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**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)**

1. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): It is normal that after 35 years of debate we tend to rely on memory and to reduce *apartheid* to a simple question of human rights to which we pay lip-service and which is devoid of any political implications. But it is abnormal for us to equate *apartheid*, which has been universally rejected and condemned, with other manifestations of injustice, on the pretext perhaps that in a so-called pluralist society we can in good conscience consider that we are free from responsibility, notwithstanding the protestations of the minorities concerned.

2. Justice demands that we admit, despite protestations to the contrary, that no progress has been made that could be thought by any stretch of the imagination to reflect the desire of the international community for the establishment of racial equality, justice, freedom and peace in South Africa. No development has been noted during the past year to that end. The policies of *apartheid* go on, as brutal and implacable as ever, despite the changes announced and complacently retailed by some elements of the press, which have proved to be propaganda manoeuvres.

3. For the political prisoners languishing in Robben Island and other South African gaols, for those condemned to varying degrees of banishment, for the wives and children of workers ousted by the police from the unhealthy outskirts of the large towns where they had hoped to re-establish and regroup their families, for the trade union, student and religious leaders who have fallen victim to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial, for all

those who are exploited and who live on the fringes of the flourishing South African economy, for an entire people that has been deprived of its rights and dignity, the face of *apartheid* has not changed. It is not merely petty, it is inhuman, and is becoming ever more deadly.

4. The racist régime is pursuing its plan of cutting the links between the African majority and the heart of Africa; it intends to proclaim on 4 December the so-called independence of Ciskei, one more bantustan whose independence, like that of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, is a fiction rightly rejected by all Member States.

5. At the same time, Pretoria is building up its repressive military apparatus, and has increased its defence budget by 30 per cent. The avowed aim of the South African military leaders is not only to strengthen the means of internal repression—which they consider to be the first front of their battle—but also to organize a second front in the north-east border zone. But if that is the way the military leaders of the racist régime think, why do they not consider establishing immediately a third front to counter any possible support from neighbouring African countries, and why not a fourth front extending—in order to provide more security—to the South Atlantic? Then the racist fortress of South Africa would be unassailable: with the guarantees provided by certain Western circles, no force—much less an international one—could be victorious on the quadruple front established, contrary to the international consensus, by the racists of the South African régime and their allies.

6. In the face of this organized challenge, we note with interest, as did the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report, the “growing national mobilization of all segments of the oppressed population of South Africa . . . and a significant advance of the armed struggle by the national liberation movement” [see A/36/22 and Corr.1, para. 251]. But however admirable the courage and spirit of sacrifice of the freedom fighters, and even given that those freedom fighters must, in the final analysis, be the main leaders in their own liberation, the success of their struggle and their efforts depends on international solidarity, which must be provided in all fields: political, diplomatic, material and military. No one can claim that only the members of the South African majority should take up the challenge of the racist régime and struggle for its elimination.

7. The solidarity to which the South African people is entitled stems from the scope of its struggle, expressed in the following terms in the Berlin Declaration, adopted at the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid*:

“Freedom in South Africa and Namibia is the last major task to secure the total emancipation of Africa after centuries of humiliation, oppression and exploitation; to ensure the end of the tragic era of colonialism in the world; and to reach a turning point in the efforts

to abolish the crime of racism and racial discrimination.

“The oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia are . . . fighting not only for the freedom of their peoples and nations but for all humanity.” [See A/36/496, annex I.]

This solidarity must also flow from the awareness that only decisive action by the United Nations can prevent what is feared by all the world: the explosion of a war in southern Africa, which would jeopardize not only races, but also ideologies.

8. The extreme measures to which the racist régime could have recourse in order to maintain its domination in the region are no longer in doubt. The raids carried out by elements of the South African army in Zimbabwe and Mozambique against the militants of the African National Congress [ANC]; the repeated acts of aggression against Angola; the illegal occupation of Namibia; the use of that Territory as a base for aggression against neighbouring territories: all this shows how little regard the racist régime has for the fundamental principles of international law regarding respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States.

