars.

109. The General Assembly is now discussing a very serious subject—a malignant, almost incurable disease, which the international community has tried to diagnose and treat, but so far has not been able to eradicate.

110. We have made great progress in several fields and some useful incursions in putting science at the service of mankind. But that progress has not been sufficient to

change the spirit of man in his relationship with his fellow-man. Mankind continues to suffer from evils caused by covetousness, selfishness and hatred. Racism is the worst of these evils because it is based on hatred of man for man, not because of any act of aggression, but merely because of a difference of origin or colour of skin. This evil gives rise to schizophrenia; the ill person tries to justify the illness by attributing it to certain ideologies—political, social or religious.

111. The policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa constitutes the basest form of degradation in society, without any justification whatsoever. The most serious crime committed by the racist régime of South Africa was the relocation of the indigenous populations into special areas, with some measure of autonomy—called bantustans, such as Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana—under the pretext of equity and political justice, while everybody is aware that this diabolical plan of bantustanization is designed to weaken the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population of South Africa in their struggle to regain their equal rights in the social, educational and other fields. The plan also is designed to disunify the country and permanently enshrine the domination of the white minority. The General Assembly has already condemned that plan in several resolutions. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* and the injustice imposed by the racist régime upon the people of South Africa.

112. We have great sympathy for the people of South Africa. We have special feelings for that people, because we have brothers in the Middle East, the Arab people of Palestine, who are suffering a similar evil—the despicable racial discrimination of Israel both within the country and in the occupied Arab territories, where the refugees have spent 33 years in camps as the victims of Israeli attacks against their persons, deprived of all their property. Their individual and national dignity has been attacked, and their lives have been at risk many times.

113. The similarity of the policies of those two Governments is accentuated by the fact that they have recourse to close, pernicious political, economic and military co-operation, including nuclear weaponry. The aim of that co-operation is clear; there is no need for any explanations. Each of those two States is aware that in its legislation and in its actions it is violating the principles of the Charter and of international law which are the fundamental rules on which the United Nations and indeed co-operation and international peace are based.

114. Those two States are violating international law constantly. They are violating many resolutions of the United Nations, and their policy is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and its very reason for existing.

115. The General Assembly has repeatedly called upon the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, but so far the Security Council has not responded to those appeals. This incapacity of the Security Council has been borne out also *vis-à-vis* the racist Israeli entity, which thus challenges and flouts the international community's wishes, practices violence and repression and violates every principle of law and every human principle provided for under the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and indeed, any international instrument or criterion.

116. We deplore the values and criteria applied by the permanent members of the Security Council—above all, those that base their policy not on the principles of the Charter but rather on their own interests. We have to warn those countries that in adopting such a policy they are putting at risk the future of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole. We can tell them that the profits they derive from the policy of opportunism are merely short term and will prove absolutely useless to them in the long term.

117. The General Assembly and all the specialized agencies have shown their determination to put an end to *apartheid* and to develop a democratic community in South Africa, with no distinctions as to race, colour, sex or creed, where citizens can enjoy full freedom and human rights, particularly the right to self-determination. Self-determination is a fundamental right of every people. That is true of the people of South Africa, the people of Palestine and all peoples deprived of their right to determine their own future free of foreign pressure or domination.

118. We denounce military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa, and we express our great concern at the existence of such co-operation with Israel and other countries. We unreservedly support every resolution adopted by the General Assembly, the latest being resolution 35/206. We endorse every measure of the international community designed to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime to make it return to reason and realize the danger of persisting in flouting the rights of the South African people which are the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of South Africa. That will have serious consequences for the régime now in power.

119. We call upon the great Western Powers and the major corporations to put an end to any co-operation with the racist régime. We are prepared to carry out boycotts and sanctions by every means available to us, particularly an embargo on the supply of oil.

120. The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], on 6 May 1981, the text of which was transmitted in a letter dated 9 November 1981 from the representative of Kuwait to the Secretary-General [A/36/665]. My Government is ready actively to participate in any conference or any joint measure aimed at intensifying the oil embargo against South Africa. It is our hope that all countries will support that embargo and will realize the great similarity between the policy of terrorism, repression and violation of human rights in that country and the policy pursued by Israel *vis-à-vis* Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories, in the refugee camps, and wherever such expelled refugees are living, far from their occupied lands.

121. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The people of South Africa have waged protracted and indomitable struggles against racism for freedom and liberation. The past year has seen further development of this mass struggle, which has been characterized by frequent strikes by workers, students and shopkeepers. In April this year, workers throughout South Africa held mass rallies and demonstrations in protest against rising prices and demanding wage increases and shorter working hours. Around the time of the fifth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, black people, Coloured people and Indians in South Africa organized various activities com-

memorating resistance against racist atrocities. In their struggles the black people are putting forward economic demands in tandem with political demands, and there is wider participation in their movement. The armed struggle led by national liberation movements has also shown some new development. Under the leadership of SWAPO the people of Namibia have intensified their armed and political struggles for national independence and liberation, thus dealing the racist régime another heavy blow.

122. The just struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia is winning more and more sympathy and support from the international community. The movement against *apartheid* is growing into a world-wide campaign. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris last May under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the OAU, played an important role in mobilizing the international community to intensify support for the just cause of the people of South Africa and Namibia and to promote further development of the movement against *apartheid*. The call of the international community for the release of political prisoners by the South African authorities has become even stronger.

123. Though extremely isolated today, the racist régime of South Africa still obstinately practises its policies of *apartheid* in defiance of relevant United Nations resolutions and strong opposition and condemnation from home and abroad, in an attempt to preserve the political, economic and social privileges of the racist minority. It goes on with the increase of military expenditures, expansion of the army, mass detention of nationalists and patriots and ruthless suppression of the mass movement against *apartheid*. It has stepped up the implementation of "bantustanization", arrogantly claiming that the "fourth black homeland", Ciskei, would be "independent" on 4 December this year. It plays "reform" tricks, which do not in the least touch the foundation of the *apartheid* system. Furthermore, it refuses to implement the United Nations plan for settling the question of Namibia and even repeatedly launches large-scale armed raids and aggression against the neighbouring countries. Only very recently, the Republic of Seychelles was invaded by armed mercenaries based in South Africa. All this has endangered the peace and stability of southern Africa. However, the historical trend of national liberation is irresistible. The racists of South Africa, with their attempt to reverse the wheel of history, will end up lifting a stone only to drop it on their own feet.

124. The reason why the South African authorities have such audacity is that they enjoy the backing and connivance of some Western Powers. In order to perpetuate its vested interests in this region, one super-Power has gone so far as to put itself in opposition to the majority of African countries, trying in every way to prevent the United Nations from adopting effective measures of sanctions against South Africa, thus encouraging the racist régime to be even more arrogant and providing the other super-Power with the opportunity to penetrate in the region. This other super-Power, while waving the slogan of supporting the national liberation movement, is carrying out expansion in southern Africa with big efforts. All this has made the situation of the region even more complicated and the struggle of southern African peoples even more difficult. But the cause of the people of South Africa and Namibia is a just one which will inevitably be victorious. The day shall come when the abhorrent *apartheid* system, like all the decadent, reactionary systems in history, will be wiped out from southern Africa and our planet.

125. Recently, the racist régime of South Africa has stepped up its collaboration with the Taiwan authorities. The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the South African authorities for its acts of hostility against the Chinese people and its violation of China's sovereignty.

126. During the past year, the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Clark and then Mr. Maitama-Sule, representatives of Nigeria, has done a lot of useful work. The Chinese delegation appreciates and supports the efforts made by the Special Committee.

