



CONTENTS

Agenda item 18: Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments (<i>continued</i>): (a) Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions; Report of the Fifth Committee (Part III) (b) Appointment of six members of the Committee on Contributions Report of the Fifth Committee	1291
Agenda item 98: Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors: (a) United Nations Development Programme; (b) United Nations Children's Fund; (c) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; (d) United Nations Institute for Training and Research; (e) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; (f) United Nations Fund for Population Activities; (g) Organization and professional practices of the Board of Auditors Report of the Fifth Committee	1291
Agenda item 110: Financing of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East: (a) United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fifth Committee (Part I)	1293
Agenda item 133: Declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month and a Peace Day (<i>concluded</i>)	1293
Agenda item 32: Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa (<i>continued</i>): (a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ; (b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against <i>Apartheid</i> in Sports; (c) Reports of the Secretary-General Report of the Special Political Committee	1293

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

AGENDA ITEM 18

- Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments (*continued*):***
- (a) **Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;**

*Resumed from the 49th meeting.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART III)
(A/36/541/ADD.2)

- (b) **Appointment of six members of the Committee on Contributions**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE
(A/36/542)

AGENDA ITEM 98

Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) **United Nations Development Programme;**
(b) **United Nations Children's Fund;**
(c) **United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;**
(d) **United Nations Institute for Training and Research;**
(e) **Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;**
(f) **United Nations Fund for Population Activities;**
(g) **Organization and professional practices of the Board of Auditors**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/36/618)

AGENDA ITEM 110

Financing of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East:

- (a) **United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I)
(A/36/720)

1. Mr. MARTORELL (Peru), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda items 18 (a) and (b), 98 and 110 (a).
2. Part III of the report of the Fifth Committee on item 18 (a), concerning the appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, is contained in document A/36/541/Add.2; the Committee's recommendation can be found in paragraph 5 of that report.
3. The second report is on item 18 (b), concerning the appointment of six members of the Committee on Contributions, and is contained in document A/36/542, the Committee's recommendation appears in paragraph 4 of that report.
4. Thirdly, the report of the Fifth Committee on item 98, concerning the financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors, is contained in document A/36/618; in paragraphs 7 and 8 the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution and a draft decision.

5. Finally, I draw the attention of the General Assembly to part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on item 110, concerning subitem (a) on the financing of UNDOF, which is contained in document A/36/720; the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee may be found in paragraph 7.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

6. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Fifth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

7. I would remind members that, under decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that, when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should as far as possible explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the General Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the Assembly is different from its vote in the Committee. I also remind members that, in accordance with the same decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

8. I now invite members to turn their attention to part III of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 18 (a).

9. In paragraph 5 of the report the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint the following persons as members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1982: Mr. Lucio García de Solar, Mr. Anatoly Vasilievich Grodsky, Mrs. Virginia Housholder, Mr. Rachid Lahlou and Mr. Carl Pedersen. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 36/305 C).

10. The PRESIDENT: I now ask members to turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on item 18 (b).

11. In paragraph 4 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly appoint the following persons as members of the Committee on Contributions for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1982: Mr. Amjad Ali, Mr. Anatoly Semënovich Chistyakov, Mr. Miguel Angel Dávila Mendoza, Mr. Wilfried Koschorreck, Mr. Yang Hushan and Mr. Philippe Zeller. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 36/318).

12. The PRESIDENT: We come now to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 98.

13. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee in paragraphs 7 and 8 of its report.

14. In paragraph 7 the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution which the Fifth Committee adopted without a vote. Is it the wish of the Assembly to do so also?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/65).

15. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 8 of the same report, the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision entitled "Organization and professional practices of the Board of Auditors", which the Fifth Committee adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/420).

16. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft resolution recommended in part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 110, concerning subitem (a).

17. I call on the representative of Albania for an explanation of vote.

18. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): We do not intend to speak in detail about the financing of the United Nations forces in the Middle East since we have done so on previous occasions. But the Albanian delegation wishes to reiterate once again its position that it will not take part in the financing of the United Nations forces in the Middle East, not excluding UNDOF. We will therefore vote against the draft resolution.

19. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 7 of the report dealing with the financing of UNDOF, the Fifth Committee recommends draft resolutions A and B. I first put to the vote draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Albania, Iraq, Syrian Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mali, Mongolia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 94 votes to 3, with 17 abstentions (resolution 36/66 A).¹

20. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia,

Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Hungary, Iraq, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Angola, Chad, Democratic Yemen, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Romania.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 91 votes to 16, with 8 abstentions (resolution 36/66 B).

AGENDA ITEM 133

Declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month and a Peace Day (*concluded*)*

21. The PRESIDENT: In connection with item 133, the Assembly has before it a revised draft resolution [A/36/L.29/Rev.1], which the representative of Costa Rica introduced last Friday.

22. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt it?

Draft resolution A/36/L.29/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 36/67).

AGENDA ITEM 32

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

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

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

23. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I welcome this opportunity to address the General Assembly on a matter of such moral, political and human importance as *apartheid*. I speak as the representative of a relatively new nation, one founded squarely on the belief that the most basic function of Government is to protect the rights of its citizens—all its citizens. I speak here in the

United Nations, which has no more important mandate than to protect and expand the rights of persons around the world. And I speak, of course, on *apartheid*, which so flagrantly violates such rights for the majority of South African citizens.

24. Hence I welcome the United Nations focus on this critical moral and human subject. I wish that similar sessions were held about each and every systematic violation of human decency perpetrated by unjust Governments or groups around the world.

25. Fairness would dictate that different countries' human rights practices be judged by the same moral standards. This, regrettably, is not true here in the United Nations, which highlights real and tragic indignities said to be perpetrated by a select few countries while sliding over, if noticing at all, just as real and even more tragic indignities perpetrated by many other countries and groups. Were the United Nations to devote as much time to each existing vile system of rule as we are here devoting to *apartheid*, the General Assembly would need considerably more time to finish its work and that work would become far more important. Injustice afflicts so much of the world.

26. To say this is not to say that *apartheid* is of marginal importance, for it is of major importance. Since it assigns legal, political and economic rights by pigmentation—which no human can alter, as he or she can alter education or skill or even virtue—*apartheid* is morally repugnant. As it violates the natural rights of black, Coloured and Asian people, as it denies equal access to freedom, and economic opportunity and equal protection of the law, and as it allows a minority to dictate the rules of that State, it is reprehensible.

27. None the less, *apartheid* is not the most brutal form of repression; it is only the most blatant. South Africa is not the only repressive régime in Africa. There are many other ways, besides *apartheid* of denying people the enjoyment of freedom, the right to choose and to criticize their political leaders, the rule of law, the opportunity for a good job, a good education and a good life.

28. However, South Africa has the only system of denying a citizen's natural rights which is openly and legally based on racism. This bestows upon *apartheid*' special distinction as the world's most condemned system. While it is entirely appropriate for the United Nations and its agencies to condemn the spirit and practice of *apartheid*—as we are doing here, as we do in so many arenas of the United Nations, so often—the Organization should demonstrate a serious moral concern for freedom, equality and the law wherever violated by whatever race, religious authority, nationality or ideology. An oppressed individual cares less about the colour, religion or ideology of the tyrant or the tyrannical system than he or she does about the fact that oppression is being inflicted upon that person.

29. While this world body has, as I said, an obligation to contemplate the horrors of *apartheid* and the future of South Africa, the Government of South Africa has an even greater obligation. Its examination of this issue is far more important than ours. As its all-white Parliament soon reassembles, no longer able to ignore growing internal and external forces making for political change, South African leaders will grasp how the welfare of the white minority has become intrinsically tied to the welfare of the other races there.

*Resumed from the 75th meeting.

30. Change is coming to South Africa. Of this there can be no doubt. What type of change? How fast a pace? Leading where? There are signs of progress, small steps—to be sure, too small, too slow—but steps and signs of progress none the less. The reforms of the Wiehahn Labour Commission, the elimination of many petty *apartheid* measures and the establishment of the President's Council are such steps in what we hope, for the sake primarily of white and black South Africans, will become a steady, consistent march to a just society.

31. Such a society will be one in which the contending nationalisms of Afrikaaners and black Africans are finally reconciled. And such a march will face serious opposition by those seeking to flee present reality and substitute a false view of past security. In every society there are those lacking vision of a better future, whose eyes remain fixed on a fading idyllic view of the past, who are prepared to sacrifice their children's future to pursue unrealistic, sometimes twisted goals.

32. *Apartheid* is a twisted goal. While South African leaders acknowledge the economic unity of the Republic—a single economy, and not 11 separate economies—some have yet to acknowledge political realities, particularly the failure of *apartheid* as an ideology and as the basis of a stable and just society.

33. To this day, South Africa remains basically a democracy for whites and an authoritarian system for blacks. All the coercive powers of an authoritarian system are exercised by the white Government against the black majority: suppression of dissent, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and the systematic elimination of all opposition.

34. Clinging to its discredited homelands policy, the Government intends to grant the fragmented Ciskei "independence" this week. Just as the United States did not recognize Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana, so we will not recognize Ciskei. Why this homelands process continues when its ideology has been discredited, when its perpetration has become ludicrous and when its practice is grounds for greater scorn remains a mystery. The policy becomes cruel when it bestows homelands "citizenship" in far-away areas to some 6 million urban blacks who may never have seen those poor lands at all. What does "citizenship" of this kind mean next to the loss of South African citizenship, which is at the root of territorial *apartheid*?

35. The United States abhors *apartheid* adorned by whatever name: separate development, parallel development, separate freedoms, differentiation, multinational development. It matters nothing what it is called. *Apartheid* remains white rule. There are 4.4 million whites—16 per cent of the population—who thereby continue domination over and disenfranchisement of the black majority, 22.9 million persons.

36. The most evident manifestation of *apartheid*, by whatever name, is the horror of forced population relocations. Admittedly, this is a practice evident in a number of countries, some represented in this Hall now. In South Africa since 1960, more than 2 million citizens have been forcibly removed from one area to another of their own country. The practice of forced resettlement continues. It is just as squalid as ever. Government should rest on the will of its citizens, and the will of no citizen is to be resettled by force, without due regard for law and basic human decency. That it is all too common a practice in

Africa and in other continents does not make it less odious in South Africa. We hope for reform there, as well as throughout the rest of the region.

37. My Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada are currently engaged in a sustained and determined effort to bring about a settlement of the Namibia independence issue based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United States believes that with success—and we hope and pray for success, and, more critically, we work feverishly for success—South Africans and all Africans can witness first-hand and up-close a problem being resolved through peaceful negotiations, as opposed to violent confrontation. Lessons learned in Namibia can be educational elsewhere. Resolving the problem of Namibian independence can help determine and even usher in a new manner of race relations within the Republic of South Africa itself.

38. Meanwhile, the United States supports those elements inside and beyond the Republic which foster peaceful evolutionary change there. Those people constitute the moral vanguard of South Africa's future leadership. They need to be strengthened rather than undermined, championed rather than castigated and supported rather than shunned. *Apartheid* forces can, and ever more strongly do, challenge *apartheid*. They offer hope of meaningful political change, hope of moving towards a political system engaging blacks and whites together. Such a system the United States keenly supports. We do not presume to prescribe how the process of political change in South Africa should be carried out. Who could be presumptuous enough to do so? But we vigorously support equality and justice for all races in South Africa. Let there be no mistake on that score.

39. History bears out our commitment to racial justice in South Africa. The United States was the first country to impose a complete arms embargo against South Africa, in 1963, a full 15 years before the United Nations imposed a universal arms embargo. Even though South Africa is of modest economic interest to the United States—with only some 1 per cent of United States overseas investment in and only some 1 per cent of American trade with South Africa—still we have long been at the forefront of those concerned with human rights in that troubled country. We shall continue to be in the forefront. The legacy of America, as a nation founded on freedom and a beacon of liberty to all the oppressed overseas, permits no less.

40. What is the proper role of the United Nations in bringing constructive change to South Africa? We firmly believe that as a first step, South Africa should be allowed to take its rightful place in the Assembly. To do otherwise is to do violence to the Charter and to the standard of fairness, and to shy away from, rather than to face, the political realities in South Africa. The continued illegal exclusion of South Africa constitutes a serious violation of the Charter. More importantly, it diminishes the capacity of the United Nations to influence the Government of South Africa in any constructive fashion.

41. South Africa's exclusion from the General Assembly has clearly failed to erode *apartheid* but has succeeded thus far only in underscoring the sad irrelevance of the United Nations to the future of South Africa and its people. Since that exclusion has so palpably failed to benefit either the world body or the peoples of South Africa, why not change course and see if engaging South

Africa directly will provide better results? We believe that it would.

42. The United Nations can contribute to the ultimate erosion of *apartheid* if the Organization becomes more realistic and less repetitive in calling for ever more boycotts, embargoes, sanctions and other punitive steps—actions which have not brought about constructive political reforms in any instance in modern history.

43. But the major factors which may be bringing about the destruction of *apartheid* are located closer to its source. These are three parallel trends: the spread of democratic ideals, the expansion of education and the demands of a growing economy. They have already produced social and cultural changes within that country. Those seriously dedicated to achieving peaceful, non-destructive change in South Africa can help advance these trends. Those not so dedicated or not so serious can continue the sole emphasis which the United Nations places on punitive measures designed to communicate the universal abhorrence of *apartheid*. While still castigating *apartheid*, the United Nations should now broaden its focus, help bring about change and consider concrete ways to expand democracy, education and economic opportunity in South Africa.

44. The United States will soon expand programmes designed to meet the education needs of black South Africans, both refugees and those who remain. The United Nations may join our Government and other Governments already active in this role to help provide educational assistance to blacks within South Africa, through either scholarships or other education projects. Such concrete programmes, coupled with opening an honest dialogue with the South African Government, will place the United Nations in a better position to pursue peace and decency in South Africa. The United Nations would then fulfil its mandate as a mediator and facilitator of change in that troubled land.

45. How much easier it is to become morally indignant against *apartheid* than against ills closer to—or even within—one's own country. How much more difficult it is to realize that the true evils of *apartheid*, of rule according to pigmentation, can be eliminated only by engagement and concrete programmes to help the oppressed in that tragic country. The United States considers this the only serious and indeed moral course for those interested, truly interested, and for those dedicated, truly dedicated, to the welfare of all South African citizens, black and white, Asian and Coloured.

46. Mr. ADHIKARI (Nepal): The General Assembly has repeatedly declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and security. The policy of racism followed by South Africa has been universally condemned. The racist policy has not only caused sufferings to the black majority of South Africa and Namibia but also created an atmosphere of tension in the whole region. The régime has been committing aggression against neighbouring independent African States, such as that committed against Matola, Mozambique, in January 1981 and the massive aggression launched against Angola since the end of July 1981.

47. The continuing political, military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration of certain Western and other States with the racist régime of South Africa and the assistance provided by the transnational corporations, whether based in South Africa or outside, are providing

strength to the racist rulers and assisting in the ruthless exploitation of the black majority. They act in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Without collaboration from outside it would have been impossible for South Africa to advance in the nuclear field, to develop a strong and modern army, to persist in its aggressive policies against independent African nations and to perpetuate racist domination and exploitation inside the country.

48. In defiance of international public opinion, the rulers of South Africa have escalated their inhuman policy of shameless exploitation of the black majority. Repression, violence and terror by the racist régime against the non-white population and two other far-reaching aspects of the system—migrant labour and the establishment of bantustans or reserves—have been the means of implementing the policy. Through the policy of bantustanization the régime has made South Africans exiles in their own country. It has tried to deceive the world by proclaiming the so-called independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, and it is proceeding to proclaim the sham independence of Ciskei on 4 December this year. Under a new heading, "constellation of States", the régime is trying to consolidate the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country and to deprive the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights.

49. The South African racist régime executed the famous freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu and sentenced James Mange to death under the notorious Terrorism Act. The sham trial and sentencing of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues was unanimously condemned by the United Nations and the international community. The campaign in South Africa for the release of Mr. Mandela and the world-wide support that it has obtained demonstrate clearly that it is the rulers in Pretoria who stand on trial before the world and are condemned for their inhuman policies.

50. The current budget of South Africa shows a 30 per cent increase in defence spending compared with the previous year. Similarly, South Africa has escalated the acquisition of sophisticated military equipment. All this spending on defence and armaments is intended to keep the rulers safe from their own people and to carry out aggression against the front-line States. The situation in South Africa and southern Africa has escalated to such an extent that it has brought grave dangers for the peace of the region.

51. The General Assembly has made repeated calls for effective and comprehensive sanctions, with an effective monitoring system, under Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connection, my delegation reiterates its firm support for the Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa² and the Special Declaration on Namibia,² adopted unanimously by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris, from 20 to 27 May this year. Mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII are the only peaceful means which can force South Africa to desist from its policy of brutal oppression.

52. My delegation would also like to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its relentless campaign for international support for and assistance to the struggle of the South African people, and also to its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria. The contribution made by his predecessor, Mr. Clark, is well known. Nepal will, as ever, extend its firm support to the people

of southern Africa in their struggle to free themselves from the oppressive *apartheid* régime.

53. Mr. KALINA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): We are deeply convinced that the situation in southern Africa, where colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* continue to exist, is an anachronism in the modern world and a source of inhuman suffering for millions of Africans. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers the problem of *apartheid* to be one of the most acute problems of modern times. The policy of *apartheid*, which constitutes the most repulsive form of racial discrimination, is not only an instrument of colonial domination by the white minority but also the tool of the South African racists for the further consolidation of their exploitation of the African population. That policy tramples underfoot basic rights and freedoms and outlaws the existence and activities of any political parties and organizations which reject the policy of *apartheid*. For 33 years—the time that has elapsed since the proclamation in 1948 of the policy of *apartheid* by the Nationalist Party, which remains in power in the Republic of South Africa to this day—the racist policy of South Africa has been developed in detail and enshrined in the legislation which is now used as a cruel instrument against the national liberation movement of the people of South Africa.

54. The policy of *apartheid* is rightly subjected to sharp criticism. The General Assembly and the Security Council have on numerous occasions condemned the South African racists, who have established this criminal régime totally denying human dignity and elementary human rights and unleashed cruel terror in the Republic of South Africa for the purpose of putting down the struggle of the South African people for freedom and independence.