9. Recently, the commando group of mercenaries which attempted a desperate operation in Seychelles from South Africa and retreated to South Africa after the failure of that attempt, provided additional evidence of the profoundly anti-African nature of the racist régime. As long as that régime persists, South Africa will remain a constant threat to the African countries and favourable ground for the hatching of plots and acts aimed at destabilizing those Governments foolhardy enough to oppose *apartheid*, racism, colonialism and imperialism.

10. The third front we mentioned earlier is no longer a hypothetical one. All the clumsy denials by the Pretoria leaders about the recruitment and training of mercenaries and the facilities provided for their transit from one country to another are of no avail. For South Africa—the coordinator of an operation courageously repulsed by the people's defence forces of Seychelles—these mercenaries are heroes. Who can believe that the South African régime will, in accordance with the demands of the international community, punish those who, so it seems, serve the so-called free world with their exploits in Katanga, Angola, Mozambique and Seychelles?

11. If we are talking of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, it is because it is there that the broadest interests of the international community lie. This means identifying with the will for change of the victims of *apartheid*, and this identification necessarily leads to opposition to anything that could contribute to the consolidation of racist power.

12. In this connection, the policy of persuasion advocated by some—for too long, sadly—to cause the impetuous racist régime to abandon *apartheid* is not objectionable *per se*. It becomes objectionable and is doomed to failure when it is accompanied by an offer of over-zealous co-operation aimed at safeguarding the economic interests of the white minority and at strengthening the military and nuclear capability of the racist régime—strengthening, in a word, its ability to resist international pressure. No policy of persuasion can be credible if it serves as an alibi for Powers concerned with maintaining that the racist régime has a role to play in the strategic consensus based

in our region—for reasons somewhat hard to fathom. Such a conclusion is inevitable when we consider the following: the talks concerning the creation of a South Atlantic alliance; the increase in the number of military attachés sent to Pretoria by certain countries; the visit to South Africa of certain experts in nuclear science; and the acquisition by that country of enriched uranium even though its nuclear programme does not fall under the safeguards of IAEA.

13. Full solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa or unavowed solidarity with the racist régime—that is what divides us; and it is that division which prevents the international community from working effectively to eradicate *apartheid*.

14. For its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, which participates, with Zambia and Swaziland and in co-operation with the United Nations, in the programme to disseminate information on *apartheid*, has already made its choice, and its choice cannot hide behind any screen of realism or pragmatism.

15. My delegation associates itself fully with the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report, as well as with the Paris Declaration adopted at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.<sup>1</sup> Chapter VII of the Charter, to which recourse has already been made to impose a mandatory arms embargo, must be invoked again to take account of the continued defiance of the *apartheid* régime *vis-à-vis* the United Nations.

16. At a time when ANC is preparing to celebrate its seventieth anniversary, we address to it our sincere congratulations in gratitude for its part in the liberation struggle in South Africa and in homage to those militants and groups that have given their lives or their freedom for the elimination of *apartheid*.

17. The Freedom Charter,<sup>2</sup> which guides and inspires the South African fighters, testifies to the legitimacy of their struggle and ensures their inevitable victory over oppression. The task to which we commit the entire international community is that of assisting those freedom fighters to translate into reality the vision of a democratic society contained in that Charter.

18. In conclusion, my delegation would like to join all those that have expressed their gratitude to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, in particular, the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, for placing at the disposal of the Assembly useful information regarding the situation in South Africa. Without doubt the recommendations in the report of the Committee represent an important step in strengthening the struggle against *apartheid*.

19. Mr. SASSI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Organization has been well aware since its inception of the evils of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority régime in South Africa. This issue has been debated at length and many conferences and symposiums have been held on it, all of which have been unanimous in rejecting that invidious racist policy.