127. The Chinese Government and people always support the just struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia. We strongly condemn the South African authorities for their policies of *apartheid* and their illegal occupation and colonial domination of Namibia and their armed aggression against neighbouring countries. Strictly abiding by the relevant United Nations resolutions, China has never had, and shall never have, any political, economic, military or trade relations with the South African authorities. We hope that at the current session the Assembly not only will further condemn South Africa, but will also accept the recommendations of the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, and of the Special Committee, and adopt a draft resolution on the proclamation of 1982 as the international year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. The Chinese delegation is in favour of the adoption of effective measures of sanctions against the South African authorities by the United Nations.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with a decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting on 18 September 1981, I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

129. Mr. ISAACS (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], I would like to add my voice to those which have preceded me in congratulating the President and other officers of the Assembly on their brilliant election to guide the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

130. Our delegation would also like to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the brilliant report which has been presented to the General Assembly for its consideration. The Special Committee has successfully maintained an international focus on the *apartheid* policies of the Pretoria racist régime, one of the most intractable problems facing the international community today. Far from being a sterile catalogue of the activities of the Special Committee, the report analyses the current situation in Azania and highlights the role which the international community can play in supporting the struggle of the oppressed people.

131. The situation in South Africa has been characterized by an intensification in repression over the past 12 months, particularly since the whites-only general election in April. This is evidenced by the arrests and detentions without trial of students, trade unionists, journalists and others who have been critical of the régime's *apartheid* policies. It is evidenced, too, by the harassment and intimidation of even moderate voices within the black community, such as clergymen. It is evidenced also by the forced removals of entire communities, as at Nyanga in Cape Town in August.

132. In the bitter cold of the Cape winter, the racist régime arrested some 2,000 black people in August, bulldozed their homes—and even trees to ensure that they would have absolutely no shelter. Thereafter they were transported in cattle trucks to the Ciskei and Transkei bantustans. Most of the victims of this callousness were women and children whose only crime was their desire to live as family units with their husbands and fathers. It is a sick society that persecutes people who are trying to live normal family lives and provide for themselves in extremely difficult circumstances. The violence perpetrated against these men, women and children so violently shocked and upset a member of a United States Congressional delegation visiting the country that she wept.

133. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* of 16 August 1981 commented editorially:

“What sort of a country are we? No South African waking up warm in . . . bed on Tuesday . . . could escape that question, or a deep and abiding sense of shame as reports filtered in of the police action at Nyanga.

“What sort of society have we become when we send a squad of police and officials armed with all the authority of the State to tear down the miserable shelters of penniless, shivering squatters huddled under the bushes of the Cape Flats?”

The editorial continued, correctly pointing out that

“. . . a society is judged not by its gross national product or by the strength of its armed forces, but by how it treats its children, its old, its poor and its homeless”.

134. The action against the residents of Cape Town is not merely the mindless vengeance of racist police or brutal officials. It is the implementation of official policy, which has declared that blacks are acceptable only so long as they minister to the needs of the whites. After they have outlived their economic usefulness they are dumped like garbage in barren, infertile cesspools of poverty, misery and disease. The action taken against the residents of Nyanga was repeated in the Transvaal against the residents of Kliptown.

135. Intensified repression has failed to cow black people; on the contrary, black resistance continues to escalate. The resistance of the oppressed masses has assumed two major forms. The first is guerrilla activity in both the rural and the urban areas, including clashes with the régime's security forces, attacks on installations, and sabotage. In a recent address, the racist Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, noted that there had been more than 50 acts of sabotage and violence since the beginning of the year, a 200 per cent increase over the level of activity for the same period last year. Although it is still limited in its impact on the white population, armed struggle is a reality in Azania. In an address in which he warned the white population to brace itself for an increase in guerrilla activities in the time ahead, the chief of the Pretoria régime's defence force, General Constand Viljoen, said:

“. . . the anti-Republic of South Africa [guerrillas] . . . operate country-wide in South Africa in widespread actions that make far greater demands on the security forces as far as manpower levels are concerned. . . . The drawn-out, widespread and fluid

nature of [guerrilla] warfare is aimed at overtaking the country's security force base and thereby its economic base as well.

136. The second form of resistance is mass political action, including rent protests, bus boycotts, community resistance to forced population removals, students' strikes and strikes by black workers. In the period up to October this year there were a record 115 strikes by black workers. The month of October alone saw more than 40 labour disputes involving more than 20,000 workers. Significantly, industrial unrest has coincided with the much-heralded "reforms" in labour legislation recommended by the Wiehahn Commission. The black trade unions have emphasized that they cannot divorce the struggle of workers for better wages and improved working conditions from the national struggle for freedom and social emancipation. Significantly, it is the black trade unions, such as the South African Allied Workers' Union, which have articulated the political aspirations of the Azanian masses, which have shown phenomenal growth. John Kane-Berman, a knowledgeable author and journalist, reported in the August 1981 issue of *South* that

"The last time South Africa experienced such militancy among black workers was in the strikes in Durban in 1973 and 1974, but today's strikes are often longer-lived and better organized than the 1973 industrial action. They are also generally backed by a young but vigorous black trade union movement which reports that new members are flooding in faster than ever before."

137. Pretoria's response to the growth and strength of the black trade unions has been to try to suppress them through the arbitrary detention of leaders and prohibition of the receipt of financial assistance from abroad. In August the puppet leaders of the Ciskei bantustan arrested 205 trade unionists upon their return from a conference. They were subsequently charged with singing freedom songs and shouting slogans. The leader of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Thozamile Gqweta, has been detained four times without charge. The *Rand Daily Mail* of 6 August 1981 commented:

"The day on which the Government released its watered-down labour legislation, the security police released a black trade unionist from his fourth spell of detention without trial.

"The two events need to be taken together, because the continued detention of black unionists contradicts the progressiveness of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

"When the President of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Mr. Thozamile Gqweta, is detained and released four times running without any charges being brought against him, then it is only too apparent that the authorities have nothing with which to charge him. Meanwhile, nine other black union leaders are still in detention."

138. Representatives of 29 black trade unions, which represent almost 200,000 black workers, met in Cape Town in August to plan common action in opposition to the régime's attempts to suppress the black trade unions. The indivisibility of the trade union and political struggles was highlighted by the *Rand Daily Mail* "It is the politics of the communities from which black workers emerge, and community issues such as housing and transport,

which are increasingly being fought on the factory floor because that is where blacks have clout". The editor goes on to argue that what is required is not the suppression of the trade union movement but the creation of political institutions for blacks. What the editor ignores, though, is the fact that blacks have repeatedly stated that nothing short of full participation in the political decision-making process in the country will be acceptable.

139. The political institutions established by the régime as a counter to the demand for full political representation in the central organs have been discredited, most recently with the boycott of the so-called South African Indian Council elections earlier this month, when only 10.5 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls to cast their ballots. On 2 November 1981, a representative group of the Indian community spelt out in the Johannesburg *Star* the reasons for its opposition to the South African Indian Council, and called for a boycott of the elections on the grounds that the Council "is part of a constitutional dispensation which seeks to divide the people of South Africa"; that it "detracts from the central issue facing the country—the necessity for a truly representative system of government based on universal adult suffrage", that it is "used by the Nationalist Government to perpetuate and validate *apartheid*" and that it "stands, by implication, in total opposition to universal desires for a just, free and equal South Africa based on the will of all her peoples."

140. The farcically low polls in the elections were an emphatic rejection by the masses not only of the dummy institution, but more important, of the régime's racial policies. Despite this, the régime has announced that it will recognize the South African Indian Council as the only mouthpiece of the Indian section of the black community.