55. The policy of *apartheid* is one of the three crimes for which the Pretoria régime is being condemned by the international community as a whole. The unlawful occupation of Namibia and the intensified attacks against neighbouring independent African countries, the most recent evidence of which was the aggression against Angola in August this year, are further actions committed by this régime which are just as worthy of condemnation.

56. It is beyond question that the Government of the Republic of South Africa feels itself strong. But what is making it feel so self-confident? It is not so much confidence in itself as the awareness of support on the part of certain Western countries, in particular the United States. I am speaking here of political, diplomatic, economic and military support. It is no secret that the major Western countries are pursuing in the Republic of South Africa interests which are in direct conflict with resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Above all, these are strategic interests which emphasize the need for active co-operation with the Republic of South Africa and the *apartheid* régime, as well as a number of economic and other interests in southern Africa as a whole. It is precisely in that region that one finds a symbiosis of political, economic, military and strategic interests of world imperialism and South African racism; it is there that the centre of gravity of the whole problem can be found. After all, are not the triple veto in the Security Council against sanctions against the Republic of South Africa and the absence of the majority of these States from the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa clear evidence of this?

57. Recently the racist régime has been criticized also by certain influential representatives of the trade circles of

the Republic of South Africa itself. The cause for this criticism should be sought not in their philanthropy but in their awareness of the fact that *apartheid*, in spite of the support it receives from the West, constitutes an economic brake on the economy of the country. There is already a shortage of 700,000 skilled workers in virtually all spheres, because the Africans are deprived of the opportunity to obtain the necessary education or else are not allowed to practise “white” professions. It is to be noted in this connection also that, out of 10 million able-bodied Africans in the Republic of South Africa, 20 per cent are out of work.

58. Increasing internal resistance to *apartheid* is being offered from year to year by the oppressed non-white inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa itself. The intensity and the pressure of the strike movement is rising. In 1980 alone, there were 207 strikes—twice as many as in the previous year. Major actions by Africans, Coloureds, Indians and others, under the leadership of the patriots of the African National Congress [ANC], have laid bare the great political, economic, social and moral crisis being experienced by the Republic of South Africa, which is manifesting itself chiefly in the growing antagonism between the régime of the white racists and the majority of the country, the 22 million oppressed non-whites.

59. All this has led to a situation where the ruling bourgeois circles have proclaimed a programme of reform. As a result, there is a certain softening of some external aspects of *apartheid*, so that these reforms could quite appropriately be called “cosmetic surgery”. In counterbalance to these “concessions”—if they can so be labelled—there is an intensification of action against the opponents of the régime. The reforms have not touched such areas as education, the economy, health and sports. They have not resulted in the repeal of the hated “Pass Law”, which has on the whole converted the Republic of South Africa into a gigantic concentration camp for the non-white population.

60. The racist leaders are not retreating; they are merely changing their tactics for the purpose of gaining time, seeking to obtain compensation for increasing political losses, halting the spread of the national liberation struggle and resolving the problem of southern Africa on a neo-colonialist basis.

61. Thus, the racism and *apartheid* of the Republic of South Africa continue to exist, and even grow stronger. But Pretoria's leaders do not realize one fundamental thing, namely, that the political awareness of the Africans after the victories of their brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe has grown greatly. There is no doubt that the Africans in the Republic of South Africa will likewise achieve complete victory. The African people is not alone in its struggle, nor will it be alone because on its side stands the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement throughout the world. This is illustrated also by developments last year in the course of which a number of important measures were carried out on an international scale which have contributed to the strengthening and expansion of the front of forces fighting against colonialism and *apartheid* in South Africa.

62. Our country has broken diplomatic, economic, cultural and all other relations with the South African régime. It stopped all contacts with the Republic of South Africa as long ago as 1963 and is systematically and unswervingly carrying out a policy of boycotting South Africa.

63. In accordance with the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] we reject all attempts to declare the policy of *apartheid* to be the domestic affair of that country. We also adhere to the view that the violation of the sanctions which have been approved against the Republic of South Africa is a hostile act towards the United Nations itself. We condemn the racist Government for its unceasing and intensifying aggressive actions against neighbouring sovereign African States and we condemn it also for the fact that for these aggressive sorties they are also using the unlawfully occupied Territory of Namibia.

64. We are unflinchingly striving and we shall continue to do so, together with other countries, towards the implementation of all measures and actions by the United Nations and its organs and other organizations which would hasten the fall of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa. We totally approve the results of the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. Together with the majority of the countries of the world, we share the view that the policies of racist South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security and that the present situation in southern Africa calls for the full application of sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

65. As was pointed out by the joint Czechoslovak-Mozambican communiqué, adopted during the official visit of friendship by the Chairman of the FRELIMO Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel, which took place at the invitation of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Gustav Husak, in October of this year:

“Both sides confirmed their support and active solidarity with the just struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress, its sole legitimate representative. They condemn the repressive actions of the racist authorities of Pretoria against the South African people and the policy of the establishment of Bantustans in the Republic of South Africa.”

Our solidarity with the people of South Africa has not been and never will be merely a matter of verbal assurances. We intend in the future as well to provide its national liberation movement with our comprehensive assistance through the Czechoslovak Government and through non-governmental organizations, as well as through international organizations to ensure total victory for that movement.

66. In conclusion the Czechoslovak delegation would like to praise highly the efforts of the United Nations in the struggle against *apartheid*. The Czechoslovak delegation fully approves the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/36/22 and Corr.1] and would like to support the proposal to proclaim 1982 the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* was successful this year in carrying out a whole series of measures which mobilized the international community against the shameful actions of the South African racists. For this it deserves just recognition. Such successful measures unquestionably include the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against

Apartheid, which took place in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, from 31 August to 2 September 1981. It is also necessary to commend the positive work done in this connection by the staff of the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid*.

67. Mr. ŠILOVIČ (Yugoslavia): The issue of the policies and practice of *apartheid* is not a new theme at the General Assembly sessions. The repeated inclusion of this item in the agenda testifies to the fact that the international community is facing an important and serious problem which is a heavy burden given the situation in Africa and for international relations in general. On the other hand, this is the proof of the resolve and determination of the United Nations not to falter in solving the problem and eradicating this evil, which constitutes a crime against mankind—an institutionalized system of racial discrimination and a legalized method of mass violation and infringement of human rights.

68. Today more than before—and this year more clearly and emphatically than in previous years—it is essential to eliminate the problem of *apartheid* from our agenda. According to the data conscientiously collected by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the increased oppression of the black and Coloured population in South Africa, the threats, arrests and trials—including the death penalty for arrested patriots, the armed clashes of police and military forces of the racist régime with the combatants of the national liberation movements—ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Anzania [PAC]—the continuous acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism committed by the racist régime against Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique, the occupation of parts of Angolan territory, the permanent occupation of Namibia and the rejection of the United Nations plan for Namibia—all these constitute not only a serious threat but also a violation of international peace and security and create a situation which calls for urgent intervention by the United Nations, including use of the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

69. This need is even more strongly emphasized by the increased brutal suppression of the population opposing *apartheid*. The use of terror against the majority has, in the course of the previous year, between the thirty-fifth and the thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly, escalated and become even more intensified, resulting in an increased number of political arrests and trials, an ever greater number of prohibitions of political, trade-union and social activities in general and in other various forms of pressure against the opponents of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa.

70. The policy of bantustanization, assessed by the world as an unscrupulous attempt to create reservoirs of cheap labour for the industrial and agricultural facilities of the racist economy and dumping grounds for the aged and the infirm, has been continued and intensified. In the so-called constellation of southern African “independent States”, there already exist a number of bantustans. The most recent is Ciskei. South Africa is trying to introduce these creations into international life and to open their diplomatic missions in Western European and American countries. The United Nations must once again clearly and firmly oppose such an orientation and condemn those countries which violate the international consensus on the illegal and unacceptable character of this form of *apartheid* and the policy of the racist minority régime.

71. For years South Africa resorted to tricks of all kinds to postpone and evade the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia based on the decision adopted by the Security Council. At the same time, it continued to pursue the policy of *apartheid* in Namibia and to perpetrate inconceivable exploitation of the natural riches of Namibia, despite Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia,³ the legal administrative organ for this international Territory until its independence.

72. South Africa has continued its brutal oppression, threats and terror against the Namibian majority and continues to wage merciless armed warfare against the national liberation movement in that country—the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]—the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. At the political level, despite the opposition of the Organization and of the international community, South Africa strives—and is tacitly supported by its allies—to promote the representatives of the interior quisling structures and to have them treated as equal partners in the process of decolonization of the Territory, aimed at providing its own further presence, influence and privileges in the period after the liberation and independence of Namibia.

73. The racist régime in Pretoria has strengthened its aggressive policy towards neighbouring sovereign and non-aligned countries. Angola is a victim of almost permanent aggression by South African troops, which have kept parts of that peace-loving country under their occupation for months. Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana were also victims of aggression. It is absolutely justified to ask: How is it possible that the Security Council partly disregards the obvious violation of international peace and security—South Africa's overt attempts to continue with its policy of oppression and exploitation in southern Africa?

74. Those countries which openly or tacitly continue to co-operate with the racist minority régime in spite of numerous decisions and warnings of the United Nations and of the international community also bear great responsibility for such a policy and for the behaviour of South Africa. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the co-operation between South Africa and some developed Western countries intensified in the course of the past year. During that period South Africa's exports to those countries increased by 33 per cent, and its imports from them by 46 per cent. Foreign investment in South Africa has reached the amount of about \$36 billion. Over 2,000 Western European and North American transnational corporations are active today in South Africa. Undoubtedly, they will continue their activity in the region of South Africa as long as the system of *apartheid* provides them with undisturbed profit-making through the exploitation of natural riches and the utilization of cheap labour concentrated in bantustans. Collaboration with South Africa continues in the military, nuclear, political, sports, cultural and all other fields.

75. The position of non-aligned countries in regard to *apartheid* is well known. It was stated at several General Assembly sessions. The non-aligned countries call for the complete abolition of the policy of racism and racial discrimination, the elimination of the imposed minority rule and the cessation of the usurping of rights and privileges, which are all contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the basic norms of civilized behaviour. Non-aligned countries have, in the declarations adopted at their summit meetings, pointed out the need to undertake energetic measures against the South African

racist régime. They underlined the need to isolate the régime in Pretoria by the breaking of all kinds of relations—political, economic, military, nuclear, sports, and others—with the racist régime, by undertaking measures provided under Chapter VII of the Charter, by the consistent implementation of the arms embargo based on the decision adopted by the Security Council, by the oil embargo, and by other measures provided for in the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa.²

76. For its part, Yugoslavia has always consistently adhered to all measures, and has supported every action of the international community leading to the final eradication of the policy and practice of *apartheid* in southern Africa. Within its possibilities it has rendered all moral and political support and material assistance to the national liberation movements in South Africa. Yugoslavia has always considered that effective international pressure upon the South African racist régime, in order successfully to eradicate *apartheid*, should be combined with strong national resistance within South Africa under the liberation movements—ANC and PAC, recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. Yugoslavia will continue to do so in the future, as well.

77. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegation of my country I have the pleasure to express our appreciation for the efforts made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule. My country had the honour of being a member of the Special Committee when it prepared the report before us [A/36/22 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2]. It is an exhaustive report dealing with all aspects of the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination as exercised by the racist minority Government in South Africa. It also includes important recommendations proposed by the Special Committee to the international community in order to eliminate South Africa's inhuman policies.

78. My delegation wishes to express its thanks and appreciation to Mr. Reddy, Director of the Centre against *Apartheid* for the fight against *apartheid*, as well as to all the members of the Centre for their efforts and dedication in the service of the campaign aimed at the elimination of *apartheid*.

79. Of all the political questions relating to human rights which the United Nations now has before it, there is not a single one more deserving of international examination and universal condemnation than the inhuman *apartheid* practices of South Africa. There is no other question as dramatic as this one. Since the elimination of nazism and the Third Reich there has been no régime which has enacted such iniquitous and inhuman laws as has the South African racist régime. The minority racist régime of South Africa, which controls all of the political and economic forces of that country, is an affront and a shame, an affront to the whole of mankind because it flagrantly violates fundamental human rights and despicably exploits and persecutes the overwhelming majority of the indigenous inhabitants.

80. That régime not only causes suffering for millions persecuted in South Africa, but is also a source of abuses and threats to international peace and security. Governments and countries that love peace, freedom, and dignity must take every possible measure to promote international co-operation in order to isolate the racist régime and to provide the necessary assistance to the national liberation movements in South Africa.

81. The Sudan is following attentively and with disquiet the increasing tension in South Africa as a result of the intensification of the activities of the racist régime and the acts of repression and torture against the overwhelming majority of the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa which are continuing, and its brutal campaigns of arrest and liquidation of all honest citizens who refuse to adhere to its policies. It puts them in jail, and subjects them to all sorts of torture. The racist régime does not content itself with imprisoning or exiling its citizens, but has treacherously committed several criminal acts, including the execution of many martyrs and decimation of students who have rebelled against it. The cruel treatment and inhuman conditions inflicted upon the political prisoners in South Africa should convince the General Assembly of the need to make every effort to implement the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee in order to liberate all the political prisoners in South Africa, as well as their spokesman Nelson Mandela and his comrades, to stop all arbitrary arrests by Pretoria, and to provide all material and moral assistance to those prisoners and their families.

82. It seems clear that the racist régime in South Africa is obstinate in its arrogance because in spite of all the international condemnation of their racist policies, the Pretoria authorities continue to promulgate racist laws and to establish what are known as bantustans, those allegedly autonomous states. Along with the rest of Africa and countries in other regions, the Sudan has warned against these South African plans which make use of a new formula to perpetuate the domination by the white racist minority régime because what South Africa calls "gradual changes" are only manoeuvres intended to make the international community believe that there will be an improvement in its inhuman policies. Our rejection of those manoeuvres is due to our awareness of the true intentions of the racist minority in South Africa, and we are convinced that any changes it has made in its legislation are cosmetic and in no way affect the nature of the racist laws, which seek to ensure for the white minority its domination and exploitation of the natural resources of the usurped land, and which impose on the majority—the black indigenous inhabitants—a life of alienation and wretchedness and a life without freedom.

83. We wish here to reaffirm our belief that the *apartheid* régime of the racist minority in South Africa cannot be moderated or improved in any way. That régime must be destroyed, it must be exterminated by putting an end to all forms of racial discrimination and to *apartheid* itself, and by establishing a democratic social régime and ensuring equal rights for all so that the overwhelming majority can recover its rights to freedom and sovereignty in its homeland. Those rights will certainly be recovered, for, in its heroic struggle, that black majority will never yield to the racist régime, which daily invents new, ever more iniquitous and oppressive measures.

84. On an African initiative, and with the support of the international community, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was held in Paris in May this year. That Conference was an important historic event in the context of the intensification of international action to put an end to the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority in South Africa. The Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa emphasized the importance and necessity of imposing sanctions against South Africa within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to force South Africa to implement United Nations resolutions. For the choice is

clear: it is a choice between the escalation of the conflict and the imposition of mandatory sanctions. The Paris Declaration appealed to all Powers that oppose imposing sanctions against the régime in South Africa to take into account the will of the majority of the international community by changing their policies with regard to the racist Pretoria régime and complying with United Nations resolutions. The purpose of the sanctions is to force the Government of the Republic of South Africa to put an end to its policies of *apartheid* and to establish a non-racist community in which all will have equal rights regardless of their colour or origin.

85. During the past 35 years, the racist régime has shown that it will never give up its racist policies of its own accord as long as it continues to receive political and moral support and economic, military and material assistance from certain States Members of the United Nations. Through their co-operation with Pretoria and the support they provide to the racist régime, those Powers are encouraging that régime to continue its inhuman and brutal policies. If the international community is serious about putting an end to this racist régime, all countries must assume their responsibilities by putting all possible pressure on that régime, by applying the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and implementing Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

86. In the light of the positive participation by the international community in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, my delegation appeals to the international community through the Assembly to support the Paris Declaration and implement the programme contained therein on sanctions against South Africa and a comprehensive boycott of South Africa.

87. My delegation also supports the Special Committee's recommendation that 1982 be declared International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. We appeal to all Members of the United Nations, to all governmental and non-governmental organizations, to trade unions and all other world sectors to intensify their efforts in the coming year to ensure the effective implementation of the programme of the Paris Declaration so that the racist régime will be aware of the international will to bring justice and freedom to South Africa.

88. The racist Government of South Africa has continued its incursions into the front-line African countries; this year it has attacked Angola and Zambia, causing large losses of life and property, and has pursued its attacks on refugees in addition to those against Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The African front-line States, which are shouldering with great courage their responsibilities in supporting the liberation struggle, must be given all necessary assistance by the international community, so that they can defend their territorial integrity and independence and compensate for all the economic losses incurred by the plundering of their natural resources. We wish to express our support for the recommendation that any threat by the racist Government of South Africa against the front-line States would constitute a threat to the international community and a violation of United Nations resolutions and of its prestige.

89. We wish also to reaffirm that Africa, in the face of all these attacks, tergiversations and dilatory manoeuvres of the racist régime of South Africa, will find itself obliged to unleash an armed war against that régime. We in the Sudan, along with the whole of Africa, will not hesitate to provide all necessary support, both material

and moral, to the liberation movement in South Africa in order to help it continue its armed struggle against racist exploitation and subjugation, so that the black majority can obtain the right to live in dignity on its own soil.

90. In conclusion, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the growing danger posed by the bilateral relations and co-operation between the two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel. The special report of the Special Committee [A/36/22/Add.1] highlights the most recent developments concerning relations and co-operation between Israel and South Africa in the military, political, nuclear, economic and cultural fields, in addition to exchanges of visits at official and non-official levels. We wish to appeal to the international community to make every effort to adopt all measures aimed at exerting every possible pressure to dissuade these two racist régimes—both of which have been condemned by the Assembly—from all collusion so that the people of South Africa can decide for itself on its destiny and so that the right of self-determination can also be exercised by the peoples of Namibia and Palestine.