20. It is a tragedy that in the twentieth century, in which man has been able to achieve miracles in all fields and to reach the zenith of scientific and technological progress, which he has harnessed for his prosperity and wel-

fare, we should see the African people in South Africa being deprived of its most fundamental rights and subjected to unethical practices that are contrary to the dignity of man. In contemporary history there have never been more odious practices.

21. The Pretoria régime, which was founded on a racist basis through the enactment of legislation that differentiates between the races on the basis of colour and ethnic origin so that the white minority may be able to impose its domination over the African majority in South Africa, challenges the will of the international community and flouts all human values, in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations, which embodies the hopes and aspirations of mankind.

22. What is taking place in southern Africa, namely, the violation of the most fundamental human rights, is a disgrace to mankind. The rights of the African people are violated every day, as is clear to the entire international community. The African people is subjected to practices that include the most odious forms of repression, injustice, persecution and exploitation. Everybody knows that in South Africa the indigenous population comprises more than 75 per cent of the total population and that they live permanently in bantustans covering not more than 13 per cent of the total area of South Africa. At the same time the white colonizers live in an area that exceeds 87 per cent of the land and produces more than 97 per cent of the income.

23. All these inequities have led to the creation of an unnatural situation, in which the Africans have to emigrate in search of work in the mines, farms and factories owned by the whites. The Africans, who are the indigenous population and the rightful owners of the land, are used as cheap labour. They are denied the right to enjoy the resources of the territory. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* clearly reflects the practices through which the white minority exploits the black majority. The white minority enacts unjust laws in order to ensure its own prosperity and to exploit the natural resources and the human energy of the indigenous population of South Africa. It invests those practices with a legal character, in flagrant violation of all the values and principles of mankind.

24. All those present in this Hall are well aware that the racist régime in South Africa is supported by the Western countries, and particularly by the United States Administration, which helps it to continue, while that Administration pays lip-service to civilization and culture, claiming that its legislation meets the maximum requirements of human rights. It also claims that it rejects *apartheid* but in the mean time it does not refrain from supporting the racist régime, even here in the United Nations. Everybody remembers the numerous resolutions aimed at finding ways and means to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* and to ensure recognition of the right to self-determination of the people of southern Africa and Namibia; or those relating to the aggressive acts directed by that régime against the front-line States, particularly Angola. None of those resolutions has been implemented because of the use by the United States Administration of its right of veto.

25. Thus, the United Nations has become a mere on-looker as regards the policy of *apartheid* and the inhuman practices of the racist régime in South Africa against our African brothers. We also observe the provision of aid of all kinds, either directly or through monopolistic corpora-

tions. My delegation indicated in the statement it made on Namibia at the 67th meeting the forms of co-operation that exist between the United States Administration and the racist régime in South Africa in the political, military and economic fields.

26. The United Nations has contributed at length to the denunciation of the odious racist policy of South Africa and to exposing its designs and methods. In this respect, the deliberations in the United Nations on this item took a positive turn during the seventeenth session of the Assembly, when the Special Committee against *Apartheid* was established. The United Nations has succeeded in enlightening public opinion about the odious racist policy of South Africa and has contributed effectively to drawing attention to the just and valiant struggle of the African people in its heroic opposition to and rejection of the unethical practices directed against it. It has taken many initiatives against that policy, among which I wish to cite the initiative leading to the adoption of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* in Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII). During its twenty-ninth session the General Assembly invited the two liberation movements of southern Africa recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to take part with observer status in the deliberations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. At the same session the credentials of South Africa were rejected. This question has been discussed in the Assembly since its thirty-first session.

27. Despite the fact that four years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa in implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter, the Western States, and the United States Administration in particular, have paid no attention whatsoever to the implementation of that resolution, thus showing their intention to increase the volume of their military and strategic exports to the *apartheid* régime. The racist régime in South Africa has recently acquired nuclear weapons, not to mention the accumulation of weapons to be used in its aggression against the people of South Africa and Namibia and against neighbouring countries.