141. In exactly the same way, the régime has announced that despite the clearly stated views of the masses, the Ciskei bantustan will be granted "independence" on 4 December. It will be recalled that the Quail Commission had surveyed the views of the people in the territory, after which the Commission reported that more than 90 per cent of the people whose views had been canvassed favoured a system of one-person, one-vote in a unitary South Africa.

142. The racist Prime Minister, P. W. Botha, who has been presented in the Western media as being an enlightened "reformist", has abandoned that façade. For instance, in response to a question in the whites-only Parliament earlier this year, he stated unequivocally that the policy of his Government was one of white domination. Witness also the rejection by the Pretoria régime of recommendations made by the nominative Presidential Council to the effect that certain residential areas from which so-called Coloureds and Indians had been forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act be re-assigned to them.

143. Witness also his rejection of recommendations made by a commission investigating the structure and nature of education. The commission, headed by a so-called Coloured educationist, Franklyn Sonn, had called for the creation of a single educational system for all the racial groups rather than the differential discriminatory systems which exist at present. Mr. Piet Koornhof, the racist Minister of Co-operation and Development, who not so long ago declared to an American audience that *apartheid* was dead, authorized the brutal and callous action against the residents of Nyanga in Cape Town.

144. There are two major reasons for P. W. Botha's about-turn. First, there was the whites-only general election in April this year when the ruling National Party lost votes to both the extreme right wing Herstigte Nasionale Party and the opposition Progressive Federal Party. PAC has consistently warned that there is no difference at all between the so-called *verligtes* and *verkrampes* in the Afrikaner establishment. The disagreement between the two factions centres round the most effective means to maintain white power and privilege.

145. Secondly, the public utterances of officials in the Reagan Administration, coupled with certain actions, have served to reinforce and certainly encourage the most extreme elements within the white establishment. The United States has indicated that its policy towards the *apartheid* régime would be based on global and strategic considerations, the net effect of which has been the emergence of a *de facto* alliance between Washington and Pretoria. It will be recalled that in a television interview with former Columbia Broadcasting System anchorman, Walter Cronkite, in March this year, President Reagan stated that South Africa is an ally and supplier of strategic minerals, and, as such cannot be isolated. The view in Pretoria is that regardless of its actions the régime will always be able to count on the support of the United States. Ironically, we have a situation today where the United States, which professes to be the leader of the free world and the standard-bearer of democracy, is in concubinage with a régime which includes amongst its leaders active supporters of nazism.

146. Not only has the racist régime intensified its oppression of the black majority under the system of *apartheid*; it has also attempted to transpose the contradictions of its own society into the entire southern African region. The defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the emergence of the independent Republic of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe and the Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front have left the *apartheid* régime as the last bastion of white minority rule on the African continent.

147. Pretoria has been alerted to the dangers for the continued survival of white minority rule in South Africa as a result of the changed balance of power in the region and has responded to the changes in a number of ways.

148. First, it has held out the prospects, as it perceives and defines them, of peaceful coexistence and economic co-operation through the establishment of a so-called Constellation of Southern African States, a concept which implies the creation of an economic, political and military alliance comprising the bantustans, any independent African States willing to enter into the alliance, and South Africa. The rationale is that in return for the economic benefits to be derived from the alliance, the independent African States would cease all support for the national liberation movements fighting against white minority rule in South Africa. Thus far, the independent African States in the subcontinent have rejected the concept of the "Constellation of Southern African States" and have expressed themselves in favour of regional economic co-operation and development aimed at decreasing their economic dependence on, and hence vulnerability to pressure from, the white racist régime.

149. As a result of the initiatives of the independent African States in the region, the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference has been launched, bringing together nine African States. The formation of

that Conference has necessitated a revision in Pretoria's conception of its proposed "Constellation of Southern African States". Today, the concept has been redefined to encompass an alliance between the bantustans, which have been declared "independent"—"national states" is the new name for these enclaves, in keeping with Pretoria's penchant for name-changing—and "white South Africa".

150. Secondly, Pretoria has increased its military presence in the areas bordering on the African front-line States. This has included increased border patrols and the construction of macadamized roads to facilitate the rapid deployment of military personnel and equipment. A new military base has been constructed in the eastern Transvaal for this purpose. The régime has also been toying with the idea of constructing an electrified fence on the border with Botswana, which has been one of the major escape routes for the people fleeing from racist repression and brutality.

151. Thirdly, Pretoria has embarked upon a programme of destabilization in southern Africa. This campaign has two prongs. The first prong is direct military incursions into and bomb attacks upon neighbouring States—for example, the massive invasion of Angola in August this year, the invasion of Mozambique and the attack upon the residences of refugees living in Matola in January this year, incursions into Zambia, and just recently the attack on Seychelles by mercenaries sponsored by the racist régime. The second prong is training and supporting dissident groups in these countries. For example, in Angola the racist régime has been training and supporting the terrorist band led by Jonas Savimbi and in Mozambique they have been training and supporting the so-called Mozambique Resistance Movement, consisting largely of former Portuguese colonialists and members of the Portuguese secret police. Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe has charged that Pretoria is training several thousand Zimbabwe dissidents with a view to destabilizing the newly independent Republic of Zimbabwe.

152. The aim of the campaign of subversion in the neighbouring States is to keep them in a permanent state of instability so as to make difficult the tasks of national reconstruction, particularly in those countries which have achieved freedom after years of armed struggle. Human and financial resources, which would be more profitably and productively deployed in the expansion of economic development and the provision of social services, are diverted to security and defence expenditure.

153. The *apartheid* régime has been reinforced in its intransigence internally and in its repeated acts of aggression against the independent States in the subcontinent as a result of the support which it enjoys from the major Western Powers and Israel, all of which collaborate with the racists economically, politically, diplomatically, militarily, and in the fields of sports and culture. While condemning the system of *apartheid* on moral grounds, the Western countries, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as Japan and Israel, have provided the means whereby the Pretoria régime has been able to pursue its policies of *apartheid* ruthlessly. It is very much like giving an undertaker a licence to kill and then criticizing him for doing a roaring business. The effect of the support which the *apartheid* régime has secured from these quarters has been to strengthen the industrial-military complex of the *apartheid* system. It is as a result of this collaboration that the *apartheid* régime today has a nu-

clear capability—an ominous development for international peace and security.

154. There is also a correlation between economic and other forms of collaboration with the Pretoria racist régime and sporting contacts. It is the countries which are the régime's major trading partners which are also frustrating the efforts of the international community to isolate the racists in the field of sports. Sports exchanges are an important means whereby the *apartheid* régime has attempted to break out of the isolation to which it has been subjected in protest against its racial policies. Collaboration in the field of sports has been accompanied by a flood of propaganda aimed at gaining legitimacy for the régime's Hitlerite doctrine of *apartheid*. In this respect, the recent tour of New Zealand and the United States by the Springbok rugby team was a major diplomatic and political *coup* for the *apartheid* régime. The tour of New Zealand was the first tour of a major rugby-playing country by the ambassadors of *apartheid* and the first tour of a Commonwealth country in 10 years. It is regrettable that the New Zealand Government chose to bleat sheepishly about the undesirability of the tour while simultaneously encouraging the New Zealand Rugby Union by emphasizing that visas would not be denied to the racists. Given such encouragement, the New Zealand Rugby Union proceeded with the tour. In the United States, the Eastern Rugby Union accepted blood money from Louis Luyt, one of the architects of Pretoria's scheme, to buy friends and influence people internationally to organize the tour by the Springboks.

155. We are heartened by the actions of those countries which have banned from participation in sporting events in their countries sportsmen and sports administrators who have collaborated with the *apartheid* régime in its attempts to break out of its isolation. We are heartened also by the support which we have received and continue to receive from a number of countries too numerous to mention. We wish to assure them that the commitment to the cause of freedom and justice will bring its just rewards in the achievement of those objectives by the oppressed masses of Azania.