91. Mr. TALEB (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): When in 1952 the Assembly decided to include in the agenda an item on the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, it had already recognized the seriousness of the situation obtaining in South Africa. Since then quite a number of years have gone by, many statements have been delivered and many resolutions have been voted on, and we are sorry to note that the situation in South Africa has not only remained unchanged but acquired alarming proportions, which of course represents a threat to international peace and security. How can we describe the anachronistic and inhuman practices of a Government which denies the most basic rights to the majority of the population of a country, which in a shameful and planned manner undertakes to destroy the territorial integrity of a country and the national unity of its inhabitants and which, in addition, illegally occupies an international Territory and frequently and with impunity attacks neighbouring African countries? These are the unfortunate attributes of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

92. Thus, at a time when we are witnessing a new wave of political emancipation of several peoples which yesterday were still oppressed and today are free and masters of their destiny, the Government of Pretoria turns its back on history and continues to impose on the people of South Africa institutionalized racial segregation, that is, *apartheid*, the doctrine of white supremacy in all areas and the official trade mark of that régime.

93. *Apartheid* is the denial of the rights of the majority, which is politically oppressed, economically exploited and socially humiliated every day. What can we say about a régime which concentrates all power in the hands of the white minority while claiming to represent the black majority other than that it places itself outside the bounds of international legality? The black majority of South Africa which is excluded from the political life of the country and which to this day is without legitimate representatives, cannot wait indefinitely for the liberalization of the régime, which in any event can only become a reality through the total elimination of all manifestations of the *apartheid* system.

94. South Africa, with its unparalleled arrogance, continues to ignore the insistent appeals to reason of the international community. On the contrary, it continues to

intensify its repression of all those that oppose *apartheid*, even to the extent of blindly shooting down defenceless men, women and children. It also terrorizes churchmen, intellectuals and white sympathizers who identify with the demands of the black majority and denounce the anachronistic and inhuman nature of *apartheid*.

95. How can we continue to believe in the promises of reform on the one hand when on the other Pretoria seeks ways of refining and perpetuating the system of *apartheid*?

96. In that connection, one of the Machiavellian ramifications of *apartheid* is found in the policy of bantustanization, which is coldly implemented by the South African Government. Following an initiative of the Moroccan and other delegations, at its thirty-first session the General Assembly, in its resolution 31/6 A rejected the declaration of independence of the so-called Republic of Transkei. Since then, South Africa has continued systematically to pursue its sorry designs in that regard and has granted pseudo-independence to Bophuthatswana and Venda, and intends on 4 December 1981 to proclaim the independence of Ciskei. Actually, Pretoria thinks that it can guarantee the survival of *apartheid* by increasing the number of bantustans. Feeling threatened on all sides, the Pretoria régime has decided to sap all national feeling in South Africa by forcing the various tribes to establish themselves definitively in reservations, which it cynically terms homelands. The African inhabitants are authorized to go into the white areas only to serve the needs of the whites, who exploit that source of cheap labour.

97. My delegation shares the view of Mr. Maitama-Sule, the representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, that the main objective of such Balkanization is to make a white country out of South Africa, something it has never been and never will be. My delegation cries out in indignation against the policy of bantustans and denounces that flagrant violation of the national unity of South Africa.

98. The South African Government also imposes its policy of *apartheid* on the oppressed people of Namibia. The Pretoria régime continues to defy the international community and persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. Together with foreign economic interests, it shares in the plunder of the natural resources of that Territory and places all sorts of obstacles in the way of its independence. Furthermore, South Africa makes use of Namibian territory to commit unjustified acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to denounce the illegal occupation of Namibia and the denial by the South African Government of the Namibian people's right to self-determination. The fact that the international community believes that the policy of *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia and their implications constitute a threat to the peace and stability of the African continent does not seem to be of major concern to the South African Government.

99. We believe that it is the continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain countries, directly or through commercial corporations, with the Pretoria régime that encourages the latter to persist in its intransigence and to defy the international community. My delegation remains convinced that the combined efforts of all members of the international community, by means of strict observance of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977), economic isolation and strong political pressures, can prevail

upon the South African Government speedily to abandon its inhuman policy of *apartheid* and to return the Namibian territory to its people without further equivocation.

100. Guided by the sacred principles of Islam, acting within the framework of African solidarity and the defence of human rights wherever they are violated, Morocco will continue to lend its support to the black inhabitants of South Africa and to take part in the campaign against *apartheid* until it has been completely eliminated.

101. The international community is morally bound to express its opposition to *apartheid* and its support for those who are its victims. We appeal to those who are still in a position to do so to use all the means available to them to prevail upon the Pretoria régime to abandon its discriminatory racial policy and to restore the political, economic and social rights to the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa so that they may finally assume their role as full-fledged citizens in a democratic and united South Africa.

102. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Our debate today has the rare and even improbable feature of drawing up an indictment of crimes against humanity committed by a country that proudly and openly proclaims its own guilt. Indeed, South Africa is practising fascism, racism, terrorism and aggression officially, as natural and respectable things. But the paradox really lies elsewhere. It lies in the respectability which that country seems to enjoy in a large part of the world. The paradox lies in the fact that this outlaw country, this country of official racism, is accepted as a partner, and frequently as an ally, by many respectable States.

103. The General Assembly has just concluded its consideration of South Africa's challenge to the Organization in connection with the Namibian problem. And today, a new aspect of South Africa is revealed to us in all its nakedness by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report. This report, which gives us an opportunity to offer our most heartfelt congratulations to the Special Committee and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, fills in the less than attractive picture of what is by its very nature a segregationist and terrorist system. The report confirms for us that South Africa does not limit its activities which are contrary to peace and international morality to the confiscation of Namibia, in defiance of the inalienable right of its people, of the universal consensus and of the advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice.⁴ It also confirms that South African terrorism is not by any means limited to the invasion of and attempts to destabilize our brother countries of southern Africa.

104. The Assembly is certainly aware that this is only the visible tip of the iceberg. These are only headlong rushes forward, dear to all colonial Powers in an attempt to hide the real thing. The most repulsive, the most intolerable aspect of South Africa's global policy of terrorism is its policy of *apartheid*. Nothing is left to chance in the name of a policy of separate development of citizens of one and the same country under the sole, aberrant criterion of the pigmentation of the skin. In South Africa, one is not a man: one is only "very white", "a little white", "yellow", "very black" or "a little black". On the basis of that logic, a people is categorized, divided, oppressed. Consequently the most minimal rights recognized in the case of non-humans are denied to men because they are very black, a little black or merely yellow.

Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

105. Finally, the report reveals to us again this year the pursuit of co-operation in numerous forms between South Africa and another colonial, anachronistic implantation: Israel. Being a part both of that Africa insulted by South Africa and of the Arab world victimized by the long-standing aggression by Israel, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is not at all surprised. This observation simply confirms once again that the racial discrimination against the Jewish minorities in Europe has merely served as a pretext for the Zionist racist and colonialist movement to achieve its purposes: the spoliation of Palestine and the establishment of a base which threatens security and progress in the Arab world.

106. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania has never had relations with the minority régime in South Africa, in conformity with African solidarity, and in compliance with simple human ethics, and it has always observed a clear policy with regard to *apartheid*. This year once again, we reiterate our conviction that there can be no possibility of compromise with this system, no liberalization by little steps; there can only be an end to institutionalized segregation and the emergence of a democratic and multiracial society if the fundamental problem is to be solved.

107. This choice implies the end of the bantustans and the restoration to the majority of its rights, all its rights. For that purpose, our country fully subscribes to the proposals of the Special Committee, particularly to the proclamation of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Those sanctions must be rigid, complete and comprehensive so as to isolate completely this refractory régime that is contrary to all universal understanding and to the spirit of the Charter. Moreover, in order to hasten the end of the Fascist, racist régime, we call for an increase in political and material aid to the patriotic and democratic forces without regard to colour.

108. On this occasion, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes particularly to mention ANC, which will soon be celebrating its seventieth anniversary. ANC has always been noted for its identification of its resolute opposition to *apartheid* with a multiracial national struggle. The long and effective passive and active struggle carried on by ANC has recently assumed new dimensions and the *apartheid* authorities are increasingly recognizing the effectiveness of this struggle, particularly of the military actions conducted inside the country.

109. Mankind has gone through long periods of racial intolerance which have served as pretexts for all kinds of genocide and political, cultural, economic and social oppression of minorities. The United Nations, which was formed in 1945 essentially as a reaction to those aberrations, is the product of a clear will on the part of the whole of the human family. That will proclaims that man is one, wherever he may be, whatever his colour, his philosophical convictions or his cultural heritage. In order to remain faithful to this will, to our common heritage, to our moral ethic, but also to peace and security, the General Assembly will have to confirm its condemnation of *apartheid* in all its manifestations and all its forms, and also to condemn all those who provide it with aid, assistance and respectability.

110. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): At the very moment when we are taking up the *apartheid* policy of the Government of Pretoria, South Africa is once again defying the international community and chooses to make itself an outlaw in the eyes of nations by openly favouring an operation of destabilization directed against a State of the African continent, the Republic of Seychelles.

111. Following the devastating invasion of southern Angola only a few months ago, the terrorist attack against Seychelles by a gang of mercenaries from South Africa proves, if further proof be needed, that the evil policy of *apartheid* of the Government of Pretoria poses a serious threat to international peace and security. That policy is characterized internally by the merciless oppression of the majority Coloured population and outside the country by open and deliberate aggression against neighbouring States. We firmly condemn this criminal policy of aggression of the South African Government, which violates the sovereignty of States and the territorial integrity of neighbouring countries and constitutes an unacceptable challenge to the international community.

112. The establishment by the General Assembly on 6 November 1962 of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* responded to the desire and the determination of the Organization to monitor and to assist in the application of all measures decided on by Member States against the racist régime of South Africa with a view to the total and definitive elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, and in particular the policy of *apartheid*. Almost 20 years later it is fitting to recall here the essential tasks of that Committee, namely: promoting campaigns for the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa; promoting increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements, monitoring the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and exposing all collaboration with South Africa.

113. The annual reports on that subject which the Committee submits at every session unfortunately show that the racist régime of South Africa will not abandon its policy of *apartheid* unless it is forced into its last trenches. With obstinacy and fierce determination the South African Government inexorably pursues its inhuman policy of racial discrimination, which is tragically characterized by summary executions, violence and torture. Arbitrary arrests increase in number in violation of the sacred right of people to freedom. Last Friday in Durban and Johannesburg 12 people were arrested, among them trade-union and student leaders. The homes of several influential churchmen were searched. That wave of arbitrary arrests took place under the infamous law known as the General Amendment Act, which authorizes secret detention without trial for a 14-day period, which is renewable.

114. Pretoria does everything in its power to smash all attempts by the black population to stand up to the policy of oppression and injustice of which it is a victim. This repression is becoming increasingly harsh, especially since the upsurge of sabotage and urban guerrilla activities by the nationalists of ANC and other resistance movements. Those activities recently scored important successes, which has been a source of serious concern to the racist Government. In order better to protect and defend itself that Government is increasingly thinking in terms of a white state from which the blacks would be banned. That is why we see the stepping up of the bantustanization policy, as demonstrated by the creation of Ciskei, the

fourth homeland of South Africa, which on 4 December will accede to a made-in-Pretoria independence. But no one is deceived by this masquerade, and the Government of Gabon, for its part, will continue to support the heroic struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid* and the full exercise of its inalienable rights.

115. Not content with practising its racist and repressive system of government within the territory of South Africa, Pretoria has extended its policy of *apartheid* and bantustans to Namibia, an international Territory which it occupies illegally. The Namibians do not enjoy complete freedom of movement in their own country. Those who live in areas reserved for whites inhabit separate neighbourhoods, or compounds. They cannot have their families with them and they do not have the right to leave those areas until the end of their work contract. The South African administration applies in Windhoek as in Pretoria the same policy of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism, the avowed purpose of which is to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia in utter disregard of United Nations decisions and resolutions, all of which results not only in a violation of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence but also in the maintenance of a permanent state of insecurity and instability in the region of southern Africa, which is hardly conducive to the development of international peace.

116. By increasing its delaying tactics South Africa tries to gain time and to impose on Namibia a self-styled internal settlement, thus challenging the international community once again. The position of the delegation of Gabon remains unequivocal on this question. While supporting SWAPO and the brother people of Namibia, which is struggling for the independence of its complete territory, including Walvis Bay, we believe that in present circumstances the settlement of the Namibian question must rest largely on Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We thus welcomed the unofficial information that conditional approval would be given to certain proposals of the Western contact group. While awaiting this, South Africa must put an end to its policy of *apartheid* in Namibia, which constitutes a challenge to the Organization.

117. Once again, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, now before us, adds to the dossier of *apartheid* elements which lead to pessimism about developments in South Africa. In addition to the arsenal of laws, the security apparatus, the police and the human, technical, financial and other means gathered together by the racist Government, the situation is made more complicated by the fact that, despite the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the activities of economic and other interests of certain industrialized countries continue to play an essential role in the consolidation of the Pretoria régime and its policy of *apartheid*. The attitude of those countries in Security Council debates on mandatory measures to strengthen the arms embargo and on the urgent adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter has been quite edifying.

118. Therefore, it was appropriate that in a resolution adopted at its thirty-seventh ordinary session the Council of Ministers of OAU [*see A/36/534, annex I*] strongly denounced the veto cast by those countries, which many member States considered to be an expression of complete indifference and injustice with regard to the aspirations and legitimate claims of Africa in general and of the black people of South Africa in particular.

119. But, despite the misunderstandings and the lack of haste of some countries, the international community is more than ever resolved to put an end to *apartheid*. The adoption of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa bears witness to the existence of a general consensus on the issue. What we need now is to seek adherence to our decisions. Unfortunately, as long as the racist régime of South Africa continues to enjoy powerful external economic and political support, one should not expect a relaxation in the attitude of the Pretoria authorities, but alas, rather a stepping up of repression and humiliation. That is why, in the absence of more severe sanctions, my delegation entirely subscribes to the recommendations of the Special Committee on page 60 of its report [A/36/22 and Corr.1], which contains urgent measures to be adopted to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa, with a view to following up the recommendations formulated by the Technical Commission of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.⁵

120. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): Addressing a business leaders' conference in Cape Town recently, the Prime Minister of South Africa had this to say:

"I want to stress again the Government's standpoint is still that the aim of constitutional reform should be pursued by creating structures through which every nation"—I repeat "every nation"—"and population group will enjoy self-determination as regards its own interests and co-responsibility for common interests."

To those in the General Assembly who may not be familiar with the twisted logic of Afrikaaner political thought this statement does not say anything sinister. On the contrary, it seems to convey precisely the message of hope and promise that we have always been waiting for. The statement speaks of "self-determination" and "constitutional reform". It even suggests that there exists in *apartheid* South Africa a community of interests between the contending races.

121. No, Mr. Botha's statement is neither full of hope and promise, nor does it in any way suggest that the white people of South Africa have suddenly discovered that between them and their black brethren lies not an unbridgeable crevasse of racial animosity and conflict but common humanity. No, the statement simply reaffirms the Verwoerdian vision of a South Africa in which there will eventually be no blacks—a completely white South Africa on the periphery of which will be created by fiat a cluster of truncated, poverty-stricken tribal States. To white South Africa, therefore, the concept of self-determination is not what we understand it to mean.

122. The concept of "nation" in that country is also at variance with our own. The concept of nation as defined by the ideology of *apartheid* denies the existence of shared humanity between people of different races and colours. It negates even the divine proposition that human beings are born equal in the countenance of God. In short, *apartheid* is rooted in the belief that there can be no society or nation composed of blacks and whites. Therefore, as seen by the late spiritual father of separate development, Dr. Verwoerd, and by his successors, South Africa is a multi-nation State. More curiously, white South Africans, be they of German, British, French or Italian descent, or be they "honorary whites" on the fringes, have the right to determine their own destiny as one nation, while black South Africans are to be sundered and splintered into mutually exclusive and even mutually

antagonistic tribal nations, to be forced by whites to determine their own mutilated destinies in the so-called independent homelands, unilaterally designated by whites.

123. In other words, white South Africans, be they German, British, French, Italian or "honorary", are supposed to have everything in common which gives them the right to call themselves a nation, while the Zulus, the Xhosas, the Pedis, the Sothos, the Ndebeles, the Shangans and the rest have absolutely nothing in common, despite their common culture and blackness, and should not and cannot be allowed to consider themselves a nation. This is the essence of *apartheid*. This is the crux of the problem we face in South Africa.

124. In the statement I have quoted, Mr. Botha speaks of constitutional reform. We must not be confused. Constitutional reform in the context of Afrikaaner political thought in South Africa means the consolidation of grand *apartheid* and the desegregation of a few restaurants, civic theatres, municipal parks and libraries as a palliative designed to hoodwink black South Africans and the international community into believing that a process of meaningful change has begun. It means the granting of so-called independence to tribal homelands. And, even more iniquitously, it means the deprivation of the overwhelming majority of South Africans of the citizenship of their own country.

125. When the present Prime Minister of South Africa came to power a few years ago, he seemed to challenge his people—his fellow white countrymen—to adapt or die. His so-called *verligte* Ministers went around telling the world that *apartheid* was dead. In appearing to challenge the morality, if any, of the sacred cows of Afrikaanderdom, such as the notorious Immorality Act, the Land Apportionment Act of 1966, and others, he sounded very much like a man of destiny. He seemed to suggest that these obnoxious laws were not crucial to the survival of the white man in South Africa and that they had in fact inflicted unnecessary injury on their victims, the black people. That has all changed.

126. The Prime Minister of South Africa now sees his "adapt or die" slogan as an albatross from which he appears to be determined to liberate himself at all cost, not for the sake of peace in South Africa, but for the sake of the unity of the National Party. The fanatics in the Party see nothing wrong with laws which insult other human beings and even question their humanity. The unity of the National Party and racism must be preserved at all cost. A few months ago his Minister of Co-operation, who once announced the death of *apartheid*, stated that, if blacks were found to be crowding whites out of a desegregated bridge, it would be necessary in the interest of racial peace to build another bridge for blacks only. This is the same Minister who terrorized black squatters in Cape Town last winter and caused their cardboard shacks to be destroyed in the most brutal fashion. The Prime Minister himself said recently that he would only contemplate a revision of the Immorality Act with the guidance of the churches—the very churches which have always acted as the National Party at prayer and whose domineers have always used the Bible to justify the inhumanities of *apartheid*.