28. As we all know, it has now gone as far as to threaten other African countries. The mercenaries of *apartheid* launched an abortive act of aggression against the sister Republic of Seychelles, and my delegation strongly condemns this wanton act of aggression and calls on the United Nations to deter that régime by the most stringent sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation considers that act to be a grave threat to Africa, as well as to international peace and security.

29. The imposition of an oil embargo against the racist régime in South Africa constitutes, in the view of my delegation, a further step in the area of measures adopted by the United Nations to fight racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. My country, as a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, works closely with the other oil-exporting countries in implementing the resolutions concerning the oil embargo against that régime.

30. The situation in South Africa is characterized today by the escalation of the struggle of the African people, which is achieving victories on both the domestic and the international levels. All countries which cherish peace and this world body must stand by it and provide it with un-

limited support in order to enable it to continue its struggle against the evils of racism. The indigenous people, under the leadership of the national liberation movements, continue valiantly to face the ordeals to which they are subjected, including mass murder, expulsion from their homes, torture and all forms of persecution and repression perpetrated against them by the white minority.

31. The Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, in paragraphs 5 and 6 of its report [A/36/619, annex], has referred to the grave situation prevailing in that area. Today more than ever the international community must stand by the valiant South African people in its struggle to recover, by all lawful means recognized by the international community, including military struggle, the lawful homeland which has been usurped from it. We call on the international community to provide the minimum amount of political and financial support to the national liberation movements, which have been recognized by the OAU, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement.

32. My delegation values the international conferences which have been held in this respect in solidarity with the African people, in particular the Conference held in Paris this year in solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. The final Declarations adopted by that Conference<sup>1</sup> reaffirm the resolve of the international community to reject racism and to continue efforts aimed at its elimination, including the imposition of sanctions, coupled with a condemnation of the investment activities of the capitalist Western countries, and first and foremost the United States of America, that support the racist régime in southern Africa.

33. At a time of unanimity in international public opinion in condemnation of co-operation and collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa, a close and systematic collaboration has been developing between the racist Pretoria régime and the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* stated in its special report on recent developments in the relations between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and occupied Palestine:

“Continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa and its serious implications for the development of South Africa’s military and nuclear capabilities has been a matter of utmost concern to the Special Committee . . . In spite of claims to the contrary, the collaboration has become systematic and covers a wide range of political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural relations.” [A/36/22/Add.1, para. 1.]

34. The similarity and parallelism between the two régimes are quite evident. Both have expelled the indigenous populations from their land. Both have racist foundations and legislation that distinguish between the indigenous population and the immigrants. Both régimes practise a policy of suppression and terrorism against the indigenous populations in an attempt to eradicate their struggle. But they do not stop at this. They even resort to attacking the countries neighbouring them, under the pretext of pursuing the valiant freedom fighters, who are carrying out their struggle there in all honour.

35. The report to which I have referred clearly described all the fields of collaboration, especially nuclear and military, between the racist South African entity and the Zionist entity. This constitutes a grave danger to the African continent, the Arab region and the world as a

whole. The activities of the Zionist entity set forth in paragraph 13 of the report reflect clearly the intentions of the Zionist-racist régime in supporting the *apartheid* régime with a view to destabilizing the security of States supporting the struggle of peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and to rid themselves of the domination of the racist and Zionist régimes.

36. The assistance given by the Zionist entity to the Pretoria régime in the training of insurgents of the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* [UNITA] with the aim of launching an invasion of Angola poses a threat to peace and security in southern Africa and the African continent as a whole.

37. My country’s stance on the policy of *apartheid* is straightforward and clear. I shall confine myself to saying that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has considered the white minority rule in Pretoria to be illegal and illegitimate since the great 1 September revolution. As for the practices of this Fascist régime at the head of *apartheid*, we have spoken of them before and have worked closely with other nations that cherish peace and justice to reawaken the international conscience, in an endeavour to curb those practices, which have been described in United Nations resolutions as crimes against humanity.