156. Those countries which at present are collaborating with the racist régime will not be able to escape responsibility for the conflagration which is being precipitated by reckless commitment to a system which has been declared a crime against humanity.

157. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): Our thanks are due to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, the representative of Nigeria, for his lucid introduction of the report on the Committee's activities and the review of developments in South Africa.

158. Few items on the agenda of the General Assembly have evoked as much interest as the item now under consideration. The long list of speakers from all regions of the world inscribed to participate in the debate and to support freedom, equality and human dignity for all the people of South Africa attests to the universal rejection of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

159. The subregion of southern Africa was identified by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979<sup>1</sup> as a theatre of great tension and instability. In that theatre the central factor which has continued to constitute

a direct and tangible threat to regional and international peace and stability is the racist régime of South Africa.

160. Within South Africa the racist régime continues to maintain its abhorred system of *apartheid* and racism in total violation of the political, economic, social and human rights of the vast majority of the people. This system has been institutionalized and maintained by the régime through a twisted pseudo-philosophy of racial superiority. Assisted by the Bureau of State Security, the Department of National Security and other police and para-military agencies, the régime continues brutally to repress political agitation by nationalists, workers, peasants, student groups, church groups and intellectuals for a democratic and non-racist society. Despite the operation by the régime of a ruthless system of political suppression, arrests, torture, intimidation and banishment, the liberation struggle in South Africa has achieved the status of a genuine national movement which involves people of all races and all walks of life. National consciousness is being heightened, and we are witnessing today a powerful national mobilization of all the oppressed people of South Africa.

161. We pay a tribute to ANC, which next year will celebrate its seventieth anniversary, and to PAC, which are forging unity among the people in organized action against a tyrannical régime.

*Mr. Kam (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

162. Exploiting the rich resources of the country the South African régime has flourished economically and, buttressed by support from various interest groups and countries, it has been able to build a formidable military organization. Violation of the arms embargo instituted against South Africa in 1977 by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) are clearly taking place and reports of South Africa's nuclear capability are adding a terrifying dimension to the situation. The South African defence budget for 1981-1982 has increased by 30 per cent over the previous financial year. According to the report of the Special Committee, with an increased military budget, the acquisition of advanced military equipment and increases in military forces, South Africa shows clear indication that it will escalate its aggression against front-line States. In the year under review, acts of aggression have intensified, causing death and destruction in the States concerned, upsetting the stability of the region and bringing with it the threat of a wider conflict extending far beyond the confines of South Africa.

163. A sense of military invincibility has enabled South Africa to cling on to Namibia, over which Territory South Africa's betrayed Mandate has long since been revoked. South Africa has made a number of cynical "false starts" on independence for Namibia with the clear purpose of seeking to obstruct and delay any progress towards the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

164. The arms embargo against South Africa must be strictly implemented and all military and other collaboration with that régime which enables it to maintain its *apartheid* system, as well as commit acts of aggression against neighbouring front-line States, must cease. All measures being proposed by the Special Committee against South Africa, including sanctions, must be seriously considered by all States for effective implementation, as all other options have failed to make that régime heed the decisions of the United Nations.



165. Frequent calls to freedom fighters in South Africa for moderation have been matched by more and more repressive military and police action by the South African régime against the liberation struggle. These appeals, some of which are well motivated, must rather be aimed at the South African régime. Those that have diplomatic and other means of pressure on South Africa must interpret and convey in unequivocal terms to that régime the international community's rejection of the *apartheid* system, so that bloodshed can be avoided and there be established a new society based on freedom, equality and full respect for the dignity of all peoples in South Africa.

166. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): For many years now, the United Nations has been making regular and insistent efforts to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* being practised by the ruling régime in South Africa. The Security Council has frequently severely condemned the South African racists, and in resolution 473 (1980), of 13 June 1980, it reaffirmed that their "policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

167. The United Nations has done a great deal to unmask the crimes of the Pretoria racists and to pillory them in the eyes of history, to mobilize public opinion throughout the countries of the world actively to struggle against the policy of *apartheid*. In this connection, particular mention should be made of the tremendous work which has been done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, at present under the guidance of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule.

168. The report which has been submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other documents give a really shocking picture of the policy of the cruel exploitation, indiscriminate violence and repression which is being practised by the white racists against the overwhelming majority of the population of the country. The reason for this is its desire to provide the minority régime with a labour force which is cheap, if not virtually costless, thus depriving the working masses of any possibility of improving their plight. Among the means used to achieve this end, a considerable part is played by the policy of bantustanization, which relegates the indigenous population of the country to 10 bantustans which comprise a mere 13 per cent of the entire territory of the country, parts of the country which are least suitable for supporting human life. As was bluntly stated by the official representative of the racist régime: "if our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship" [A/36/708, *annex 1, para. 2*].

169. Notwithstanding the protests of the international community, the Pretoria régime continues to pursue this sinister plan and intends, on 4 December, to create a fourth bantustan, Ciskei, which will deprive another 2.1 million Africans of their inalienable rights.

170. Unemployment, abject poverty, wracking disease and hunger: that is the lot of the Africans who have been herded into the bantustans by the South African racists. They are deprived of elementary means of receiving education, medical and other social services, and those who are obliged to become vagrants in order to seek ways of

making a living find themselves in a situation of immigrants without rights in their own country. Any protests against this system of inhuman slavery simply result in increased repression on the part of the racist régime, which resorts to shooting defenceless, unarmed people, including women and children and to torture and executions of patriots. The activities of any organizations that object to the system of *apartheid* are forbidden. Many of those who are struggling against *apartheid*, representing different segments of the population, have laid down their lives or are languishing in prison.

171. However, despite the cruel repression, mass resistance to *apartheid* in South Africa is growing and is embracing larger and larger segments of the population, as is indicated in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*:

"The growing mobilization and political consciousness were accompanied by a significant advance in the armed struggle conducted by the freedom fighters of the national liberation movement. Their armed attacks and precise military operations constituted an integral part of a militant nation-wide mass struggle by the people fighting on all fronts. They helped to raise the level of the overall struggle against *apartheid* and heighten its impact." [See A/36/22 and *Corr.1, annex 1, para 11.*]

In the vanguard of this struggle is ANC, whose seventieth anniversary will shortly be celebrated by all progressive mankind.

172. The heinous crimes of the racist régime of Pretoria against the people of South Africa are further compounded by its aggressive acts against neighbouring African peoples and States. Despite the urgent demands voiced by the overwhelming majority of States of the world, the South African rulers persist in their illegal occupation of Namibia, subjecting its people to even more cruel terror and inhuman exploitation.

173. The *apartheid* régime is also guilty of perpetrating numerous acts of aggression, terrorism and subversions against independent African States—Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and others—accompanied by unspeakable cruelties including the murder of refugees, women and children. The acts of aggression and constant provocation by the Pretoria régime against peace-loving African States are designed to intimidate the peoples of those countries and to force them to give up the assistance they are rendering to the national liberation movements in southern Africa. The Security Council has frequently had occasion to condemn the aggressive acts of the South African racists against neighbouring countries as a direct threat to international peace and security and has also issued a warning that, if they recur, it will apply the measures laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa. However, despite all United Nations decisions and the urgent demands of the international community, the *apartheid* régime is pursuing these acts of armed aggression, as attested to by the piratical actions of the racist military against Angola which were perpetrated quite recently.