127. *Apartheid* will continue to refuse to die on its own, so long as its proponents believe so religiously that that policy is the work of Divine Providence, that God in his divine wisdom has decreed that the Afrikaaner in the fulfilment of his special calling will always rule South

Africa to the total exclusion of black South Africans, who must fulfil their own special calling as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Indeed, South Africa without *apartheid* is almost unthinkable, if Afrikaaner theologians are to be believed in their conviction that the Afrikaaner nation was brought to South Africa in the same manner as the biblical children of Israel were delivered from ancient Egyptian bondage and launched on their long journey to Canaan, the land overflowing with milk and honey.

128. How does one persuade a fanatic that his convictions are wrong, evil and dangerous—dangerous even to himself? How does one persuade Mr. Jaap Marais, whose Herstigte Party is on the far right of Mr. Botha's National Party, that a black man is as human as he, Mr. Marais, is. How does one convince Dr. Treurnicht, the current Verword of the National Party, that his nation, the so-called Afrikaaner nation, is not a chosen nation either in the biblical sense or in any sense whatsoever? It is impossible to do so; and yet there are those who would have us believe that the foundations for real meaningful change are being laid down in South Africa.

129. There is no wish on our part to deny white South Africans the right to be white South Africans. There is no wish on our part to see white South Africans driven into the ocean. Indeed, we have never even sought to remind them of their origins, of the fact that their ancestors came to Africa from Europe only 300 years ago and settled in that part of our continent by what we can only describe as an accident of history. We shall, however, insist on reminding them that they have no more right to be Africans than the indigenous Africans themselves and that, by their practice of the policies of *apartheid*, they have sacrificed their own right to be Africans.

130. We seek nothing for South Africa but the abolition of the evil policy of *apartheid* and respect for the dignity of black South Africans and the restoration of their right to participate freely in the political and economic life of their country. South Africa belongs to all its people, regardless of race, colour or creed, and no racist ideology can persuade us to the contrary. South Africa is not a white man's country; it is not a piece of Europe transplanted on the southern tip of the African continent to be inhabited by some chosen race transplanted from Europe lock, stock and barrel with its racism. We seek nothing for South Africa but the unity of its people and the restoration of the territorial integrity of their common motherland, in which all South Africans, regardless of race or colour, will share equitably all the opportunities which that rich land provides with such abundance for the enjoyment of all its people. Indeed, Africa has made its position clear in the Lusaka Manifesto.⁶ It is not our intention to prescribe a political system or ideology for adoption by South Africans. The political future of South Africa and the shape or form of its socio-political philosophy or policy, beyond the total elimination of racial discrimination and the total abolition of *apartheid*, is the prerogative of the South African people themselves.

131. The continued perpetration of the crimes of *apartheid* in South Africa poses a dangerous threat to the peace and security not only of South Africa itself but of southern Africa as a whole. The war which has already begun in South Africa, the war that is being waged by the liberation movements of that country, can only escalate and cannot be confined to South Africa. It is bound to spill over into neighbouring countries and may, in the final analysis, plunge the entire subcontinent into a racial conflagration. Already there is bloodshed in South Africa.

We submit that it is not necessary that South Africa should become another Ian Smith's Rhodesia before racial equality and peace are established in that country. The memory of the Rhodesian tragedy should still be fresh in the minds of white South Africans. That tragedy can still be avoided, despite the fact that the first shots marking the beginning of a bloody racial war in South Africa have already been fired. There is, nevertheless, still a way out.

132. As my Minister for Foreign Affairs told a South African reporter recently, "The time will come when South Africa will have to talk to ANC and PAC to prevent more bloodshed". The Minister observed that "When people fight for freedom they are like mad people. They do not mind being shot or killed. They will continue to come wave after wave to achieve their ends". The Minister added that what we in Africa wished to see was not a dialogue between white South Africa and its chosen or appointed leaders—the Matanzimas and the Buthelezi; but for the dialogue to be both meaningful and fruitful it should be between the leaders of white South Africa and the African leaders now sitting in Robben Island or in exile—the Mandelas, the Tambos and the Pokelas. Otherwise white South Africa will be forced to speak to those leaders—if it cannot of its own accord initiate meaningful change in that country.

133. The time in fact is now. It is not as if white South Africa has no other choice but to remain racist and cruel to 23 million black South Africans. White South Africa can choose to live in peace and racial harmony with black South Africa in a common society—a society in which all, regardless of race or colour, will freely fulfil their human aspirations.

134. Mr. JAWAN (Malaysia): The policies of *apartheid* pursued by the white minority régime of South Africa have been recognized for a number of years by the entire international community as a crime against humanity. They are illegal and immoral and therefore must be eliminated. Towards that end, for the past three and a half decades the United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions calling on the white South African régime to abandon the obnoxious system. At the same time, Member States have been urged through equally numerous resolutions to co-operate by taking appropriate steps ranging from severance of all forms of contact with South Africa to sanctions and embargoes against that State. The purpose has been to bring about the isolation of the white minority régime from the international community and to deny it any support or contacts which could strengthen the régime and its practice of *apartheid*.

135. Today, however, the illegal white minority régime in South Africa is thriving and well, going about its business and firmly entrenched in the practice of *apartheid* oblivious of United Nations resolutions and injunctions. That is indeed hardly surprising, for several countries in a position to put pressure on South Africa have failed to take the necessary measures called for by the United Nations. This lack of political will on the part of the countries concerned to sever relations with South Africa enables the white minority régime to continue its *apartheid* policy, denying the black people of the country their basic rights and freedom.

136. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has outlined the various acts of repression carried out by the South African régime against the opponents of *apartheid*. These include the indiscriminate arrest of students and trade-union leaders, the imposition of

banning orders and severe prison sentences on freedom fighters. Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees and prisoners are common acts perpetrated by the South African police. World-wide demands for the release of Nelson Mandela and other black African leaders have fallen on deaf ears.

137. Equally disturbing to my delegation are the reports of the breaches of the arms embargo that the international community has solemnly agreed to undertake against South Africa. Such breaches, which result in the flow of new supplies of sophisticated military equipment and the transfer of arms technology, can only strengthen and embolden the white minority régime in its repressive policies against the opponents of *apartheid*, including neighbouring States that give support to the black freedom movement. The continuing flow of capital and investment for the economic development of South Africa, in contravention of United Nations decisions, has also helped to frustrate the efforts of the international community to pressure South Africa into abandoning its policy of discrimination and oppression. These are clearly irresponsible actions against a people struggling for human rights, equality and justice.

138. My delegation has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid* ever since the issue was brought to the attention of the international community. *Apartheid* not only goes against the principle of human equality and dignity but represents a source of tension and conflict which threatens international peace and security.

139. In denying the black people of South Africa their legitimate rights, their dignity and their rightful role in the life of their own country, the policy has predictably bred serious frustration and resentment among the overwhelming part of the population, the black population. It has encouraged them—and rightly so—to resort to all means available to them, including armed struggle, in order to free themselves from the shackles of *apartheid*. News of the increasing momentum of the anti-*apartheid* movement among workers, students and black people in general in South Africa comes as no surprise to the international community. In the light of the intransigence and the repressive attitude of the white minority régime, the anti-*apartheid* movement in South Africa deserves our full support and encouragement. My delegation for its part wishes once again to reaffirm its whole-hearted support for the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*. We also wish to pay a warm tribute to all the leaders of the liberation movements in South Africa for their dedication to and sacrifice for the worthy cause.

140. Malaysia, true to its stand, was amongst the earliest to have broken off all links and contacts with South Africa. There is a total ban on all trade and economic relations between Malaysia and South Africa, and a complete prohibition on travel between the two countries. Malaysia was also one of the countries that took the lead in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. We shall continue with our policy of complete boycott against South Africa until the voice of the international community is heeded.

141. As we have often stated in the past, the key to the success of the struggle against *apartheid* by the people of South Africa lies in the whole-hearted support of the international community for their cause. The world has accepted *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, and agreed that it should be eliminated. What is lacking, however, is

the political will of many Members of the Organization. I wish to take this opportunity to urge those who still maintain military, economic, sporting or cultural contacts with South Africa, thereby going against the resolutions of the United Nations, to manifest their responsibility and obligations by severing all relations with South Africa. As for the white minority régime, we would urge it to take heed of the strong tide of international public opinion against *apartheid*. Failure to do so will only drive South Africa towards greater violence and bloodshed with its attendant instability and insecurity. We wish this to be averted through peaceful change towards equality and justice for all, irrespective of colour or creed.

142. Mr. NGUYEN THUONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like in the beginning of my statement to express our indignant condemnation of the recent act of aggression against the Republic of Seychelles by mercenaries from South Africa and to offer our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Seychelles for the brilliant victory of its valiant people and of its heroic armed forces. My delegation wishes once again to assure our sister Republic of Seychelles of the fraternal and unflagging support of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

143. For a number of years now, with the new strategy of world imperialism, the problem of *apartheid* has been assuming new dimensions. It is not merely a struggle for human rights against a contemptible and backward régime that brutally shocks the human conscience and the civilization of the twentieth century; it has also become an armed struggle which, because of the increasing strength of the racists, may well go on expanding. This situation is especially disturbing since the criminals have many accomplices, and particularly their new ally, the Reagan Administration, which is more firmly resolved than earlier United States Governments, thereby provoking increasing and more serious breaches of the peace and a constantly increasing danger of wider conflict.

144. As a result of these new dimensions, the struggle against the Pretoria régime not only is the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for freedom and the right of self-determination, but has become, and must remain, the struggle of the whole of mankind for the elementary right to life of men and peoples and for international peace and security.

145. In view of the tragic situation in southern Africa a solution to this problem cannot be postponed any longer. My delegation is in agreement with the Special Committee that this is one of the international community's most difficult tasks, which it is politically and morally committed to tackling at the present time.

146. As was very aptly stated by one of the leaders of the ANC, the present peril is the Pretoria-Washington alliance. That alliance has been proclaimed to be a strategic one, and has taken the form, *inter alia*, of a new nuclear South Atlantic alliance devised as an appendage to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. It is also reflected in an increased determination on the part of Pretoria to maintain its racist tyrannical dictatorship over the South African and Namibian peoples, and in the undeclared war against the front-line African States, as well as in the unprecedented increase in its repressive military budget, which is more than twice as large as last year's and 70 times greater than that of the years 1959 to 1960. In regard to the Coloured peoples of South Africa, it takes the form particularly of an intensification of the pro-

cess of bantustanization—the fourth puppet State is to be proclaimed in December of this year—and, along with that, the displacement of these peoples with a view to segregating them. Tens of thousands of Africans are said to have been forcibly resettled in homelands on infertile land with the premeditated purpose—recognized, indeed, by the Prime Minister of Pretoria—“of depriving them of any possibility of a viable economy, thereby keeping them as a labour pool for the neighbouring so-called white or industrial areas”.

147. Those few details must be added to a whole series of other facts and figures cited at this rostrum and in various committees. They show that the struggle of the people concerned and the efforts of the international community to eliminate *apartheid* are now entering a particularly urgent and complex phase, which could be decisive. One thing is clear: Pretoria's ever closer collusion with its protectors and accomplices—but also its growing isolation, resulting from increasing concerted action by the oppressed peoples supported by mankind as a whole.

148. Whether it be a matter of a political or strategic—or even nuclear—alliance, the encouragement of bantustanization, the abuse or threat of the use of the veto to prevent all sanctions, or whether it be illicit trade in arms or oil or loans and investments, the report of the Special Committee clearly shows that the same Western countries are together in the dock alongside the South African racists. Their small number does not mean that the struggle to make them co-operate with the international community in the elimination of *apartheid* will be an easy one, for the economic, strategic and other interests of these various countries are tightly interlined with those of Pretoria. Moreover, they still have many powerful means and very few scruples.

149. But to my mind what must be emphasized is that over the past few years, in the face of the collusion of colonialist, imperialist and other reactionary forces, unity in the ranks of the South African and Namibian peoples—along, so it seems, with better co-ordination of international activities in support of their struggle—has been considerably strengthened. As is shown by the experience of the struggle of other peoples, that is one of the safest guarantees of success. The strategy of ANC and its allies in the liberation front, as has been stated by Mr. Oliver Tambo, the respected leader of ANC, is the “total mobilization of our people”. Thus, he estimates that 80 per cent of the population responded to the call of ANC by boycotting the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the racist State. Included in this positive action were workers, women, clergymen, students and farmers. This attitude of the majority shows great unity, a unity which goes beyond class, social level, religion, ethnic group, and above all as Mr. Tambo said, beyond the racial frontiers which have been established in our country. It blocks the racists' attempts to divide and weaken the front of the patriotic forces which broadens every day under the banner of ANC.

150. The report of the Special Committee also emphasizes the intensification and progress of the struggle of the South African people during the past year. This is marked by a clear advance both in political action and in armed struggle. In the framework of the political struggle outside South Africa to isolate the Pretoria régime, the Special Committee has performed a great and praiseworthy task; it has often intervened opportunely to discourage illegal actions and to encourage proper ones, thus contributing to the mobilization of broad world opinion against

apartheid. For example, the Chairman expressed his great satisfaction at the many demonstrations of solidarity “on the part of African non-aligned, socialist and other countries”. In particular, he congratulated the Governments of Seychelles and Grenada on their bold decisions against Pretoria. The Chairman of the Special Committee also praised the activities of the anti-*apartheid* movements and democratic organizations of certain Western countries; he made mention of the praiseworthy efforts of eminent clergymen, scientists, artists, women, journalists, youths and students, as well as international democratic organizations.

151. By recalling that long list, my delegation is suggesting that we can rejoice at the size of the anti-*apartheid* movement throughout the world and at its great possibilities. My delegation is confident that, through appropriate action, rightly directed, we shall be able to make the movement larger and even more efficient. Those directions are proposed to the General Assembly in the report of the Special Committee; in my delegation's view, they are appropriate ones.

152. It would be wise to indicate at the very outset what assistance is necessary in all forms to help ANC wage its liberation struggle in accordance with the strategy defined by ANC itself. It seems only natural that the struggle of ANC should be linked to that of the people of Namibia against their common enemy and equally that assistance to those two struggles, especially on the level of worldwide mobilization, would benefit by being well co-ordinated. We also support the appeal for the provision of necessary assistance to the front-line States in response to their request, so that they can defend their countries against the upsurge in the aggression of the racist régime of Pretoria.

153. Mobilization of international opinion to unmask and outlaw the actions of the Pretoria régime, the complicity of Governments and State corporations and organizations and the complacency of certain international organizations remains, it seems to me, one of the important tasks for the United Nations. Whether it is a matter of a timely warning about the formation of aggressive blocs based on the Washington-Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis, or the denunciation of clandestine weapons shipments, breaches of the oil embargo, loans to and investments in the racist régime, or other forms of trade or relations with it, a strengthening of concerted international action, as recommended by the Special Committee is what is called for, the experience of the last few years has shown that such concerted action is possible and can be effective.

154. We support the idea—if it is included in the draft resolution—of proclaiming 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The time has come to make the Western countries that are permanent members of the Security Council—and first of all the United States of America—face up to the dilemma: either they continue their collusion with South Africa and share with it the ignominy of condemnation for complicity in the crime of *apartheid*, or they join with the international community in deciding that comprehensive mandatory sanctions—which have been demanded for more than 20 years by the South African liberation movement—should be imposed against South Africa in order to compel it to follow a more human policy and to implement *in toto* the relevant United Nations resolutions.

155. In the mobilization of world public opinion, the implementation of the Berlin Declaration, adopted at the

International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid*, held last September in the capital of the German Democratic Republic [see A/36/496], would be of great importance for the effectiveness of the struggle against *apartheid*.

156. My delegation also welcomes the proposal for the convening of a regional conference or seminar in Asia in 1982, with the task, apart from the goals set by the Special Committee, of studying the very disquieting situation regarding the relations of certain Asian countries with the Pretoria régime. The report of the Special Committee mentions some of these countries, but information continues to be made available—particularly in the American and South African press—which leads us to believe that they are not the only ones, and that a large Asian country has even gone beyond what are euphemistically called trade relations, to engage in transactions involving fissionable material, and other less inoffensive forms of collaboration. Asian public opinion must be vigilant, and my delegation supports the idea proposed by the Special Committee for such a regional conference or seminar.

157. The steadfast policy of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is to condemn without qualification *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination. It is also to support entirely, all the way to final victory, the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of its authentic representative, ANC, as well as the struggle of the front-line States and Africa as a whole against the tyrannical, warlike régime of the Pretoria racists. We are certain that, in strengthened national unity and with the combined support of all progressive mankind, that just cause will be victorious. For let us not forget that this will be the victory of all mankind for peace, the independence of peoples and the dignity of man.

158. Mr. CORRÊA DA COSTA (Brazil): As we are only too aware, the item on the Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, is a recurrent one on the agenda, many resolutions on the subject having already been adopted, both by the General Assembly and by other organs of the United Nations. If we are once again holding a debate on the item, it is because the situation in South Africa has not improved. On the contrary, as the years go by the picture gets gloomier and gloomier. While it is not my intention to state the obvious or to delve into the evils of *apartheid*, the search for originality in addressing oneself to this, so to speak, worn-out issue seems to be futile, given the proliferation and variety of statements and resolutions dealing with all conceivable aspects of the problem. And this is precisely wherein lies the irony of the question: nothing new being left to say on *apartheid* in South Africa, it is as though nothing has been said or done. This contradiction between word and deed is perhaps the most flagrant example of the failure of the means so far adopted by the United Nations to bring about a unanimous call for change, in spite of the serious threat to peace and security posed by the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

159. One of the harshest criticisms made of the Organization is that on certain issues we keep repeating the same debate and adopting similar resolutions year after year. This certainly holds true as far as the South African policies of *apartheid* are concerned. The mechanisms embodied in the Charter for redressing injustices and for curbing the escalation of tension and violence have un-

doubtedly proved to be ineffective in relation to the situation in South Africa. Nevertheless, what is left as a course of action for us while millions of our African brothers are deprived of their elementary human rights and subjected to the most loathsome forms of ill-treatment and oppression? The answer certainly cannot be to remain aloof and to bask in the hope that, against all available evidence, the Pretoria rulers will one day be overcome with remorse, compassion and a minimum degree of humanity. We simply cannot afford to follow the path of inaction while black Africans are being harassed, tortured and killed. Our commitments, our convictions and the dictates of our conscience enjoin us not to betray the just cause of the suffering people of South Africa.