38. My country has repeatedly condemned the countries that provide economic and military assistance to the *apartheid* system as well as the other racist régimes, foremost among which is the Zionist régime. We have spoken repeatedly of the need to direct all our energies to eliminating these systems, which were created by Western imperialism, and are replete with all forms of injustice.

39. My country has applied all laws on boycotting the racist régimes. It has also closed its air and sea space to the aircraft and ships of countries that collaborate with the racist régimes, whatever the nationality of those involved.

40. In conclusion, I cannot fail to express on behalf of my delegation our great appreciation of the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and of its Chairman, the representative of Nigeria.

41. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): As I am addressing the Assembly for the first time since the opening of this session, I should like first, Mr. President, to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election and my delegation’s sincere appreciation of the outstanding way in which you are guiding our debates.

42. I should like also to convey well-deserved congratulations to Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, on his own ceaseless efforts and those of his great country to promote the liberation of South Africa and of Namibia. The report of the Special Committee contains eminently relevant and wise recommendations and thus constitutes a particularly valuable document which aids us in analysing the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa.

43. Speaking of southern Africa when he addressed the Assembly on 5 October of this year, the President of the Republic of the Niger, Colonel Seyni Kountché, said in particular, having dealt with Namibia, for which he called for speedy and complete independence within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978):



“But the problem of South Africa will not then automatically be settled, for that country is still the embodiment of racism, intolerance and humiliation. The *apartheid* which rages there is an inhuman practice. No man, no State, no people can rest peacefully as long as that country continues to mete out—and with constantly redoubled force—the brutality, the persecution, the torture, the humiliation, the arbitrary imprisonment and the banishment so long the lot of the black South African majority which pays thus, with courage and self-sacrifice, for its only crime—that of being black and of wishing to be a living and important part of mankind.” [25th meeting, para. 50.]

That judgement is self-evident. I am happy to have this opportunity to recall it within the framework of our consideration of the item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

44. *Apartheid* will be the object of condemnation by the Niger and the international community for as long as it exists in South Africa. This condemnation will not only grow but become increasingly effective in isolating the South African régime, which has already been outlawed by the rest of the world. Only last year the Assembly adopted in succession, each time by a comfortable majority, no fewer than 18 resolutions—35/206 A to R—on the system of *apartheid*, the arrogance and bestiality of its practitioners and its most grotesque manifestations. We called upon the world community and all organizations and Governments that cherish peace and freedom to work together and intensify their action to increase international pressure on the Pretoria régime, in particular by means of a boycott in all areas, but especially in the following areas: political, diplomatic, economic, cultural, military, sports, tourism, nuclear and oil. We called upon them to ensure the suspension and termination of all investments and financial transactions that could help South Africa maintain and increase its ability to resist international pressure.

45. We also called for the immediate release of all political prisoners, such as Nelson Mandela, who are still unjustly languishing in South African gaols, as well as for the general suspension and ending of any future trials or trials already begun under the local repressive laws against the patriots who are fighting for their freedom, for whom the only conceivable legal status is, at most, that of prisoners of war.

46. In order to enlighten international opinion about the true face of *apartheid* and the inhuman conditions under which the South African people are made to live, including the freedom fighters in the country, we have also called upon all Governments, international organizations and influential individuals throughout the world to cooperate actively with the Special Committee and the Centre against *Apartheid*, so as to undertake and ensure the regular production and dissemination of relevant information on *apartheid*.

47. Lastly, we have called for increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and its liberation movements, which need such assistance more and more in order to pursue and intensify their struggle for liberation and the speedy democratization of South African society.