174. It is not difficult to establish the reasons for such arrogant behaviour on the part of the Pretoria authorities. It is quite clearly described in one of the most recent statements of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which stated:

“... the *apartheid* régime has been encouraged in its criminal and aggressive behaviour by the attitudes of certain Western Powers which have persistently prevented effective action in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The vetoes cast by three permanent members in the Security Council in April to prevent the imposition of sanctions against that régime have assured it that it can pursue its crimes with impunity.

“The policies and actions of the new United States Administration, in the name of so-called ‘constructive engagement’ with the *apartheid* régime, have been regarded by the latter as a license to aggression and continued defiance of the international community. The move to repeal the Clark amendment and permit intervention in the sovereign State of Angola is welcomed by that régime as evidence of the desire of a major Power to co-operate with it in destabilizing Angola and securing hegemony in the region.” [See A/36/459, annex, paras. 8 and 9.]

175. Quite obviously the fact that a hotbed of colonialism and racism continues to exist in southern Africa falls perfectly into line with the long-term political, economic and strategic interests of the United States and a number of other countries members of NATO. They regard South Africa as a beachhead in order to wage battle against independent African States and as a military base in that very strategically important region. Those Powers are trying to ensure favourable conditions so that they can pillage the natural resources of South Africa and earn tremendous profits by the over-exploitation of the indigenous population. What we are witnessing is the factual identification of South African and Western capital.

176. According to data which has been published in the South African press, at the end of 1980 there were 1,200 British, 375 American and 350 West German companies operating in the Republic of South Africa. The total foreign investment in southern Africa is currently estimated to have reached the level of 30 billion rand. From 1972 to 1980, published total loans granted to South Africa by 400 banks from 22 different countries are in excess of \$7 billion, including \$1.2 billion which was granted in the years 1979 and 1980 alone.

177. All peace-loving States have been particularly alarmed by the co-operation of Western Powers with the racists in the military and nuclear fields. As a result of the granting by the Western Powers to the Pretoria racists both financial and technical assistance as well as licenses to manufacture various forms of weapons, military self-sufficiency of the Republic of South Africa has grown to between 70 and 90 per cent. According to the President of the South African Council on Atomic Energy, the achievements of South Africa in the nuclear field depend considerably on assistance from the United States. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* emphasizes that

“As a result of the continued military and nuclear collaboration by several Western States and others—especially the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel—South Africa’s programme of military expansion and nuclear development has further advanced.” [See A/36/22 and Corr.1, para. 253.]

178. The efforts of the Western Powers to strengthen and render comprehensive support to the racist régime of

South Africa are undoubtedly part and parcel of more far-reaching plans on the part of imperialism to recover the positions they have lost in Africa, to rob the African peoples of the victories they have won in their national liberation struggle and to bind them all in new fetters of neo-colonialist dependency.

179. In his message of congratulations to the States and peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day, 25 May 1981, L. I. Brezhnev wrote:

“In defiance of the whole of freedom-loving Africa, and showing complete disregard for the rights and aspirations of the African peoples, the imperialists are pursuing an increasingly open policy of *rapprochement* with the South African régime, and have actually become accomplices in protecting that bulwark of racism and colonialism in Africa. They are blatantly ignoring the United Nations demand for the granting of independence to Namibia. They shamelessly equate the national liberation struggle with ‘terrorism’ while openly supporting the State terrorism of Pretoria and plainly encouraging its direct aggression against neighbouring sovereign African countries.” [See A/36/287, annex, p. 1.]

180. The international community can no longer acquiesce in the existence of the *apartheid* régime, that cancerous growth on the body of the African continent. The United Nations must take effective steps to eliminate that hotbed of colonialism and racism in the southern part of Africa. That, indeed, is its duty to the militant African peoples. The Soviet Union supports the conclusion reached by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, to the effect that “the sanctions provided under Chapter VII of the Charter, universally applied, are the most appropriate and effective means to ensure South Africa’s compliance with the decisions of the United Nations”.

181. We have taken note of the urgent appeal made by the Conference to all Governments and organizations to exert all their influence in order to promote action by the Security Council to take such steps. The far-reaching programme of specific steps outlined in the Conference indicates effective ways of dealing with the South African régime by restricting and halting trade, financial, transport and other links with that régime. That action should be immediately taken. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, at the present session the General Assembly is in duty bound to voice its condemnation of the acts of those States which have as yet not ceased their co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other fields, render it political and diplomatic protection and even go so far as to proclaim it their “strategic ally”.

182. It is essential that all States fully observe the embargo established by the Security Council on the supply of weapons to the racist régime in South Africa, that an end be put to any type of co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field and also that the Security Council adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

183. The Soviet Union intends consistently to continue its policy of supporting national liberation movements, of dealing a firm rebuff to the aggressive designs of imperialism and of taking resolute steps to eradicate racism and *apartheid*.

184. Mr. SHAIKHO (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Special Committee against *Apartheid* was established by the General Assembly by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962. Its mandate was amended by subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly, namely, resolutions 2671 A (XXV) of 8 December 1970, 34/93 R of 17 December 1979 and 35/206 P of 16 December 1980.

185. What is noteworthy is that resolutions 34/93 R and 35/206 P demand implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions with a view to obliging the Government of South Africa to negotiate with the international community in good faith and sincerely in order to find an overall and just solution to the problems resulting from the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. What is also noteworthy is that by encouraging the Government of South Africa and the international organizations to implement relevant United Nations resolutions, the General Assembly gave prominence to a deplorable reality, namely, that some Governments are not implementing those resolutions and, what is more, support the Pretoria racist régime politically, economically, technologically and militarily and even engage in nuclear co-operation with it.

186. The Pretoria Government's policies of *apartheid* are obviously contrary to all human and religious values. But what is striking is that the international community, when the Organization was created, should have accepted South Africa as a Member of the Organization, especially as the policies of that country, its laws and its policies, were and still are contrary to the Charter. We must also remember that the support given by a number of Western countries to the régime in Pretoria enables it to continue to flout the international community and to defy the overwhelming majority of people and Governments of the world. It is time for Governments that advocate respect for human rights to assume their full responsibility with regard to the violation of those rights in occupied Palestine and in southern Africa.

187. Nuclear co-operation with the Government of South Africa constitutes the most dangerous form of co-operation with that Government, since it helps to develop and manufacture a nuclear weapon of mass destruction aimed at all of Africa, and even the whole world. What is even more dangerous is the close co-operation between the two racist régimes—that in occupied Palestine and that in southern Africa. That co-operation attests, beyond the shadow of a doubt, to the fact that the two aggressor régimes are linked by racist policies against peoples whose colour or religious conviction is different from theirs. Thus, these two racist régimes occupy territories which belong to others and constantly violate human rights in the countries subjected to their domination.

188. It is obvious that the Members of the Organization must implement the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning South Africa, and the Security Council must, under Chapter VII of the Charter, condemn this racist régime and bring it to its senses so as to put an end to its arrogant and aggressive attitude towards the peoples under its domination and the peoples of neighbouring countries. It is also imperative for the countries concerned to forbid transnational corporations from trading, or co-operating in any way, with the South African régime.

189. In conclusion, my delegation extends its warmest thanks to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We also again ask the interna-

tional community, including those countries that are co-operating with South Africa, firmly to oppose that racist régime in order to see that law and justice prevail and to comply with the Charter of the United Nations, which all Member States should respect.

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

191. Austria regards the *apartheid* system as a profound violation of the basic principles of human rights, a violation of all concepts of personal freedom and the right to respect and dignity. It does not provide the basis for a viable society. Furthermore, it has seriously jeopardized the endeavours of the international community to bring about peaceful change in Namibia and it continuously destabilizes the political situation in southern Africa. The continuous military incursions into Angola and Zambia have been condemned by Austria as gross violations of the Charter of the United Nations.