160. A different kind of criticism addressed to the Organization is that we single out the Government of South Africa for disapproval and condemnation while closing our eyes to situations elsewhere which might also give rise to serious concern. Allow me to advance a few comments on this point. As is well known to all Member States, one of the basic tenets of the foreign policy of Brazil is strict compliance with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. We in Brazil do not believe it behoves us to offer to other countries recipes on how they should tackle their own political, social or economic problems. If we speak out against and fiercely condemn the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government, it is because they are a special case and in no way fall under paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter.

161. First, the gist of the South African reality is not the existence of a political and social order that we may consider not to be ideal. It is rather that in South Africa human beings are citizens or non-citizens according to the colour of their skin. The system of *apartheid*, which is an official and institutionalized one, is the twentieth-century version of the slavery practices resorted to in the past by the colonialist Powers to exploit the riches of their colonial empires. It is as though a whole nation were forced to bow down to indignities for the sake of the enrichment of a very few who, because of the different colour of their skin, consider themselves superior and entitled to enslave the overwhelming majority of the population.

162. Secondly, the *apartheid* policy of South Africa has been repeatedly defined by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity. Indeed, the *apartheid* régime, in order to ward off the contagious effects of the winds of freedom and liberation that have been blowing in the rest of the African continent, has sought to enmesh the whole of southern Africa in an ever worsening state of tension and violence. There can be no other reason for South Africa's armed forays and prolonged occupation of Angolan territory, for its attempt to destabilize the Government of Zimbabwe, for its acts of sabotage perpetrated within Mozambique's territory and for its shelling of military units in Lesotho.

163. Paradoxically, the racist Pretoria régime claims to act on behalf of Western civilization in southern Africa. Brazil simply spurns as absurd and false the contention that *apartheid* and oppression can in some way be consistent with Western values, let alone enhance them. South Africa should know better and realize that it is only besmirching the principles it hypocritically claims to uphold and promote. It is therefore totally groundless and futile to attempt to insert the situation in South Africa into the context of the East-West confrontation.

164. The designs of the Pretoria régime are not confined to brutalizing the people of South Africa and to smothering the voices of freedom in that country. It foists its obnoxious political and social system upon the people of Namibia, it perpetuates its illegal occupation of that Territory, which it uses as a spring-board for acts of aggression against independent sovereign States. It was with great misgiving that we learned of South Africa's intentions to create a so-called constellation of States in southern Africa which would serve as a bulwark of support for its oppressive social order. We are certain, however, that no peace-loving African nation will be beguiled by any such spurious scheme concocted by the *apartheid* régime.

165. The smouldering resistance of the heroic South African people seems to have become more intense lately. The internal contradictions of the social order prevailing in South Africa are becoming increasingly apparent, and no measure of repression by the *apartheid* régime will succeed in stifling the growing and decisive manifestations of the will of the people of South Africa, for their struggle is an inexorable one. Its main weapons are the justness of its motives and the certainty of its final victory. The events that have taken place in South Africa during the past year are an indisputable harbinger of a new phase in the common strategy of the South African people to free themselves from the oppression of which they are the victims. We wish to commend the courage and the determination of the leaders of the South African struggle, of those patriots like Nelson Mandela and others who are in gaol for upholding the principles of justice and freedom, of all those who have shed their blood to ensure a life in dignity for their children.

166. However disillusioned it may be with the stubbornness of the Pretoria régime, Brazil still hopes that a peaceful solution can be reached for the serious, grave situation obtaining in South Africa. The United Nations and especially the Security Council have an important role to play in this connection.

167. We regret that because of the veto cast by some of its permanent members the Security Council failed to put pressure on South Africa to heed the repeated appeals of the world community. Until decisive and effective action is taken by the United Nations organ entrusted with the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, the road to peaceful change will remain closed and the factors of mistrust, tension and violence will prevail over the unquenchable need for peace and harmony.

168. I could not conclude without conveying to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its Chairman, the representative of Nigeria, the sincere appreciation of my delegation for their dedication and unswerving efforts in favour of the final liberation of the people of South Africa.

169. In relation to the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly I must, nevertheless place on record our strong reservations on paragraphs 62, 63 and 64. My Government was dismayed to find that the Special Committee had inexplicably ignored in its report the letter dated 22 May 1981, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee by the Chargé d'affaires, *ad interim* of Brazil. We are tired of the insistence on this subject. We cannot understand how reasonably well-informed persons could omit an official statement in which the Brazilian Government absolutely denied any participation in this matter. For the information of the Assembly—and for the record—I shall proceed to read the text of the letter of 22

May 1981, addressed—I repeat—to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*:

"I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 12 May 1981, in which you enclosed the text of a statement on a conference which is being organized at Buenos Aires by private associations to discuss, *inter alia*; a South Atlantic military alliance including the racist régime of South Africa. In your letter you state the hope of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that all Governments concerned will dissociate themselves fully from the proposed conference.

"On behalf of my Government, I wish to assure the Special Committee that Brazil has never been associated with that event, which is being organized by private non-Brazilian institutions. The Brazilian Government, consequently, will not send any representative to the meeting at Buenos Aires. The incidental participation of Brazilian citizens, in a private capacity, cannot be prevented by Brazilian law. Brazilian citizens may visit Argentina without visas and without passports, using only their identity cards. The position of the Brazilian Government contrary to the undertaking of military alliances with the Government of Pretoria is well known and remains unaltered, as the Permanent Representative of Brazil had the opportunity to reiterate to you in his letter of 1 April 1981." [See A/36/285.]

170. Mrs. JONES (Liberia): A certain scenario in South Africa is becoming a familiar nuisance. Each time the issue of *apartheid* comes up for debate by the international community, South Africa engages in demonic acts designed to distract our attention, acts of defiance of United Nations policies aimed at making it a civilized State. Such reckless, irresponsible acts only make it difficult to take seriously South Africa's public pronouncements as those of a respectable Government. The subject of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, debated annually, is one which arouses considerable impatience. The public statements of my Government's attitude towards *apartheid* have been amply recorded. I wish merely to register its undiminished commitment to the elimination of this diabolical and offensive policy of South Africa. *Apartheid* remains one of the greatest evils of the twentieth century.

171. We cannot permit South Africa to continue as an outlaw State in the international community. The period of condemnation of South Africa, however, should now be considered ended. The South African freedom fighters have put their case before the international community and they have won the case against their oppressors—namely, that all men are created free and equal and that no man can take away their natural freedom. The scenario of struggling and fighting for freedom in South Africa will be like that in the rest of now-independent Africa. No invaders ever conquer Africa. They may intervene in its history, but they can never, in the final analysis, conquer it.

172. Nothing indeed is more nauseating than to behold the spectacle of twentieth-century man flying through space to the moon, while he cannot and still has not learned to live with his neighbours. Who can change the laws of nature? Our very presence in the General Assembly tells us something about the peaceful evolution of international relations. South Africa's massive efforts to keep the clock of history from ticking will be in vain. We can return in history to the times before Christopher Columbus. History is always a forward march. Some may

wish to control the cadence of that march, it is true, but the command is always "Forward march, come what may".

173. It has been proposed that 1982 be proclaimed international year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. All who hold freedom as a precious gift will join forces with the oppressed in South Africa for final victory. It is time for the Organization to join with the liberal and progressive forces in South Africa to build a new society in southern Africa based on justice, equality and democracy. It is time to tell South Africa that it has given the oppressed people of South Africa and the international community no alternative to freedom but tyranny and still more tyranny, and that in so doing although it may imprison freedom fighters theirs is only a physical imprisonment, while South Africa itself also suffers imprisonment, but of a more severe nature, a spiritual, mental and moral imprisonment leading most assuredly in the final analysis to a paralysis of will and action and to its ultimate destruction.

174. The question before us is whether we should drag *apartheid* into the twenty-first century or devote the few remaining years of the twentieth century completely to the rehabilitation of the mentality of South Africa so that it can join the rest of the human race. The South African authorities would be wise indeed to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and adhere to the Charter of the United Nations by giving the majority of its citizens their elementary human rights and permitting them to enjoy the natural resources of their native land and independent majority rule. My Government is not prepared to accept that during the remaining years of the twentieth century the international community should live in a moral vacuum, while South Africa flaunts its inhumanity, insensitivity and indecency.

175. We hope for the victory of the majority of the South Africans, including thousands of their young who have undertaken brave, defiant demonstrations against the radical policies of South Africa. The brutal suppression of those demonstrations, the imposition of merciless prison sentences and the shooting or execution of some of those who have fought against *apartheid* have not deterred them, nor are they likely to stop their armed struggle until *apartheid* has been dismantled in its totality.

176. One cause for alarm is the convincing evidence that South Africa now has the capability to produce nuclear weapons. The great threat which this development poses to African States and to world peace has not escaped our attention. My Government, cognizant of this danger, has stressed that those States which collaborate with the racist régime in its satanic endeavours should discontinue such collaboration, because it is undermining the work of the United Nations and creating a danger for world peace.

177. We thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts and labour in assisting the United Nations to end *apartheid*. Our thanks also go to the contact group for its labours in this direction. We expect good things from the contact group. The history and tradition of its members is to take a dominant role alongside other freedom fighters and regional groups in putting out global fires—the slave trade, colonialism and two world wars—and in creating a universal body to help man to control his bestial passions of greed and lust for power.

178. The global issues now facing the United Nations may appear small in comparison with those of the past, but they are nevertheless serious threats to international peace and security. The whole world is therefore waiting and watching and counting on the contact group and other freedom fighters to achieve positive, harmonious results.

179. My Government endorses and supports measures calling for sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is, of course, for each Member State to decide the course of action it will take, but action must be taken to this effect. It is my Government's belief that sanctions will definitely be a hindrance to South Africa's inhuman policies and it accepts its own share of the responsibility for ensuring the total eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and independence for Namibia.

180. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): On behalf of the Government and people of Vanuatu, I extend condolences to the Government and people of Colombia and to the family of Mr. Juan Arango.

181. We take this opportunity to extend our congratulations and best wishes to Belize and to Antigua and Barbuda, both of which, with Vanuatu, have joined the United Nations at this session of the General Assembly. In addition, we thank those Members who have welcomed us in word and in deed. Their remarks and encouragement have enabled us to feel at home and helped ease the first days of Vanuatu's membership.

182. We also, once again, thank the United Nations and those members of the international community that supported our struggle for the implementation of our right to self-determination. Furthermore, we thank the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and those members of the international community that continue to support us in our quest for justice, equality, and the economic and social development of our country.

183. While we rejoice at the achievement of our political independence, our joy is tempered by three very salient facts. One is that our political independence, as hard fought for as it was, is merely one step in a very long and deliberate process. Political independence is, in fact, merely a means or a method by which we can now facilitate the arduous process of building a better society and life for our people.

184. The second fact which tempers our joy is the realization that other peoples in other countries do not yet enjoy political independence, and therefore have not yet been free to take the first tenuous step on the path of true economic and social development. In East Timor, in Western Sahara, in Palestine, in Namibia, and in far too many other parts of the world, indigenous peoples are still denied the means of implementing their right to self-determination. Remembering its own past, Vanuatu will never forget those who are forced to endure the denial of their right to self-determination.

185. The third fact which tempers our joy is that the doctrine of *apartheid*, the subject of today's debate, continues to vex and plague the international community. Once again, the attention of the world is drawn to the question of how to remove this onerous cancer from the human experience. And, once again, the resolve and relevance of this body are being tested by the racist régime of South Africa. Nowhere else in the world are the issues so clear. In no other corner of the globe have injustice and inequality been so carefully and deliberately institu-

tionalized by a Government. And on few other issues has the international community spoken with as clear a voice as it has in rejecting *apartheid*.

186. Yet, despite all this, the Republic of South Africa continues arrogantly to defy the international community in its subjugation of the people of South Africa, as well as its concomitant aggression against neighbouring States. By its own policies and its intransigence, South Africa has caused rational and reasonable persons to question the very legitimacy of its régime. Even its friends—and there are a few who are still not ashamed to call themselves friends of this international pariah—are strained to the limits of their own twisted logic in defending South Africa's State terrorism.

187. Some may ask why this should concern Vanuatu. "Haven't you enough problems of your own, and isn't South Africa far away?" The answer to both questions is, of course, "Yes". Vanuatu is a small country, with no pretence that it can, or should, disproportionately influence international events because of its size, its military power, or its economic strength. Vanuatu and its people simply seek, as we believe most countries and most people seek, a world in which we can bequeath to our children a legacy of peace, happiness, and prosperity rather than one of poverty, ignorance and disease.

188. To us it matters not how large or small, how rich or poor a country is, or even how far away from, or near to, our borders it is. To all nations of the world we extend a warm hand of friendship and a desire to co-operate in the development of the human and natural resources of the earth. However, with the hateful doctrine of *apartheid* and other forms of racism or exploitation, we cannot compromise and we can neither counsel nor condone moderation.

189. For far too long, the decisions of the United Nations and international public opinion have been ignored by those who profit from South Africa's system of exploitation. Some have chosen flagrantly to ignore these decisions and the public opinion of which we speak. We believe, however, that others have simply not acted because they have failed to appreciate the cruel consequences of their acquiescence in South Africa's *status quo*. For them, caution has superseded morality as a guiding principle in their dealings with South Africa.

190. We are told that we must proceed cautiously, that in time South Africa will see the error of its ways and will institute reforms. Ironically, those same voices did not counsel caution in dealing with the Axis Powers during the Second World War. In fact, South Africa has illegally occupied Namibia and exported its hateful doctrine of *apartheid* for far longer than Nazi Germany occupied Western Europe, and with a comparable degree of brutality. Why, then, was it right to wage a war in one instance, but wrong even to focus upon and sever economic, cultural, and athletic ties in another? We cannot believe that the answer lies in a desire not to chart a bold new direction for the United Nations. After all, the United Nations emerged from a wartime alliance against the very same fascism which found sympathizers, collaborators, and now imitators in Pretoria. Furthermore, the process of decolonization was itself a bold new direction. More than two thirds of the present Members would not be represented here today if the world body had been timid in the face of the economic and political strengths of colonialism.

191. It is in part because of the work of the United Nations that the voice of the Republic of Vanuatu can be heard here today. For this we are grateful. Now it is our turn to join others in picking up the baton and discharging our responsibilities as a Member of this great Organization. Vanuatu takes seriously its duties as a Member of this body and strives consistently to live up to the spirit and principles of the Charter. To give real life and meaning to those words is one of the greatest challenges confronting the world today.

192. For that reason, we commend the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and applaud the very able leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule, who has earned our undying respect for his thoroughness and dedication. It is also for that reason that we salute those nations that, on behalf of the international community, have borne the brunt of South Africa's rage and frustration. Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and now Seychelles, have all been attacked because they have implemented various decisions taken by this body. They, like the courageous men, women and children of South Africa who are fighting to free their country, are in fact acting for all of us.

193. Those who would defend South Africa ask us to understand what they term the "context" of South Africa's military actions. In their very selective use of the word "context" they thus encourage the very actions which threaten world peace and security. In what "context" can the actions of a criminal who has broken into one home be excused when he breaks into another home to threaten its owner so that he can continue his looting of the first home without interruption? The logical outcome of such tortured reasoning was last week's abortive attempt to invade Seychelles. As we would expect, South Africa has denied any involvement. What it cannot deny, however, is the creation of, at the very least, an atmosphere in which such an attempt could be undertaken, and the provision of a haven for its unsuccessful perpetrators. Unfortunately, in this respect, South Africa is again not alone.

194. Thus it rests with us to let South Africa's neighbours know that they are not alone. We must let all those engaged in the resistance against the Pretoria régime know that they also are not alone. We must stand and mourn with families, such as that of Griffith Mxenge, a noted anti-*apartheid* lawyer who was recently brutally murdered in Durban. We must let those who have been banned and those who are in South Africa's prisons know that they too are not alone. And we must work to free Nelson Mandela.

195. It is never a pleasant experience to discuss South Africa and *apartheid*, but it is a far less pleasant experience for its victims to live under it. For the people of South Africa even one more day of brutal subjugation and enforced separation from their families is too much. We therefore make one more appeal to those that seek to give the Pretoria régime more time. We ask them to put themselves in the shoes of a black worker in South Africa. We ask them to be faithful to what we feel are their basic human instincts. We ask them to join with the rest of humanity in working for the day when individuals are viewed on merit rather than race, religion or economic status.

196. It is because we understand the depth of the feelings of those who seek to breathe the clean fresh air of a free South Africa that Vanuatu has solemnly added its

voice to the chorus which asks: "If not now, when?" It is because we are aware of our own history and because we are optimistic about the future of mankind that we join in commending the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the draft resolutions based upon those recommendations.

197. The Government of South Africa and its friends say that those that oppose *apartheid* are asking the world to choose between black and white. They irresponsibly conjure up images of a violent racial conflagration when, in reality it is they that define the parameters of the conflict in terms of race. We who oppose *apartheid* instead ask the world to choose between right and wrong, between the future and the past, between humanity and barbarity. Our ranks are open to all men and women of goodwill without exception, distinction or preference. With all sincerity, it is our hope that the day is not too far off when the very word "*apartheid*" is expunged from the human vocabulary and its practitioners from the citadels of power.

198. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Japan steadfastly upholds the principle of racial equality and has for many years endeavoured to realize its universal application. Japan's pioneering efforts towards this end in 1919, at the time a draft Covenant of the League of Nations was being prepared, are well known. It is a source of profound distress to my delegation that now, more than 60 years later, the majority of people in South Africa are suffering under the evil system of *apartheid*. The kinds of measures which the Government of South Africa is pursuing in order to maintain that system are described in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

199. The Government and people of Japan vehemently oppose South Africa's system of *apartheid*, which is nothing more than blatant institutionalized racial discrimination, depriving the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa of their fundamental rights and dignity. *Apartheid* is incompatible with the spirit of, and respect for, human rights and the fundamental freedom of all people. *Apartheid* must be abolished, absolutely and unequivocally, once and for all. Thus we do not believe that the so-called "improvement measures" taken by the Government of South Africa will lead to the fundamental eradication of *apartheid*. We deeply sympathize with the victims of *apartheid* and once again strongly appeal to the Government of South Africa to renounce its abhorrent policies, which are contrary to the principles enshrined in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

200. Japan's steadfast opposition to *apartheid* is clearly reflected in the full co-operation it has extended to international efforts to abolish it. Since reference has been made to my country by a couple of delegations during the debate on this item, I wish to reiterate some of the specific aspects of Japan's policy against *apartheid*.