48. It is regrettable that, in spite of all these steps and all these requests, some of which have become enforceable decisions thanks to the relevant Security Council resolutions, South Africa remains unaffected because of the

complicity of many States Members of the Organization. It is prospering to such an extent that it has been able to complement its contemptible policy of *apartheid* by an arrogant policy of colonization and domination in Namibia and acts of aggression, sabotage and subversion against the front-line States, to whose spirit of self-sacrifice and determination to struggle for justice and freedom I wish to pay a tribute. And yet *apartheid* has for a long time now shown itself to be a challenge to the international community and an intolerable affront to the conscience of mankind. Because of its persistence and its various manifestations, it remains to this day one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. The Soweto and Sharpeville massacres and the cowardly assassination of patriots, such as Steve Biko, are still horribly fresh in our memories and hardly a day goes by without unbearable news reaching us of the innumerable and ferocious acts of repression by the racist minority against the black majority in various areas of South Africa. Women, infants, schoolchildren, students, clergymen, trade unionists, journalists, workers and peasants—no one is spared if he is black and has the temerity to aspire to a little respect and dignity.

49. It is therefore not surprising that the clandestine armed struggle is intensifying in the country and that, failing the political sense and intelligence to heed the warning, the racist minority will soon be the target of grenades and bombs, if not other, more spectacular acts of sabotage on a large scale in preparation for a civil war. Such an outcome would, of course, be particularly devastating for South Africa. But who can dare to believe that the survival in one form or another of the system of *apartheid*, supported and maintained by a deceitful policy of bantustanization and economic exploitation to the detriment of the black majority, will make it possible to avoid that outcome? As the Chairman of the Special Committee once stated, the policy of bantustanization is indeed aimed only at strengthening white South African domination over the greater part of South Africa, while confining the black population in so-called States which are in fact nothing but satellites providing South Africa with its own reserves of cheap labour and a dumping ground for the infirm and the elderly.

50. With regard to economic exploitation, it is no longer a secret to anyone that, despite the tremendous natural resources of their country, despite their active and irreplaceable, albeit painful, participation in the exploitation of these resources and despite their professional skill and talents, of which they have given ample proof, the black South Africans have the right in all sectors of the economy to only a ridiculously small and selective share, while remaining the designated, but not resigned, victims of all the ills and vicissitudes affecting the South African economy.

51. The Niger considers that this entire situation is intolerable in the extreme and takes this opportunity to express once again its abhorrence of *apartheid* and its unconditional adherence to the principle of non-discrimination and the equality of the races. We shall again subscribe to any action decided upon here or in the Security Council to compel Pretoria to renounce, abandon and root out *apartheid*. For the manifestation of *apartheid* cannot be attenuated, nor can its substance be modified; it must disappear from the face of the earth.

52. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARKOULI (Cyprus): In reviewing this year's report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* two observations become evident. It has indeed

become abundantly clear that the more the international mobilization against *apartheid* increases and the global consensus and the solidarity with the indigenous population of South Africa in their struggle is strengthened, the more South Africa intensifies its inhuman policies of racial discrimination, segregation, suppression and oppression and the more insensitive and even immune that régime becomes to the demands of the international community.

53. The Organization has since its inception been endlessly debating this agenda item. It has adopted countless resolutions which all embody the strong condemnation by the community of nations of the abhorrent policies of racial segregation of the Government of South Africa. Every year numerous conferences and seminars are organized, resulting in declarations and eloquently written reports containing ample proof of the perpetuation of the crimes of the racists in South Africa and plans of action for the intensification of the struggle against the evil of *apartheid*.

54. This struggle is not an isolated one; it is not even the privilege of one nation or one continent or group of nations. It is an international struggle for the eradication of the doctrine and practices of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, the existence of which constitutes an affront to the Organization and humanity as a whole. This is because the cause of human dignity, of man's fundamental rights, is a common responsibility that we must all assume, regardless of our country, colour, religion or language.

55. To this ever-growing international struggle, condemnation and indignation, the South African régime shamefully responds with complete disregard and insensitivity. The inhuman policies of oppression, exploitation, segregation and discrimination continue unabated. Majority rule is constantly denied to the indigenous population of South Africa and their most fundamental rights and freedoms are being violated.