192. As has been stated in the recently published report entitled "South Africa: Time is running out", there are no easy solutions for South Africa. The report states that "the choice is not between slow peaceful change and quick violent change but between a low, uneven, sporadically violent evolutionary process and a slow but much more violent descent into civil war". Austria has consistently upheld the view that the only solution lies in power-sharing and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa. To this end, a meaningful and constructive dialogue will have to be urgently initiated with the black leaders. On this basis, Austria has joined the international campaign to liberate Nelson Mandela through a direct bilateral intervention with the South African Government and has also been active on behalf of other political prisoners.

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

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

195. Let me in conclusion commend briefly the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule, for its efforts on the struggle against *apartheid* and the way in which the Committee deals with a heavy workload. It is largely due to the Special Committee's active role that international support for the struggle against *apartheid*, as well as active solidarity with the opponents of *apartheid*, has intensified. It also serves as proof that the United Nations continues to play a key role in our common efforts to bring about peaceful and rapid change by increasing the necessary pressure on the South African régime and by supporting the forces instrumental in such change.

196. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): The *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa has been the greatest political and moral challenge to the United Nations for many years. In a wider sense, the inhuman system of *apartheid* is a challenge to the whole of mankind as well. The recent participation of South African mercenaries in their adventurous action against Seychelles demonstrates it.

197. Racial discrimination is unanimously condemned all over the world and is prohibited by law in many countries in accordance with basic political and moral principles. In spite of this general condemnation, *apartheid*, the most brutal form of racial discrimination, still exists in one country of southern Africa as the officially supported and enforced basic principle of society.

198. The General Assembly has continually condemned the South African régime for its policy of *apartheid* and has reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movement against the racist régime, including armed struggle, was also recognized. The General Assembly reaffirmed the commitment of the United Nations to the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa. All Member States were called upon to take effective measures against *apartheid* in order to isolate the South African racist régime and to render full support to the national liberation movement. Those countries which continue to have close co-operation with the racist régime do not contribute to bringing closer the day when the *apartheid* régime will be done away with.

199. In spite of the efforts by the United Nations the system of *apartheid* still exists in South Africa. I should like to recall some facts in illustration of the grave injustices of that system. Out of 10.7 million workers, 9 million are non-whites in South Africa. At the same time 64 per cent of the total salary goes to 1.7 million white workers and the remaining 36 per cent to 9 million non-white workers, while 75 per cent of the non-white population live beneath the poverty line. The economy of South Africa is based on the extreme exploitation of the non-white population.

200. The United States has \$2 billion of direct investment in South Africa, with trade totalling \$3.4 billion a year. A collation of these facts raises the question of whether foreign economic interests are really beneficial to the interests of the majority of the population in South Africa. The answer is obvious—they are not. The vast majority of the population in South Africa lives under inhuman conditions without the faintest hope of any improvement. Furthermore, the representatives of the Coloured population are excluded from power, with no possibility of defending themselves against the arbitrariness of the authorities.

201. The social injustices and the terror of the racist authorities have brought about an intensification of mass resistance to the system of *apartheid*. A widespread revolt by black students took place against racial discrimination in education. Black workers organized strikes to demand better wages and better living conditions. There were mass demonstrations against forced removals and relocations of whole communities in both urban and rural areas. The resistance of churches has also considerably intensified in the past year. Women began to play a more active role in the nation-wide movement for a just society.

202. The racist régime has resorted to harsh, repressive measures against the mass movements. Members of the national liberation movement were arrested by the police of the racist régime. Six freedom fighters were sentenced to death by the Pretoria Court. The international community was mobilized to save their lives. In the series of protests, mention is deserved of the special meeting which was organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Leonard Hinds, a representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, who stated that:

“... with the annual execution rate now running at about 130, South Africa has one of the world's highest rates of judicial killing . . . . In South Africa one out of every four adults is imprisoned every year for violating such laws as the Urban Policy Act or the racist pass laws.”<sup>5</sup>

The special meeting adopted a declaration on South African political prisoners, which states that:

“The Special Committee solemnly pledges its continued and redoubled efforts in solidarity with the South African political prisoners until the *apartheid* régime is destroyed and replaced by a democratic State of all the people of South Africa. It invites all Governments, organizations and individuals to co-operate with it in the discharge of this imperative international duty.”<sup>6</sup>

203. By its policy of bantustanization the Pretoria régime is seeking to solve the racial problem in South Africa. In total contradiction with the decisions of the United Nations it proclaimed the fourth bantustan, the Ciskei, as “independent”. With this act the racist régime actually deprives the African people of their rights of citizenship and makes efforts to intensify their ethnic differences. That is why the so-called policy of “homelands” must be condemned.

204. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has made great efforts to mobilize world public opinion against the *apartheid* system of South Africa. It has es-

established contacts with many governmental and non-governmental organizations all over the world. Its efforts have resulted in an intensification of protests against the racist régime of Pretoria. All the opponents of the racist régime were greatly satisfied to learn that the world Council of Churches had broken off links with those banks that had been involved in the provision of financial support to South Africa. This is an outstanding example which should be followed by many other organizations.

205. My delegation fully supports the recommendation of the Special Committee that 1982 be proclaimed the year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* since its establishment, the Hungarian People's Republic fully supports all efforts by the United Nations to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination. Our people and Government are in solidarity with the people of South Africa and lend support to the struggle of the liberation movement for a democratic society based on the principles of humanity and justice.

206. We are confident that the inhuman system of *apartheid* cannot be sustained for long, because the racist minority régime will not be able to resist the joint pressure of the liberation movement and the international community. We are also confident that the total eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa will contribute to peace and security in the African continent and all over the world.

207. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): The General Assembly once again is considering the agenda item pertaining to the policies of *apartheid* pursued by the reactionary régime of South Africa.

208. The abominable and abhorrent policy of *apartheid* is a negation of all elementary norms of human values. It means denial of the right to live as humans to four fifths of the population of South Africa. With its policy of bantustanization the Pretoria régime has turned South Africa into a veritable concentration camp for more than 20 million blacks, who, since the white settlers established their rule there three and a half centuries ago, have not for a day known peace, freedom and justice. What they have known instead is continued oppression, exploitation and repression by a white racist minority.

209. Whenever *apartheid* is spoken of everybody's mind goes back to the Sharpeville massacre, committed in cold blood by the Fascists of the South African régime some 20 years ago. But that act of terrorism has been repeated many times in South Africa during these two decades, and indeed not only there but also in other parts of the world beyond Africa, by other oppressors. But all this white terror has not been able to extinguish the Azanian people's burning desire for freedom, which continues to remain unshakable in spite of the supreme sacrifices that have been made.

210. It is encouraging that the struggle of the Azanian people against *apartheid* has intensified daily inside South Africa. The resistance of the black population has increased on a national scale. Black students and other strata of the indigenous population have stood up in strong nation-wide resistance. There is no doubt that this resistance is assuming the form of a national liberation movement, which is intensifying the underground armed struggle against many targets of the racist régime. While there is a full rage of terror against the blacks in South Africa and the racists of Pretoria continue to wage a race

war against millions of indigenous people, the freedom fighters, for their part, have shown that they are determined to meet violence with violence until an end has been put to the hateful *apartheid* régime.

211. The policies of *apartheid* so stubbornly pursued by the racist régime of South Africa have been strongly condemned by the United Nations itself and by its bodies. It has met with opposition from the entire progressive world public which denounces in the strongest terms such colonial and Fascist practices.