201. First, Japan has no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor does it recognize the so-called bantustan States of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Japan will not recognize Ciskei, the independence of which the Government of South Africa is reportedly preparing to proclaim on 4 December, as long as Ciskei is a bantustan State.

202. Secondly, in the field of economic relations Japan has maintained the policy of not permitting direct investment, including the establishment of local corporations in

South Africa, by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. This policy is upheld despite Japan's general policy of maximum liberalization of direct investment abroad. Further, the Government of Japan, respecting the relevant United Nations resolutions, has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa. Japan confines its economic relations with South Africa within the framework of normal trade. Furthermore, the Government of Japan is making every possible effort to reduce Japan's dependence on imports, particularly of natural resources, from South Africa by, *inter alia*, rapidly expanding its economic and technical co-operation with other African countries.

203. Thirdly, there is absolutely no military co-operation between Japan and South Africa, nor is there any exchange of military personnel. Japan's vigorous observance of the arms embargo against South Africa as decided upon by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) is recorded in the relevant documents of the Security Council Committee on Sanctions and in its reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry.⁷

204. Fourthly, in the field of nuclear development, Japan strictly upholds the three non-nuclear principles—of not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing them and not permitting their introduction into Japan. Thus Japan has neither extended, nor is able to extend any co-operation whatsoever to South Africa in the field of nuclear weapons development. With regard to peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or any related materials, nor has it extended any technical assistance to South Africa in nuclear technology development.

205. Fifthly, in order to comply with the relevant United Nations resolution, the Government of Japan has decided in principle not to issue visas to South Africans for the purpose of cultural and education exchanges or sporting activities.

206. I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the action taken by my Government regarding an international karate tournament which was organized last July by a local karate association in Japan. Among the 250 athletes from all over the world who applied for entry to the tournament were a number of South Africans. The Government of Japan examined the case carefully and concluded that the participation of South African athletes in such a tournament, though privately organized, would constitute an exchange with South Africa in the field of sports. As such it would be incompatible with Japan's uncompromising opposition to *apartheid*. Accordingly the Japanese authorities advised the organizer not to allow the South African athletes to participate in the tournament. The position of the Government was clearly explained to the South African players and they subsequently agreed not to participate.

207. The Government of Japan earnestly hopes that the Government of South Africa will abolish the policy of *apartheid* so that its nationals may freely participate in international sporting events. Until it does so, Japan will strictly observe the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly by maintaining its policy of refusing to issue visas to South Africans for the purpose of such sporting activities.

208. Lastly, the Government of Japan, deeply concerned about the victims of *apartheid*, has been supporting inter-

national humanitarian and educational efforts to assist them through United Nations funds and programmes.

209. It is the common position of the international community that the practice of racial discrimination, wherever it occurs, and particularly the institutionalized racism of South Africa, must be vigorously opposed. Japan has for many years extended maximum co-operation to international efforts to eradicate *apartheid* and has voluntarily undertaken measures, such as those I have just described, in order to limit as far as possible its relations with South Africa. At the same time, my delegation wishes to make it clear that we cannot support armed struggle, even in the context of dealing with the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. It is essential that a solution to this problem be sought by peaceful means.

210. In conclusion, my delegation once again calls upon the Government of South Africa to abolish its policies of *apartheid* immediately, so that people of all races can enjoy freedom and equal rights and participate on an equal basis in the political, economic and social life of their country. The Government and the people of Japan will continue their efforts to oppose the system of *apartheid* until it is completely abolished.

Mrs. Martínez (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

211. Mr. NOWAK (Poland): As an active member of the world community Poland has a long-standing commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*. Our position in that regard has been stated on many occasions, both at the United Nations and at other international forums.

212. True to our traditional principles and resolute stand against any form of racial discrimination, the Government and the people of Poland have always actively supported and defended the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence. We have taken a particularly firm stand in the fight against *apartheid*, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a serious threat to peace and international security. It is also a disgrace to the twentieth century.

213. Let me now briefly reiterate the basic elements of our position with respect to the policies of *apartheid*. First, the Polish People's Republic proceeds from the premise of strict respect for the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Consequently Poland strongly advocates the adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We spare no efforts to unmask the true essence of the anti-human régime of *apartheid* and to bring about its international isolation.

214. Secondly, we declare our full and active solidarity with the South African liberation movements and their organizations—ANC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia. We support their struggle for the establishment of democratic States in South Africa. On the other hand, we condemn the policy of bantustanization, which totally contradicts the decisions of the United Nations.

215. Thirdly, pursuing the policy of refraining from any relations with the Pretoria régime, Poland gives its unqualified support to Security Council resolutions 418 (1977), 421 (1977) and 473 (1980) concerning an arms embargo against South Africa. In the military co-operation of the Pretoria régime with its friends we see a particular danger because of the possibility of acquisition by

South Africa of a military nuclear capability which potentially could be used to intimidate and blackmail the African countries as well as its own population. The failure of the oil embargo against South Africa is also a matter of grave concern to us. Poland also takes a dim view of—in fact deplores—the development of trade and economic relations between Pretoria and its partners, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly. We expect the United Nations and all its Member States to undertake all necessary measures for the urgent and full implementation of the respective United Nations decisions against the policies of *apartheid*.

216. My Government was actively involved in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa because, *inter alia*, we regarded it as an important step in the struggle of the international community for the isolation and ultimate elimination of the inhuman régime of *apartheid*. For our joint actions in the various areas to be really effective, we need not only common actions by Governments but also the full co-operation of civic and political organizations, trade unions and student bodies as well as the private economic sector.

217. We reaffirm our solidarity with and express our deep sympathy for the political prisoners of South Africa, the members of liberation movements, the struggle of black trade-union movements and the anti-*apartheid* activities of religious organizations and people of goodwill throughout the world.

218. In conclusion, my delegation would like to assure the General Assembly of Poland's continued firm support for increasing the United Nations contribution to the struggle against *apartheid*, as well as of our solidarity with the fight of the people of southern Africa for the eradication of *apartheid* and the liberation of Namibia from colonial oppression.

219. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): For 35 years the issue of *apartheid* has been under consideration in the United Nations. During that time numerous resolutions and conventions against the racist régime of South Africa have been adopted with the support of many countries. The issue of aggression against the most basic principle of human rights has been so definite and clear that even the countries with a strong vested interest in South Africa have not dared to pass over in silence this unjust situation.

220. In the light of the foregoing the question raised by the world community and repeatedly in the United Nations is why, after the passage of so many years and after the adoption of so many resolutions, this shameful and anti-human policy of *apartheid* is still being practised in South Africa. Therefore it is not irrelevant to ask whether there can be any realistic hope for the future of this body if after so many years the United Nations, in its fight against the flagrant violation of human rights by South Africa, is incapable of fulfilling its duty.

221. The world has the right to question our very existence. It is our belief that we cannot truly say that we have earnestly explored all avenues available to us for the solution of this issue. The generation which witnessed the monstrosity of the Second World War is still living. They have conveyed the unforgettable message of yesterday's generation to today's youth that through solidarity they were able to stop the aggression of the racially motivated Hitler with all his military might. Therefore how will to-

day's youth be able to justify their helplessness to their daughters and sons?

222. We all know well that it is a matter not of ability, but rather of willingness, because we clearly see how some countries, for the sake of their vested economic interests, provide the life-blood of the Pretoria régime. In countries where there is a high degree of awareness regarding the depth of the crimes of South Africa's régime, how can the conscience of these peoples rest easy, and how can they remain passive spectators of their Government's collusion with the racist Pretoria clan? This question becomes more striking and finds a new dimension when we realize that in the affluent countries which support the very existence of South Africa's régime, people have such easy access to education.

223. In accordance with our Islamic principles, we believe that if anybody who faces a crime remains silent or chooses to take a neutral position, it implies that he is a partner to that crime and tacitly endorses that action. Accordingly, how can millions of white South Africans witness the continuance of the shameful policies of the white supremacist Government and yet not have troubled consciences? What is the culture and ideology that dominates the minds of the aggressive South African soldiers and freely licenses them to carry out the unlawful attack against Namibia and justifies their invasion of Angola? We need not look as far as that. Right here in the United Nations, where one of our main responsibilities and duties is to prevent aggression, we ask with justification why, in the case of transgression and hostility against one Member State, the subject is discussed extensively and elaborate resolutions are adopted, yet in other cases where there has been much greater violation of international laws, with greater consequences, an unusual silence, almost resembling that of a conspiracy, dominates the spirit of this important body? This very peculiar situation reminds me of the famous saying that the bigger the lie, the more easily it will be accepted. Even here it appears that the greater the scale of the crime, the less attention is given to the subject. In any case, what factors contribute to emergence of these bitter realities?

224. One of the most often used methods of dealing with this problem is to attribute it to the role of imperialism. That analysis, although correct, is so generalized and vague that it simply is not capable of providing an objective approach in analysing this abnormal disease. It only implies that imperialism has to be fought. But how and in what dimension has it to be challenged? Which elements and factors contribute to the sustenance and upholding of savage imperialism? These are the basic questions which have to be addressed in their totality.

225. Based on the dynamic teachings of Islam and according to the concrete historical experiences of the Great Islamic Revolution of Iran, we deeply believe that the pillars of all unjust systems are miserably embedded in the dungeons of amoral societies. We know for a fact that *apartheid* is only one manifestation of racism. Racism, not being a new phenomenon in human history, is another revelation of the ethnocentrism and egotism which has threatened humanity since its inception. When this sickness affects an individual, it gives birth to dictatorship and selfishness; when it affects a nation it brings chauvinism and when it influences nations of the same blood relationship it causes racism.

226. Here we would like to address the most basic elements of the source of this and other social diseases

which threaten the very existence of today's world. We believe the infrastructure and the root of all this sickness, whether in its philosophical aspect or in its social dimension, is materialism. Any society which has been penetrated by this philosophy sooner or later comes to the erroneous conclusion that the true and real nature of all human achievement is pure matter and that, since spirituality and morality are not concrete, they have no value and the only chance of a real return and profitability from this life is restricted to mere existence in this limited world.

227. The consequence of such a world view is clear. From that point, the human being who is condemned to that kind of mental attitude will make the utmost effort to acquire more material prosperity. It will be of no importance to him to evaluate the price that he and others have to pay for this convenience. For a materialist, as long as the conditions of life, the happiness and the pain of others are not directly related to his own interests they are of no significance and have no value. In his selfish attitude towards material gain no crime is forbidden: what matters is himself. In this philosophy, simple self-sacrifice and generosity are considered to be nothing but plain stupidity and simplemindedness. This human being is interested in others only as long as he is in need of their services. It is obvious that a human being who holds such a philosophy desires the acquisition of all things for himself alone. And this self-centredness manifests itself in many different social issues.

228. That kind of mental attitude is as old as the human being himself. An important part of the struggles and hardships of all the divine prophets in history was devoted to resolving this very phenomenon. In their resistance to the invitation of all the prophets to accept the sovereignty of God as encompassing the whole of existence and to put aside all selfish attitudes the bedouins and other tribes have always resorted to narrow tribal and racial values. Much of the time and effort of those divine prophets was spent in challenging and combating this futile notion of tribalism and racism. By tribalism, we mean the belief that one tribe is superior to another. Tribalism and racism are the direct result of materialism, and materialism is the mother of all crimes. The great Russian writer Dostoyevsky very beautifully portrayed this concept when he said, in his famous phrase, "Were there no God, everything would be permissible". It is no mere coincidence that wherever racism exists, aggression and colonialism are also present, for they are all the illegitimate offspring of materialism.

229. Nor is it an accident that Hitler, who is the symbol of aggression, is also the personification of racism. And the Zionists, who from time to time complain about Hitler's crimes, have set a new record in terms of hostility and aggression against the territorial integrity of Arab countries in general and the Palestinians in particular, always under the pretext of racial superiority. And the criminal Iraqi régime of Saddam Takriti, while pretending to be concerned about the plight of the Palestinians, invades our country in disregard of all international laws and wildly indulges in racial rhetoric in order to create a division between the Moslem Arabs and the Iranians. This, of course, is one of the masterpieces of the materialistic Iraqi Ba'ath Party.

230. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq on a point of order.

231. Miss AL-TURAIHI (Iraq): I do not see the relevance of the representative of the so-called Iranian régime bringing in the name of our President in this context. He should be ruled out of order, for he is diverting the attention of the Assembly from something we are very much interested in discussing: the question of *apartheid*. Besides, he should look at his own country and see what they are doing to the minorities there.

232. The PRESIDENT: I ask the representative of Iran to continue.

233. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): Racism is racism, and it should be attacked wherever it exists.

234. At the head of all these stands the United States, which not only suppresses millions of blacks, American Indians and Latinos, but is also the leader of all colonialists and aggressors. The European settlers in America eradicated the American Indians in some of the most criminal acts of genocide.

235. What is happening in Africa today is only a repetition of this bitter story. While the black people of South Africa are burning in the fires of *apartheid* they witness the long and recurring aggression of white sovereignty. The people of Namibia have been enduring the shadows of colonialism for years. Angola too is a victim of the aggression of this régime. I must say here that colonialism's biggest crime in the colonized countries is precisely that they have injected their materialistic culture into the minds of the colonized peoples. The domination of materialism in the colonies has always been utilized as the best means of safeguarding colonialism. It is for this reason that the true struggle against colonialism must begin there. This has been discussed most eloquently by Steve Biko, the great revolutionary of South Africa, who dedicated his life to freeing the people of his country from racism. He said:

“Black consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life. The philosophy of black consciousness expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realization by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.”

That last sentence bears repeating:

“At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realization by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed . . . we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.”

236. In any event, in all such criminal scenes the ascendancy of the spirit of materialism is coupled with racism and colonialism. Materialism sometimes colours religions, and deprives them of their essence. Unfortunately, the colonialists have emptied the precious religion of Christ—peace be upon Him—of its substance so as to justify their deeds, a religion that represents the greatest effort to free mankind from materialism. It is not irrelevant that Biko, the hero, said that Christianity in Africa wears the robe of the white race. Yes, the colonialists have dressed that great divine religion in the robe of the white race, a degrading robe that certainly disgusts the great spirit of Christ.

237. The great Islamic Revolution of Iran, which has been misjudged by Western sociologists as being against economic pressures, is a revolution against materialism and is a return to the high Islamic ideals. The people of our country, after suffering the hardships of the presence of western imperialism for years, after having put different ideologies to the test, after having given a chance to all types of alleged intellectuals, whether westernized or easternized, without a positive outcome, and after viewing the experience of other nations and learning from the lessons of history, have reached a precious conclusion, which they are now safeguarding. That conclusion can be summarized in a few words: materialism is the basis of all the misery that mankind suffers, and the way to free mankind is through the precious teachings of Islam, which free man from the degradation of slavery to materialism and give him the spiritual greatness that is the true nature of man.

238. While the West is pouring weapons into South Africa to protect the régime of that country, we offer this liberating message to the oppressed people of that country. This is not an imposition of belief. No one can impose a belief on another. But if Malcolm X, a black American thousands of miles from the world of Islam and behind prison bars, while engulfed in the deprivations caused by racism in the United States, can understand this message and believe in it and be willing to give his life for it, the blacks, and even the whites, of South Africa can understand this message and even with the obstacle of imperialism defeat the monster of racism. This is the only way, for we cannot hope for colonialism to come to its senses. Imperialism has clearly defined its position. The United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs has declared that the policy of the Reagan Administration is to maintain neutrality with regard to the confrontation between blacks and whites in South Africa. He emphasized the economic and strategic importance of South Africa and its vital resources, and also the danger for the United States of Soviet domination of South Africa. That statement can mean only that the United States will continue its support for the Pretoria régime. Imperialism will certainly not cease its support to the régime of South Africa as a result of preaching, in the same way that it will not cease its hostility towards revolutions for liberation.

239. It is no coincidence that the same countries supporting South Africa are also imposing economic sanctions against Iran. These futile efforts will not lead anywhere in confronting the will of peoples.

240. I shall quote here a few passages from the works of Malcolm X, the great American black revolutionary. Perhaps his touching words, which emanate from the purest of human feelings, will be more illuminating. He writes in his book about his experiences on the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca:

“America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases from its society the race problem. Throughout my travels in the Moslem world, I have met, talked to and even eaten with people who in America would have been considered ‘white’—but the ‘white’ attitude was removed from their minds by the religion of Islam.”

He continues:

“During the past 11 days here in the Moslem world, I have eaten from the same plate, drunk from the same glass and slept in the same bed or on the same rug,

while praying to the same God, with fellow Moslems whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white. And in the words and in the actions and in the deeds of the 'white' Moslems I felt the same sincerity that I felt among the black African Moslems of Nigeria, Sudan and Ghana.

"We were truly all the same, brothers, because their belief in one God has removed the 'white' from their minds, the 'white' from their behaviour, and the 'white' from their attitude."

He continues:

"I could see from this that perhaps, if white Americans could accept the oneness of God, then perhaps they too could accept the reality of the oneness of man and cease to measure and hinder and harm others in terms of their 'differences' of colour."

241. As Malcolm X said, belief in God is not a personal belief the acceptance or rejection of which has no effect on society. The true projection of the belief in the emanation of all love from God does not leave any room for materialism and racism and, consequently, for *apartheid*. We read in the holy Koran:

"O you people: verily we have created you of a male and a female and made you nations and tribes that you may recognize each other. Verily the most honoured of you with God is the one of you who has the most awareness and consciousness of God, or piety."

242. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has from its inception taken all possible steps to fight the anti-human policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa and, while reiterating its full support for SWAPO as the sole representative of the oppressed people of Namibia in their just struggle for independence and condemning the aggression of the Pretoria régime against Angola, it also condemns all countries that are assisting that shameful régime in one way or another to survive, and invites all freedom-loving peoples of the world to unite all their efforts in order to destroy *apartheid*.

243. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): It is 21 years since the international community's conscience was severely jolted by the Sharpeville massacre of innocent men, women and children. In the wake of that brutal suppression of a peaceful demonstration of the oppressed black South Africans against the tyranny and inhuman system of *apartheid*, the international community expressed its condemnation of the massacre and of *apartheid*. The Security Council, echoing the vehement disapproval of the actions and policies of the racist Pretoria régime, declared in its resolution 134 (1960), adopted on 1 April 1960, that the situation in South Africa, if it continued, might endanger international peace and security, and called on the South African régime to abandon *apartheid* and repression. But today, two decades after that historic denunciation of *apartheid* and the manifestation of the clear intention of the international community not to tolerate the brutal repression that *apartheid* represents, we find that the system still exists. Not only does it exist, but it is gathering strength with which to counteract all forms of internal and external opposition.

244. As the General Assembly once again preoccupies itself with an examination of the situation in South Africa, we are compelled to recognize that the scenario in that country continues to be bleak and depressing. Save

for a few cosmetic amendments to the laws that ensure the continuation of *apartheid*, that obnoxious system remains structurally unaltered. It denies to the majority of South Africans basic political, economic and social rights that we, the States Members of the United Nations now take for granted. Repression and retributive punishment are pursued with alacrity and increased vigour, and there is no visible hope of freedom, equality and the enjoyment of fundamental human rights for the black majority.

245. It is in this context that we should view this debate and decide to give support to those steps necessary to eradicate the evil system being practised by the racist Pretoria régime. Because of our membership of the Organization and the implied determination to uphold the ideals of the Charter we are called upon to exercise a collective political will to bring *apartheid* and its racist perpetrators to their knees. My delegation believes, in this regard, that the United Nations in particular and the international community in general bear a grave responsibility towards the oppressed millions in South Africa. To continue to shirk this responsibility constitutes a regrettable abdication of our collective moral and political responsibilities. To indulge in the traditional quibbling over the right moment and means for tackling *apartheid* frontally would be to continue cynically to place selfish economic and racial interests above the human values that the Charter espouses.

246. It is no longer a secret that the racist Pretoria régime has survived this long because in the face of the unequivocal denunciation of *apartheid* and the call by an overwhelming number of Member States for its elimination, that régime is constantly and increasingly in a position to flex its military muscle. Its military strength has increased with each passing year because of the supplies it receives from and the collaboration it enjoys with certain prominent Members of the Organization.

247. The history of the arms build-up of the racist South African régime is a sordid tale of equivocation and insincerity by a section of the international community on the issue of an arms embargo against the racist régime. Ever since the Sharpeville massacre the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations as well as numerous organizations had pressed for an arms embargo against the racist régime; but it was not until 4 November 1977 that the major Western Powers joined with other States to enable the Security Council by its resolution 418 (1977), to institute a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Even then, the embargo was late, and weak in many respects, especially as regards nuclear collaboration. It was none the less an historic decision that gave hope to millions of oppressed people in South Africa and to all African States, especially in the expectation that the embargo would be strictly implemented and that a programme of sanctions would subsequently be developed to reinforce it. This has unfortunately not been the case, and we cannot help but note with alarm that the little that was achieved in that historic resolution has also not been effectively implemented.

248. A critical examination of the implementation of the arms embargo imposed under the Security Council resolution reveals that the South African régime continues to receive sophisticated weapon systems and technology from Western countries because of loopholes in the decision imposing the embargo and deliberate evasions in national legislation and enforcement. Military equipment continues to reach the racist régime on the pretext that they are dual-purpose in character. Computers and elec-

tronic equipment are deliberately despatched to South Africa for ostensibly non-military purposes because of the same loopholes in the Security Council resolution, although the whole world knows that these items are put to military use when they eventually arrive. Financial and technical assistance continues to be blatantly given to South Africa to improve its arms industry and develop its Koeberg nuclear installation as if the Organization had not taken any decision.

249. I have highlighted the question of the arms embargo against South Africa because the failure of the Security Council resolution to have any telling effect on the racist régime has exposed a disturbing lack of political will on the part of certain Member States. This is so, because there is absolutely no doubt that repression and tyranny still survive in South Africa. If the Organization is to survive and maintain its credibility, then we, its Member States, must be prepared to take collective action to implement the arms embargo before the situation develops into a full-scale racial war. My delegation believes that to combat this weakness effectively we must now be prepared to take certain decisions, which are embodied in the draft resolutions that are now before the General Assembly. We must, first, give strong support to the call for an effective and world-wide campaign for the full implementation and reinforcement of the arms embargo; secondly, respond to the call for the cessation of all military collaboration with the South African régime; thirdly, enact effective national legislation to enforce the embargo and punish severely those that break it; fourthly, strongly urge the Security Council urgently to prohibit all nuclear collaboration with South Africa and also to adopt, as a matter of urgency, an oil embargo against South Africa; and, fifthly, prohibit all forms of loans and technology transfers to South Africa.

250. Only when these actions are taken shall we be able to ensure the non-use of military force against the majority of South Africans and against neighbouring African countries.

251. It is not only in the military area that the racist régime enjoys co-operation and collaboration. Equally alarming is the economic and other forms of collaboration that the régime receives, particularly from certain Western and other States. With each passing day those States increase their economic, diplomatic and other relations with South Africa, thus giving the racist régime not only economic strength but also international respectability. My delegation considers this state of affairs to be prejudicial to the early eradication of *apartheid*, the evil which Member States are quick to denounce in very strong terms during General Assembly debates. The increasing economic and other collaboration with South Africa is a paradigm of the duplicity and economic selfishness of those who practise it and displays insensitivity towards the oppressed people of that country. For how else can one interpret the eagerness to collaborate with a régime that is only racial autocracy, the continued existence of which has so often been condemned by the international community?

252. The recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the able and dynamic leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule, deal effectively with this problem, and my delegation urges their acceptance. We know that some countries find difficulty with some of their details because, as they argue, the Security Council has adopted no mandatory resolution that forbids such collaboration. Some have pressed the sponsors of the draft resolutions to

be submitted not to identify those Member States which collaborate closely with the racist régime. My delegation has no intention of embarrassing any Member State or needlessly ruffling the sensibilities of delegations here assembled, but we find it paradoxical that some Member States continue in a collaboration that is harmful to our common cause only because it has not as yet been prohibited by the Security Council. What is more, the Member States which advance these arguments would vigorously resist the taking of such a decision in the Security Council either by using their uncontested leverage in the Organization to oppose any such initiative or, regrettably, by using their veto powers to frustrate the taking of such a decision.

253. With all due respect, the question of collaboration with South Africa is a moral issue for the overwhelming majority of mankind, and our colleagues will have to choose the side to which they wish to belong. My delegation is of the view that in order effectively to halt these forms of collaboration and thereby ensure an early eradication of *apartheid*, the Assembly not only should condemn such activities but must also lend its support to the appeal to the Security Council to adopt, as a matter of grave urgency, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter. For 30 years the General Assembly has repeated its condemnation of the racist régime, and we believe that the time has come to match our verbal condemnations with action. It is our hope, therefore, that our colleagues will join in this important call for action.

254. The international community has for some years pressed for the increasing isolation of South Africa as a means of forcing the Pretoria régime to give up the doctrine of *apartheid*. To achieve this end several measures have either been taken or urged for the boycott of South Africa, particularly in the cultural and sporting fields. The limited success in isolating the racist régime has hurt it badly, hence its increased effort in recent times to break out of the isolation imposed on it. With massive funds, running into millions of dollars, the racist régime has in the last few years embarked on a concentrated effort to rehabilitate its international image through, among other things, the dissemination of propaganda, the promotion of sporting contacts with the outside world by the exchange of rugby, athletic, cricket, boxing and other teams and the luring of musicians and entertainers by very attractive offers of contracts. These desperate efforts to lessen the effect of isolation on the country have had only limited success over the years. It should be noted, however, that these sporting and cultural events are on the increase because of the appalling naivety and greed of certain individuals, sporting organizations, impresarios and international agents. The recent open political and cultural support received by the racist régime from certain Western Powers has also strengthened its resolve to defy international action against it. The evidence of the unpopularity of the actions of those individuals, Governments and organizations has been the increasing manifestation of popular protests against these contacts with South Africa.

255. My delegation would like at this juncture to pay a deserving tribute to the individuals, anti-*apartheid* organizations and trade unions, particularly in Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States, which have not only consistently kept faith with the oppressed people in South Africa through their utterances but have also engaged in effective public demonstrations in opposition to such sporting and other cultural events. The refusal of workers in Ireland to handle the Irish rugby-football team

that undertook a tour of South Africa this year, against all advice and protestations, the uncompromising stand of anti-*apartheid* organizations, churches, unions and individuals in New Zealand during the recent tour of that country by the South African Springbok rugby team, an action that was more eloquent than the words of certain New Zealand politicians, and the uncompromising and open demonstrations by similar groups in the United States against the South Africans' recent so-called rugby tour of the United States are actions that must be singled out for special mention and commendation. My delegation congratulates all of them most warmly and hopes that their enlightened example would serve to destroy the stubborn and impractical support that South Africa receives from certain Governments and organizations.

256. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has provided this year a register of sportsmen and others collaborating with South Africa in sports as an incontrovertible piece of information upon which Governments and sporting organizations the whole world over may base any action that they deem fit against those whose names appear in it. We urge that the register be given the widest publicity by all Member States and, where possible, that visas and other facilities be withheld from those who have chosen to collaborate with the racist Pretoria régime. My delegation regrets that for obvious reasons it is still not possible to take stronger action in the matter. But we must remember that the redemption of the oppressed majority in South Africa cannot wait much longer, and we urge the Organization to devote some time to the formulation of a consensus on the question so that Governments may be better able to take meaningful action. Certainly, this is the wish of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa and the Council of Ministers of the OAU, which adopted a resolution at its thirty-seventh ordinary session calling upon Governments to ban those sportsmen and teams listed in the register [see A/36/534, annex I]. Similarly, we hope that the Special Committee against *Apartheid* will soon issue a register on entertainers and other cultural personalities who continue to collaborate with South Africa.

257. In this context, my delegation hopes that the proposed international convention against *apartheid* in sports will soon become a reality. We urge that the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports be extended so as to enable it to conclude that work that it has so far handled satisfactorily.

258. The struggle against *apartheid* and racism has been long and difficult. It has remained so because of a lack of uniform action by the international community against the Pretoria régime. For as long as acts in opposition to the obnoxious system remain sporadic and unco-ordinated, the battle will never be won. It is for this reason that my delegation welcomes the proposal to declare 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. In order to make the struggle against *apartheid* effective, there is a clear need for a much wider international effort and campaign to disseminate all available information on the evils of *apartheid* and to solicit the moral and material support of individuals, churches and organizations to eradicate the system. It is understood that several events are planned for the Year, and my delegation hopes that Member States will give assistance and co-operation in making it successful.

259. I cannot conclude my statement without making some remarks about the recent wave of military aggres-

sion by the forces of the racist Pretoria régime against African States in southern Africa. This year has seen an unprecedented number of military attacks against front-line States. The individual attacks have been recounted in detail, and I shall not repeat them. It was indeed heartening to note that these aggressive acts received the serious consideration and condemnation of the International Conference in May this year. Paragraph 10 of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa states:

“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.”²

One is forced to ask why these attacks have increased recently. It is widely recognized that the racist régime's military incursions have been stepped up this year because of the open political support that certain Western Governments have announced for it, coupled with the knowledge that international action against it, even if such action is in accordance with the Charter, would be frustrated by certain permanent members of the Security Council. It is in these indirect forms of support, therefore, that the South African régime finds encouragement to commit aggression, thereby endangering international peace and security.

260. It will be recalled that a few months ago the racist régime launched a large-scale military invasion of Angola, during which many soldiers and innocent men, women and children were brutally massacred. When the matter was placed before the Security Council the veto of the United States and the abstention of the United Kingdom on 31 August 1981 made it impossible for the Security Council to condemn the aggression and take actions prescribed by the Charter. My delegation believes that it is this use of the veto that gives the racist régime encouragement and destroys the credibility of the Security Council as far as the maintenance of international peace and security is concerned.

261. We should like to take this opportunity, therefore, to appeal to those two Member States to reconsider their stand, in the face of strong international opinion against such acts of lawlessness, so that the Organization can discharge its responsibilities under the Charter in southern Africa. To this end, my delegation is of the opinion that the United Nations must endeavour to recognize breaches of peace and acts of aggression in southern Africa without equivocation. Failure to do so is harmful to the image of the United Nations and must not be allowed. The Organization should be able to declare the racist *apartheid* régime as the aggressor and also to decide on comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter as the only practical means of curbing the grave threat to front-line States whose sovereignty and territorial integrity continue to be abused.

262. The fight against *apartheid* is both political and moral. The time has come when Member States must pronounce their stand against *apartheid* or risk most of their relations with the rest of Africa. The question is not how much economic advantage stands to be lost in taking firm action against the racist régime, but rather how much more advantage could accrue in the absence of *apartheid*. Those who choose the former are clearly myopic in their perspectives on *apartheid* and racism, and will stand to lose in the long run. We hope that it is not too late for some Member States to reconsider positions

adopted on this issue so far, with a view to joining in the relentless march of the overwhelming majority of mankind against this crime against humanity.

263. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of *apartheid*, which remains a challenge to human conscience and to the endeavours of the international community to uphold the high principles of dignity, freedom and equality of all mankind.

264. At the outset, I wish to place on record my delegation's deep appreciation of Mr. Maitama-Sule, the distinguished Chairman, his predecessor, Mr. Clark, and all members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for providing us with a comprehensive report on the situation obtaining in South Africa. The report has also made valuable recommendations for enhancing the effectiveness of the international struggle against the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

265. The strong opposition of the international community to the odious system of *apartheid* has been forcefully demonstrated in almost every international forum. The General Assembly itself has adopted numerous resolutions condemning the racist Pretoria régime and its inhuman policies of *apartheid*, oppression and brutality against the people of South Africa. The Security Council even imposed a mandatory arms embargo against the régime in its resolution 418 (1977). Successive conferences of the non-aligned movement, the OAU and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have declared their profound concern over the plight of the black majority in South Africa.

266. However, acting in total disregard and disdain for the decisions and feelings of the international community, the racist Pretoria régime has intensified with impunity its repression and brutality against the people of South Africa. It has unleashed a reign of terror against the freedom fighters of ANC and increasingly resorted to indiscriminate arrests, detentions and torture of innocent men, women and children. Six freedom fighters of ANC are facing death sentences only because they advocated equality of man and challenged the inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

267. Emboldened in its defiance of the international community, the Pretoria régime has reinforced its repressive rule within South Africa by an aggressive posture against the neighbouring African States. It has repeatedly committed military aggression against its neighbours, the most serious of which was its intervention against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Angola. The grave consequences of these acts of aggression for international peace and security have been considered by the Security Council. And, only recently, South Africa's complicity in the attempt to destabilize the situation in Seychelles, a non-aligned State Member of the United Nations, was widely reported in the international press.

268. The aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime has acquired a new and most serious dimension with the development of its nuclear-weapon capability, which has been verified by impartial studies undertaken by the United Nations.

269. It is no secret that the arrogance of the Pretoria régime is being sustained by the help it is receiving from certain influential outside Powers. It is this help which has enabled South Africa to develop a formidable military

machine and even to acquire, as I said earlier, a nuclear-weapon capability. Such assistance flies in the face of the decisions of the international community, which has firmly pronounced its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and categorically against the inhuman policies of the Pretoria régime. Moreover, the racist régime of South Africa is being encouraged by this outside support in its military adventures against its neighbours.

270. In its commitment to decolonization and the restoration of human rights and human dignity all over the world, the international community continues to face one of the gravest challenges in the existence of the racist régime in South Africa and its policies of *apartheid*. We are convinced that the racist régime cannot break the will of the people of South Africa in their struggle to assert their fundamental rights. The Pretoria régime's brutality and insidious schemes to subjugate the majority of the people of South Africa and perpetrate its racist tyranny in their land will never succeed.

271. It is imperative that concerted action be taken by the international community as a whole to put pressure on the racist régime of South Africa to eliminate its inhuman system of *apartheid* and to bring to an early end the travail of the people of South Africa, as well as the wanton aggression perpetrated by Pretoria against its neighbours. In this regard the responsibility of those Powers which have been extending their support to South Africa is especially grave. Effective and decisive action by the Security Council for the application of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter is long overdue. A further delay in this regard would only prolong the struggle of the South African people and the consequent bloodshed and human suffering.

272. We therefore fully support the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the draft resolutions which are expected to be introduced on the basis of these recommendations, which include proposals for comprehensive mandatory sanctions specifically on an arms embargo and an oil embargo and for the cessation of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

273. Pakistan has traditionally remained committed to the cause of all peoples struggling against every kind of oppression, alien domination or discrimination under any pretext. Our consistent and total solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa is a matter of deep conviction arising from the eternal precepts of Islam, which uphold the equality, freedom and dignity of all peoples irrespective of race, colour or creed. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm Pakistan's whole-hearted moral and material support for the struggle of the valiant people of South Africa for equality, human dignity and the complete eradication of the reprehensible system of *apartheid*. We are confident that the heroic people of South Africa will succeed in their just and noble struggle to achieve their legitimate rights to freedom and bring to a close the most vicious chapter of colonialism and racism in the continent of Africa.

274. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Much has been said and written about the *apartheid* policies and practices of the South African régime. *Apartheid* has been universally condemned and declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. Repeated demands have been made for the Pretoria régime to abandon this evil doctrine, which has so poisoned race relations that South Africa today is on the brink of a racial conflagration with

ominous consequences for international peace and security.

275. The Pretoria régime has remained impervious to reason. It has ignored and, in fact, treated with contempt all the demands for the eradication of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* remains an article of faith for the South African régime legislated and ruthlessly applied to the extent that it has permeated the entire fabric of society in that country.

276. *Apartheid* entails a totally unacceptable situation for the vast majority of the people of South Africa. It is a negation of their basic freedoms and a doctrine which, to all intents and purposes, holds them as prisoners, and slaves in their own country. It denies them the right to participate as equal citizens with the white minority in the normal political, social and economic life of their country. It prescribes for them where to live and work and ensures that families are torn asunder.

277. This debasing and criminal doctrine has been maintained over the years through despicable ruthlessness and brutality. State terrorism is the order of the day in South Africa. Arbitrary arrests, detentions, imprisonment and torture of the opponents of *apartheid* are a daily occurrence in South Africa. Numerous South African freedom fighters, including such distinguished personalities as Nelson Mandela, languish in the dark places of the notorious Robben Island and other prisons.