212. In spite of all this world-wide condemnation by and isolation from the larger part of the world, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to exist in defiance of the will of more than 20 million people of Azania, in defiance of the strong opposition of the whole continent of Africa and of world public opinion as a whole.

213. This is possible in our day only because South Africa enjoys the political, diplomatic, economic and military support of the imperialist Powers, and in the first place the United States, which are interested in saving the racist régime of South Africa from total collapse, for South Africa has shown itself to be an outpost of colonialism and imperialism, the best tool for preserving and further advancing United States interests on the African continent.

214. As is well known, a mandatory arms embargo has been imposed against South Africa. Yet arms and other war material continue to flow into South Africa in greater quantities than before. During the last five years alone the racist régime in Pretoria has received more than \$6 billion worth of arms and weaponry.

215. According to United Nations data, more than 2,400 banks, firms and organizations of several kinds, mainly American and of other Western countries, are giving all-round assistance to the racist régime of South Africa. Only last year the white racists of Pretoria received from those quarters credits and loans amounting to \$850 million, while the sum total of loans they have received so far equals almost \$12.5 billion.

216. Without doubt all this huge military assistance, along with economic aid through bank loans and foreign investments, primarily by the United States, has helped to bolster the *apartheid* régime and to increase its intransigence, arrogance and defiance of world public opinion. The military budget of South Africa has kept increasing from year to year, but especially in recent years it has increased tremendously. It is said that for the coming fiscal year it will show an increase of 30 per cent. The Pretoria chieftains have not failed to make it public that the greater part of this budget, which is 10 times as big as that of the year 1974, will be used mainly for increasing arms arsenals.

217. It is already known that there is co-operation in the nuclear field between certain Western countries and South Africa and between Israel and South Africa. So South Africa has the largest military industrial complex on the African continent, capable of producing even nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons in the hands of the Pretoria Fascists would mean that they would be further encouraged to oppress the black majority population in South Africa and Namibia more ruthlessly than heretofore. It would encourage them to threaten the independence and security of the African States and the African continent.

That has been borne out by irrefutable facts. With its brutal oppression of the black population, thousands and thousands of whom have been mercilessly gaoled, tortured and even murdered, with its attacks and acts of aggression against Angola and Mozambique and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, where it maintains some 80,000 of its heavily equipped troops, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa has created a grave and explosive situation in that part of the African continent.

218. But, being under the pressure of the constant blows of the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples, seeing that the accession of Zimbabwe to independence has brought the system of *apartheid* as practised in South Africa into sharper relief and feeling itself boycotted and isolated from most of the world, the Pretoria régime is not failing to resort to some deceptive tactics. It is proclaiming its intention to undertake reforms thus possibly camouflaging some of the ugly features of its *apartheid* policy. But neither the long-suffering peoples of Azania and Namibia, which have been subjected to the cruel and ruthless policies of *apartheid*, nor the progressive peoples of the world will be taken in by such diabolical tactics.

219. Because of their bitter experience and that of the other fraternal African nations which got rid of colonial rule and racist oppression through long and determined struggles, the peoples of Azania and Namibia have taken up arms and are making their point on the battlefield. They cannot fail to see that the so-called negotiations on Namibia have become more like a protective shield for Pretoria's machinations in Namibia and for its continuation of its *apartheid* policies in South Africa. Nor can they fail to see ever more clearly that the rivalry between the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists to divide their spheres of influence in southern Africa constitutes a real danger to their struggle for national liberation and independence. They must realize that the friendship which the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are offering them is only a trick, the aim of which is to speculate with the just struggle of these people and to channel it along their lines to achieve their imperialist goals.

220. But, just as the Smith régime in Rhodesia collapsed and Zimbabwe won its independence, we are confident that the racist régime of South Africa will meet no better fate. It is bound to collapse under the heavy blows of the resolute struggle of the people of Azania and Namibia, which enjoy the whole-hearted support of all progressive countries and peoples.

221. The Albanian people and Government, which have always stood on the side of the just cause of the African peoples, have condemned the policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa. As they have always done in the past and do now, so also in the future they will continue to give full support to the peoples in southern Africa in their just struggle to eliminate once and for all the last vestiges of colonialism and racism from that continent.

222. Mr. SORENSEN MOSQUERA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela has read with care the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We should first of all like to express our profound gratitude to Mr. Clark of Nigeria for his devoted and valuable work as Chairman of the Committee and for the substantive support he gave in gathering the fund of information on which the report of the Special Committee was based. At the same time, we wish to congratulate his

successor, Mr. Maitama-Sule, also of Nigeria, whom we wish a successful term as Chairman of the Special Committee.

223. For a country like Venezuela, in which the full observance of human rights is one of the pillars on which we have built our democratic system, the practice of *apartheid* and all racist manifestations can be seen only as a crime against humanity. When such practices are carried out supported by an institutionalized State machinery—which is the case in the Republic of South Africa and has been since 1946—its significance and dimension shock us. It is an aberration that offends the sensibilities of peace-loving nations and those that advocate democracy, peace and progress.

224. *Apartheid* is nothing more than the violation by force of the elementary rights of a people. In the case of South Africa, it is a white minority which subjugates the great indigenous majority of the population by means of a gigantic repressive system set up by the Pretoria racist régime with the help of certain markets in which the armaments industry flourishes and prospers. It is they that encourage colonialism and are trying to revive it in various neo-colonialist forms.

225. If we generalize somewhat about *apartheid*, we find in it two basic components. The first is obvious: it is the flagrant crushing of human rights as they apply to the individual. The other has a direct bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security, since *apartheid* has become a constant threat to southern Africa, seriously jeopardizing the prospects for peace in the world, since the *apartheid* Government has found it easy to subject militarily weaker States to constant, unprovoked aggression, the results of which are the loss of innocent lives, the destruction of property and the deterioration of the environment.

226. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, among many other things, lists all the activities in the world carried out with the co-operation of members of the international community in support of the people of South Africa. At the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris last May, for example, it was stated that "The situation in southern Africa is, therefore, characterized by repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression and an ever-growing threat of a wider conflict with grave repercussions in Africa and the world".<sup>7</sup> Shortly after the end of that Conference those fears were confirmed by the large-scale aggression against Angola, which led to the convening of the Security Council in order to adopt measures. However it was not possible for the Security Council to take a united position on the application of appropriate, comprehensive, mandatory and effective sanctions in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter, as the Special Committee has recommended since its establishment in 1962. In that respect, my delegation read with satisfaction the text of paragraph 292 of the report [A/36/22 and Corr.1] in which the Special Committee takes note of the fact that "several Western States" during the past two decades became convinced of the need for sanctions against South Africa.

227. A common policy and the fulfilment of the special responsibilities of the members of the Security Council are of vital importance if further steps are to be taken to compel the Pretoria régime to abolish its shameful State practice of *apartheid*. It has been constantly reiterated in the Assembly that it is only the continued political, eco-

conomic and military co-operation with South Africa that enables the Government of Pretoria to maintain its defiant attitude and that has to a great extent prevented the accession of Namibia to freedom and independence.

228. It is appropriate to recall that southern Africa is the only region of the African continent in which, to the shame of the international community, the decolonization process, successfully undertaken by the United Nations in the rest of Africa has failed. We should therefore like to express our profound concern at the failure to enforce the arms embargo against South Africa which enables the racist régime of that country to persist in its aggression against neighbouring and more distant States.

229. Without trying to set up my country as a model for any other, I am happy to reaffirm before this Assembly that Venezuela does not maintain diplomatic, consular, political, cultural or economic relations of any kind with South Africa and discourages any effort to establish contact between our citizens and South African firms or corporations.