278. South African repression of the black majority is intended to cow them into submission and thus perpetuate the *apartheid* system. The Pretoria régime is committed to the continued exploitation and plunder of the resources of South Africa, with the use of cheap black labour, for the benefit of the white minority and powerful foreign economic interests. Already the white minority in South Africa are lavishly rich, while the black majority, whose sweat provides for their comfort, continue to live in conditions of abject poverty—indeed, they continue to be exposed to hunger and disease.

279. And to ensure that they do not even threaten the life-style of the white minority in the rich and vast parts of South Africa allocated to this privileged group, the black majority are being forcibly moved to the so-called bantustans. These bantustans, which are being granted so-called independence by the Pretoria régime, are intended to serve as buffer territories for South Africa against those who are fighting for their freedom. Yet another South African bantustan, Ciskei is to be granted so-called independence on Friday this week, 4 December 1981. The international community should naturally reject the so-called independence of Ciskei, as it has done with the others and reaffirm the territorial integrity of South Africa as one indivisible country.

280. Neither the intensified repression of the black majority nor the continued bantustanization of South Africa will prevent the oppressed people of South Africa from fighting for their inalienable national rights. On the contrary, as events this year have shown, the struggle of the oppressed people will continue to gain momentum. Mass political action involving students, workers, peasants, and the clergy will continue to grow. What we have witnessed in South Africa are not mere isolated incidents which can be calmed by minor concessions on the part of the Pretoria régime, but rather a revolt against *apartheid* which will not be abated until that evil system is totally eradicated and all the people of South Africa begin to partici-

pate on an equal footing in the political and other spheres of life in their country, without distinction as to race, colour or creed.

281. A recent poll conducted in South Africa showed overwhelming support for ANC. For its part the South African régime has in the past year issued statements blaming ANC for several incidents which have occurred, including attacks on police stations, electric power stations and other installations. It is evident, therefore, that the liberation movement is active inside South Africa itself and that it is enjoying ever increasing support from the people. The oppressed people of South Africa have simply refused to accept and will never accept the barrage of propaganda from the régime intended to alienate them from their sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and human dignity.

282. In its desperation the Pretoria régime has also resorted to "divide and rule" tactics intended to weaken the ranks of the victims of *apartheid*. A determined attempt has been made to woo the Indian and the so-called Coloured communities to the side of the white minority with a view to isolating the black majority. Such tactics on the part of the Pretoria régime will not work. The Indian and the so-called Coloured communities will not be isolated from the mainstream of the struggle against *apartheid*. They will not be duped nor allow themselves to be used by the régime. Indeed, the recent fiasco concerning the so-called elections to the South African Indian Council is eloquent testimony to the mood of the oppressed people of South Africa as a whole.

283. *Apartheid* will not be served either by the collusion of outside Powers with the South African régime. At most such collusion will constitute a temporary set-back for the struggle against *apartheid*. In the final analysis, external collusion with the régime will serve to embitter the oppressed people and make change in South Africa inevitably violent. Policies which seek to embrace South Africa as an ally and perceive the struggle of the oppressed people in the context of East-West rivalry are morally and politically wrong and cannot at all be conducive to peaceful change in that country.

284. *Apartheid* must be seen for what it is: a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its wanton and unprovoked acts of aggression against independent African States stem from its policies of *apartheid*. Because of that abominable doctrine southern Africa remains a critically unstable region. South Africa has repeatedly sought to destabilize the front-line and other States in the region. It ferments dissension, commits outright acts of aggression against Angola, Mozambique and my own country, Zambia, and engages in other warlike acts, including intimidation and harassment against Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Only last week a band of mercenaries on the South African pay-roll attempted to overthrow the Government of Seychelles. It was most heartening and it was thanks to the vigilance of the Seychelles defence forces that these agents of the South African régime were beaten and forced to retreat. Zambia strongly condemns the invasion and attempted overthrow of the Government of Seychelles.

285. The criminal acts of the Pretoria régime make it evident that only with the eradication of *apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations will conditions be created for peace and tranquillity in southern Africa. The international

community as a whole should therefore rally solidly in support of the struggle for the eradication of *apartheid* and for the inalienable rights of its victims. In this regard the Special Committee against *Apartheid* continues to play a leading role. Under the able and dynamic leadership of my brother and colleague Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, the Special Committee is effectively spearheading the international campaign to ostracize the Pretoria régime. I sincerely commend the Chairman and members of the Special Committee for the important work they are doing.

286. The efforts of the oppressed people, those of the Special Committee and the international community as a whole, cannot and will not be in vain. My delegation is confident that those efforts will be rewarded in the not too distant future. Indeed, South Africa shall be free.

287. Mr. BEREZHKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of Pretoria has been considered by the General Assembly since its first session. The United Nations has repeatedly condemned that policy as being incompatible with human rights and human dignity, with the Charter of the United Nations, and as a serious breach of international peace and security, and a crime against mankind.

288. Today the situation in South Africa is still the cause of justified indignation on the part of the entire world community. The Pretoria régime, which has elevated *apartheid* to the status of a State ideology and policy, continues massively to trample the elementary human rights of 20 million indigenous Africans. Fascist-like tyranny reigns in South Africa: peaceful demonstrations are met with a hail of lead and brutal treatment is inflicted on the patriots and leaders of anti-*apartheid* movements. The country's gaols are filled to overflowing with political prisoners, and South Africa has long and easily held first place in the world in terms of sentencing people to death.

289. The General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly demanded that an end be put to the criminal policy and practice of *apartheid*. Instead, the Pretoria régime is continuing to add to the cruelties of their already Draconian measures against the indigenous African population. The proclamation of so-called independent bantustans pursues an obvious aim, that of splitting the African people and lending legitimacy to the creation of subordinate territories dependent on the South African racists, and undermining the growing national liberation movements. At the same time, the bantustanization policy creates a pool of cheap labour for the pitiless exploitation of the indigenous population by South African and Western monopolies.

290. The United Nations has condemned South Africa's creation of the bantustans—Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda—as invalid and devoid of any legal substance. It has called on all Governments to refrain from any form of recognition of the bantustans and to take effective measures to forbid all persons, corporations, and other institutions to enter into any kind of relations with them. Nevertheless, the Pretoria régime is going ahead with further bantustanization. A few days from now, for example, it intends to proclaim the so-called independence of Ciskei. This is a continuation of the implementation of the cunning plan of the South African racists to consolidate and to guarantee the full rule of the white population and to deprive the South African people of their inalienable rights within their own country.

291. The protectors and defenders of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa sometimes speak of some kind of reform, as they put it, of the racist régime of Pretoria. In actual fact, however, the reforms of which they speak are designed on the one hand to keep the indigenous population of the country away from the struggle to gain genuine freedom, and on the other hand to weaken the international campaign against *apartheid* and the isolation of the régime. Some "cosmetic" touch-ups on the façade of the system of *apartheid* cannot alter its substance. They are merely attempts to ensure the adaptation and survival of the ignominious system at a time when colonialism has collapsed. The racist régime is intensifying the militarization of the country. In the last four years there has been a 50 per cent increase in military manpower. At the present time South Africa can count on 500,000 men under arms. By comparison with 1974, military expenditure has risen three times, and in the 1981-1982 financial year these expenditures will amount to about 3 billion rand.

292. There is considerable evidence of the real possibility that South Africa possesses nuclear weapons, which is a grave threat to the peace and security of peoples, and not only in the southern part of Africa. As has been pointed out by a number of representatives here, the Pretoria régime is applying the system of *apartheid* in Namibia also. Notwithstanding the demands of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling upon South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, the criminal régime is expanding and intensifying the cruelty of its mass repression of the Namibian people, particularly against the members of SWAPO, and is further intensifying and expanding its military presence in the country, using Namibia as a bridgehead for aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States, first and foremost against Angola.

293. While enjoying the protection of the Western Powers and while issuing hypocritical statements about its readiness to seek a political settlement in Namibia, the Pretoria racists are actually doing their utmost to implant and consolidate a puppet neo-colonialist régime in the Territory. Of course, South Africa could not continue its criminal policy of *apartheid* and its unlawful occupation of Namibia, as well as its acts of aggression against the sovereign African States, and could not ignore the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the world community, were it not for the constant and all-round assistance and support it has been receiving from the leading Western countries members of NATO. Moreover, the very existence of the *apartheid* régime would be impossible without Western support.

294. The preservation of a hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa is very much in keeping with the long-term selfish political, strategic and economic interests of the Western Powers, which see in South Africa a bastion of racism on the African continent and a base for the struggle against the national liberation movements of the South African and Namibian peoples. The far-reaching co-operation of the leading Western Powers and their monopolies with racist South Africa is constantly expanding. Foreign investments in South Africa amount to more than \$35 billion, and South Africa's foreign trade runs into tens of billions of dollars. It is interesting to note that the major trading partners of South Africa are precisely those same Western Powers which advocate at the United Nations the continuation of the so-called dialogue with the South African racists, which, of course, simply plays into the hands of the rulers of South Africa.

295. The banks of Western countries—primarily the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and some other States—provide constant financing for the racist régime of Pretoria. The provision of international credit and crucial foreign exchange is a decisive factor in the carrying out of economic, military—including nuclear—and other programmes of the South African Government. Between 1972 and 1980 alone, total loans extended to South Africa exceeded \$7 billion. As we read in the declaration of the International Seminar on Loans to South Africa organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and held in April this year, “foreign loans to, and Western bank involvement in South Africa supported the system of *apartheid* in numerous ways” [see A/36/201, annex, p. 2].

296. Directly or indirectly, loans enable the racist régime of South Africa to finance the extension of its repressive apparatus and the implementation of far-reaching programmes of militarization and nuclear programmes, as well as its aggression against independent African States. They also make it possible for South Africa to circumvent the United Nations arms embargo and its embargo on the delivery of oil from oil-producing States. Those loans enable the Pretoria régime and its institutions to secure badly needed capital with which the large government-controlled South African coal, gas and oil corporation, SASOL, and the energy commission, ESCOM, are able to carry out strategic projects aimed at strengthening the country’s military potential and at withstanding international sanctions. Many loans facilitate trade in strategic materials between South Africa and Western States, thus guaranteeing supplies of sophisticated equipment, which is of particular importance for the growth of strategic industrial corporations such as SASOL and ESCOM, as well as the arms production corporation owned by the South African Government, ARMSCOR.

297. Clearly, there is no need to go into detail concerning the economic and military co-operation of the Western countries and their transnational corporations with the *apartheid* régime: this is all too well known. We would only emphasize that all the main Western member countries of NATO and many hundreds of their monopolies are taking part in this co-operation with the Pretoria racists. The transnational corporations of the Western countries, play a leading role in such sectors of South African industry as electronics, petroleum processing, automobile manufacture and the nuclear industry. All the oil South Africa needs is easily supplied by Western transnational corporations.

298. The interconnection between the interests of South African and Western imperialist circles and their monopolies in South Africa is extremely solid and constant. It is precisely the defence of those interests that accounts for the all-round assistance and support of the Western Powers for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

299. In the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa, emphasis is placed on the fact that

“The continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia.”⁸

300. At the United Nations, representatives of the Western Powers, particularly the United States, impede the adoption of effective measures against the *apartheid* régime, which brazenly disregards the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community.

301. It is high time to put an end to the ignominious, inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racists must be halted, and power in that country must promptly and unconditionally be transferred to the Namibian people through their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. The acts of aggression of the Pretoria racists against sovereign African States must be curbed, now and forever. The peoples of Namibia and South Africa must be freed from the racist colonialist yoke.

302. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that measures to put an end to the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa have been defined in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the OAU, in the proposals of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in the declarations of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. What is needed is strict compliance by all States with the measures already imposed by the Security Council against racist South Africa, and the imposition by the Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

303. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to place on record once again its solidarity with the valiant struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples against the colonial racist rule of the South African régime. It expresses its firm conviction that the just cause of the liberation of Namibia will prevail and that an end will be put to the most ignominious phenomenon of our age: *apartheid* in South Africa.

304. Mr. FOURATI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The problem of *apartheid* is, without any doubt, one of the questions that have most marked the life of the Organization since its inception. It has held the attention of the international community for many long years. The number of debates that have been devoted to it and the multitude of resolutions that have been adopted, both by the General Assembly and by the Security Council, express general condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and reveal the concern of the international community over the persistence of this hateful and anachronistic system raging at Pretoria.

305. In considering this question once again today, the Assembly intends not only to stress the worsening of the situation in South Africa, but also, and above all, to give new meaning to the action that we must all undertake to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The persistence of *apartheid* in South Africa and the resultant danger posed to international peace and security call for the preparation of a new strategy. The devising of such a strategy should not pose any major problem, when one considers that the question of *apartheid* is one of the few—if not the only one—which, objectively considered, lends itself perfectly to effective action by the Organization, because we in this forum have been unanimous in condemning *apartheid* and

we have also been united in recommending specific action to eliminate this inhuman system.

306. We are compelled, unfortunately, to note that the action undertaken up to now has not produced results. We have therefore to reflect on the means that would be most effective and would ensure that the measures we are called on to take would be fully implemented.

307. We have followed with anxiety the latest developments in southern Africa both within South Africa and in Namibia. A solution to these problems cannot be conceived without due account being taken of the fundamental interests and the inalienable rights of our Namibian and South African brothers, for we firmly believe that there can be no compromise where human dignity is concerned.

308. The question of Namibia and that of *apartheid* are closely linked and they necessarily evolve in parallel. Any progress made in the settlement of one has an impact on the other and can make its solution easier.

309. The survival of the *apartheid* system or its disappearance is the crux of the veritable crisis that southern Africa has so long been suffering. This question should not be studied solely from the point of view of the violation of human rights. That aspect, odious as it is, has already aroused the indignant condemnation of the international community. The question of *apartheid* must also be considered in its political aspect, namely, the aggression, domination and exploitation of the majority of a people by a minority.

310. *Apartheid* is not only a moral problem; it is also a political problem, because a white minority is stubbornly determined to perpetuate its domination over a black majority by recourse to specially tailored legislation and institutions that are aberrant in concept and aim. The civilized world cannot recognize them because they run counter to all the norms of law as unanimously and internationally accepted.

311. It is also an economic problem, because that minority is using force to take possession of and exploit the human and natural resources of the country to the detriment of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. We must then consider the question of *apartheid* in its true context, namely as a question of a colonial enclave founded on racism, the use of brute force and of aggression, oppression and exploitation. Hence, to try to reduce *apartheid* to a question of violation of human rights is tantamount to disregarding the roots of the evil.

312. The United Nations will discharge its full responsibility only by deciding to take account of all the aspects of the problem, when considering and organizing all its action. We believe that the time has come for the United Nations to discharge its full responsibility vis-à-vis the people of South Africa and vis-à-vis a régime that constantly defies the Organization and the principles behind its decisions.

313. The events that have occurred this year in South Africa have reminded the international community of the daily tragedy enacted in South Africa. They reveal the real intentions of Pretoria and they constitute further confirmation of its determination to pursue the policy of *apartheid*. Finally, they are part and parcel of the implacable logic inherent in the *apartheid* system, which cannot survive without repression or aggression.

314. I need only mention as proof the repeated use of a pretence of due process in handing down death sentences against freedom fighters and genuine nationalists whose only fault is to have said "no" to oppression and injustice. This is an abuse of a judicial system that is aimed at concealing designs to which the régime of Pretoria dare not admit. Arbitrary measures are taken every day against opponents of *apartheid*. Banning, house arrest, exile, the displacement of entire populations, illegal imprisonment, torture and murder continue to be the daily lot of those who dare to speak out in favour of freedom and dignity. Political, trade-union and religious leaders are the main targets of those measures. My delegation wishes to reassure those freedom fighters and their liberation movements of our full solidarity with their noble struggle and to assure them that Tunisia will continue to give them full support until a democratic régime can be established in South Africa.

315. No one can be deceived as to the essential significance of what is happening in South Africa. The intensification of the struggle and the victories that have been won must make Pretoria understand that the problem of South Africa cannot find any solution under a settlement that would exclude the liberation movements, such as ANC and PAC from direct and full participation.

316. The Pretoria rulers have only one course open to them, to release the political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, and begin a direct dialogue with the liberation movements with a view to eliminating *apartheid* and establishing a democratic régime in South Africa.

317. But the racists in Pretoria refuse to contemplate such an alternative. They persist with unchanging arrogance in their refusal to comply with the decisions of the Organization. It is high time that the international community reacted in an effective manner by imposing peace in that part of Africa, a lasting peace that would enable the South African people to recover its dignity and to build a multi-racial State founded on freedom, justice and equality.

318. We are convinced that once deprived of the means of pursuing its policy and the support it uses to maintain fearlessly and with impunity its persistent attitude of defiance and arrogance, Mr. Botha's régime could not long resist international pressure and would end by yielding to the legitimate claims of the brotherly South African people. No ideological, economic or strategic consideration should take precedence over the real problem that is facing us.

319. We believe that in the interests of peace and international security the Security Council should not hesitate in the face of Pretoria's arrogance to make use of the provisions of the Charter, in particular those of Chapter VII, to impose on South Africa the binding comprehensive measures that the situation prevailing in South Africa fully justifies and that offer the only means of ensuring a peaceful settlement of the question of *apartheid*.

320. In this regard, it is imperative that the Security Council give thorough consideration to means that could lead to the strict implementation of the resolutions that it has already adopted in this regard, in particular resolution 418 (1977), which imposed an arms embargo against South Africa. That embargo unfortunately has left open loopholes permitting evasions which have enabled South Africa to continue to fuel its war machine and create its own arms arsenal. In so doing, the Organization and the

international community will have given proof of their firm determination once and for all to put an end to the policy of repression, oppression and domination and will finally permit the people of South Africa to exercise its right to self-determination, freedom and justice.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany, Kuwait, Lesotho and the Philippines subsequently informed the Secretariat that

they had intended to vote in favour of draft resolutions A and B; the delegation of Ecuador that it had intended to abstain.

² See A/CONF.107/8, sect. X.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

⁴ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

⁵ See A/CONF.107/8, annex XI.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14167/Add.1.

⁸ See A/CONF.107/8, para. 210.