230. It is Venezuela's wish that human rights be restored to the oppressed people of South Africa, that the basic human freedoms flourish in that part of the world: that is, freedom of expression, freedom of movement, the right to form trade unions, the right to education and the right to health. We seek the end of the ignominious process of the creation of bantustans—recently strengthened by the announcement of the sham independence of Ciskei, which is intended to deprive 2 million people of their inalienable rights—the integration of the population and amnesty for political prisoners, whose only crime has been to demand freedom for their people. In the achievement of those goals each of us has something to say and much to do. The struggling people of South Africa has been waiting for us for more than three decades.

231. Mr. SHABA (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its remarkable work under the able and dynamic chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria. Over the years the Committee has continued to provide a reservoir of information on and to be a catalyst for all aspects of the policies of *apartheid* and their international repercussions. Therefore we cannot but congratulate the Committee on its efforts in discharging its mandate.

232. Oppressive social systems ranging from the crudest form of slavery to the most sophisticated forms of oppression have dotted the history of mankind. In this broad spectrum of forms of oppression the agony of the oppressed people of South Africa is one of the most tragic. These people are languishing in bondage imposed by a régime whose inhuman system of *apartheid*, based on the repugnant concept of racial superiority, is reminiscent of the Nazi doctrine.

233. Developments over the last year have been no less tragic. We have witnessed the continuation of a process of the further strengthening of the *apartheid* machinery. As pointed out in the report of the Special Committee, South Africa's military budget has increased more than 68-fold over the last two decades, which is in proportion to the increase in its oppression inside South Africa and its aggression outside.

234. It has, through its evil policy of bantustanization, embarked on a process of compartmentalizing *apartheid*

and depriving more than 5 million Africans of their right to citizenship of their own country. The maiming, torture and murder of South African patriots, including the banning of national organizations which dare to express even in the slightest way their indignation at the policies of *apartheid*, has remained a mode of operation of the South African Government. Today the massive uprooting of entire populations from their homes, typified by the manner in which the South African police recently proceeded to bulldoze and set on fire the homes of over 2,000 squatters just outside Cape Town, forms part of the racist campaign to dislocate the livelihood and family structure of the black population in the country.

235. Faced with this unabating wave of brutality and violence by the racist Government, the South African people have not failed to resist. They have stood firm in opposing the flagrant violation of their fundamental human rights. They have resisted with determination the pain, suffering, misery and humiliation inflicted on them by the *apartheid* Government. We still remember the determination of the young schoolchildren who stood in defiance during the Soweto uprising. No less do we remember the brutality with which the South African *apartheid* machinery responded to that defiance. In sum, the situation in the country is very clear in our minds. Perhaps what seems to be most disturbing is the most recent tendency of South Africa to internationalize its Fascist propaganda by portraying the struggle against *apartheid* in the country in a context other than that of opposition to racism. The struggle against the racial policies in South Africa is a logical response to the repression and brutality which those policies entail. It is borne internally and, although it has received, and will continue to receive, much external support, the actual struggle against racism in South Africa has been and will continue to be prosecuted internally. That is why my delegation has repeatedly rejected the South African attempts to generalize the racial war for which it is responsible. What poses the danger to international peace and security is not the patriotic resistance of the defenceless black women and children who are subjected to daily harassment, torture, banishment or killing, but those who hold guns to the heads of those innocent people and commit constant aggression against neighbouring countries.

236. The persistence of outright oppression within South Africa hinges not only on the diabolical system of *apartheid* but equally on the acts of hijacking, abduction and general terrorism being committed by the Pretoria Government. The long arm of *apartheid* has not failed to reach across its borders to silence those who have voiced their determination to be free. The abduction from and physical liquidation in, neighbouring countries of freedom fighters form an integral part of the racist crackdown campaign on the opponents of *apartheid*.

237. Just two days ago the South African Government demonstrated its resolve to destabilize, subvert and, where possible, topple Governments of independent peace-loving African countries which have identified themselves with opposition to *apartheid*. By facilitating the dispatch of a bunch of bloodthirsty mercenaries deep into the Indian Ocean region with the sole purpose of toppling the legitimate Government of the Republic of Seychelles, the *apartheid* régime has once again put to the test its avowed policy of destabilization and naked aggression against any country in Africa below the equator which identifies itself with the struggling people of South Africa. This intolerable and provocative armed attack on the Mahe International Airport in Seychelles is part and

parcel of South Africa's evolving policy of using proxies to commit aggression in areas where its hitherto proclaimed policy of so-called hot pursuit is inapplicable. In condemning this barbaric act of South African State terrorism my delegation expresses its total and unwavering solidarity with and support for the Government and people of Seychelles in the wake of attempts by these external forces to divert them from their pressing goals of national development.

238. In the meantime, we call upon the international community to condemn South Africa for facilitating this act of banditry. Considering the implications of this attack for the future peace and stability in the area in particular and in the world as a whole, the Assembly can be no less than categorical in its condemnation of this infamous act.

239. There can be no doubt that *apartheid*, which the Assembly has appropriately determined to be a crime against humanity, poses a threat to international peace and security. Not only are its architects guilty of despicable atrocities against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, but they continue to breach the peace through massive acts of aggression against the independent African States of southern Africa. The recent invasion of Angola by South African regular forces and the continued occupation of parts of the territory represent yet another reminder of the disdain in which that régime holds international opinion. This arrogance, supported by colossal military machinery, has now been supplemented by a nuclear weapon capability with which South Africa seeks to blackmail and terrorize the entire African continent, thanks to the collaboration of certain Western countries in the nuclear field.

240. It is evident that the continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western countries with South Africa has invariably served to sustain *apartheid*. Its intransigence and defiance could not have endured without the reluctance of some Western countries to adopt firm anti-*apartheid* policies. It would not have continued to flout international opinion if those countries with political and economic leverage had supported comprehensive economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. That is why we shall continue to demand such action.

241. In the meantime, we express our total solidarity with our brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho who, by refusing to be intimidated and silenced, have become victims of aggression at the hands of the South African Fascist Government. We urge, likewise, that if *apartheid* is to be overcome the total soli-

darity of the Organization with the front-line States is indispensable.

242. We all yearn for peace. Those who have witnessed destruction and suffering in war can but hope that war will not break out again. For those who have known no peace under *apartheid* the concept of neutrality with regard to oppression is alien, and unless the situation in South Africa is arrested general war with its imponderable consequences for international peace and security is inevitable. The struggle in South Africa has reached a crucial stage and now more than ever the struggles being waged by the patriotic forces within South Africa should be complemented by increased international action against *apartheid*.

243. We note with appreciation the efforts of those countries, organizations and individuals that have given their assistance in pooling political, diplomatic, economic and material resources for the sake of the struggle for peace, human dignity and justice.

244. Conversely, we cannot fail to register our disappointment in those who not only have opted for policies which negate the fundamental human belief in peace, human dignity and justice, but seek to sustain the policies of *apartheid*. While we express our disappointment, however, we think it is not yet too late, and we hope that they will realize the consequences of such policies.

245. In the meantime, we remain hopeful, in expressing our solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, that the international community will redouble its efforts and support to the national liberation movements waging the struggle for freedom and justice in that country. We salute those comrades who have fallen at the hands of Pretoria's assassins and mercenaries in the defense of the right of the South African non-whites to become human. Their blood, as one of the late heroes of the struggle, Solomon Mahlangu, said, "shall nourish the tree that shall bear the fruits of freedom".

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*

---

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> A/CONF.107/8.

<sup>2</sup> See A/32/267.

<sup>3</sup> See E/C.10/51, para. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See A/34/542.

<sup>5</sup> See A/AC.115/PV.485, p. 59-60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> A/CONF.107/8, para. 209.