56. It has now become unanimously accepted that *apartheid* is not a solely moral problem. The racist régime of Pretoria has formulated and institutionalized the doctrine of *apartheid* in order to impose on the majority of South Africans living conditions calculated to result in isolating them and preventing them from participating in the political, social and cultural life of their country. The evil system of *apartheid* is intended to perpetuate the denial to the majority of the enjoyment of its inalienable right to exercise power. The vast majority of the nations of the world have identified themselves with the oppressed people of South Africa and joined with them in their relentless struggle to rid South Africa of racism, oppression, exploitation and plunder. The international struggle has been intensified over the years, yet the racist minority régime continues to thrive and flourish and the majority inhabitants continue to be the victims of brutal repression, oppression and exploitation.

57. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* provides substantive information concerning the increased repression by the South African régime of the indigenous majority and the opponents of the system. At this point we wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Special Committee for its tireless efforts and its extremely commendable work in reviewing all aspects of the policies of *apartheid* and their international repercussions and in promoting the widest possible dissemination of information on the crimes of *apartheid* and the just

struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The countless activities of the Special Committee during the current year provide ample proof in this respect.

58. During the past year the *apartheid* régime has further intensified its repression and has caused untold misery to millions of South Africans. Women, children, students, workers—that is, all segments of the African population—are daily victims of exploitation and repression. Thousands of political prisoners suffer inhuman torture and maltreatment and death sentences continue to be imposed on freedom fighters. The Pretoria régime continues, further, to seek through the policy of bantustanization to deprive the African majority of its citizenship in its own country. In a few days it intends to proclaim the sham so-called independence of Ciskei, thereby purporting to deprive 5 million more Africans of their South African citizenship, uproot them from their homes and transfer them forcibly to isolated densely populated areas, with the aim of altering the demographic structure of the country and producing its artificial dismemberment, which is designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and perpetuate white minority domination.

59. Moreover, the racist régime continues to escalate its acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent neighbouring African States, thereby constantly breaching international peace and security. All these repeated acts of repression, oppression and aggression add to the indeed unparalleled record of defiance by the Pretoria régime of the decisions of the Organization and the will of the international community. It has therefore become imperative and unquestionably urgent for all nations to intensify and co-ordinate their actions to promote the complete isolation of the South African régime, in order to compel it to comply with the decisions of the Organization, thereby averting wider conflict and further danger to international peace and security.

60. The United Nations has the primary responsibility not only to see that its fundamental objectives and purposes are not challenged and its principles are not grossly violated anywhere whatsoever, but also to ensure the implementation of its own decisions, for, as my delegation has repeatedly stated on many occasions, the non-implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations is the root cause of the perpetuation of all unsolved and proliferating international problems, a fact which adds to the escalation of already explosive situations not only in the southern African region but also in other parts of the world, with unforeseeable consequences and to the detriment of international peace and security.

61. The Government and the people of Cyprus have, since the independence of the country in 1960, joined the international struggle for the eradication of the crime of *apartheid* in South Africa and have constantly and wholeheartedly given their support to the oppressed people of that country in their struggle for the achievement of their long-awaited liberation and self-determination. Cyprus maintains no relations whatsoever with the racist régime of South Africa and in fact the Government of Cyprus has, since its independence, imposed sanctions against that country. The Government of Cyprus condemns in the strongest terms the policy of bantustanization and the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against independent neighbouring African States. A most recent example was the attempted *coup d'état* against the Government of Seychelles, which we strongly condemn. Although the information available is not yet

complete, there is ample proof that it originated in South Africa as part of the latter's overall destabilizing policy.

62. All Member States have special obligations under the Charter and to humanity at large to do their utmost to implement the United Nations resolutions and exert the strongest possible pressure on South Africa in order to force it to accede to the just demands of the oppressed majority and indeed of the entire international community. It has become urgent and imperative that concerted efforts to ensure the total isolation of the racist régime be increased, especially by supplementing the arms embargo by comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

63. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris earlier this year, amply demonstrated the overwhelming global consensus for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Appeals to reason alone have so far proved ineffective. The enforcement of sanctions against Pretoria provides the only peaceful action that will inevitably compel that régime to put an end to its abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and that will bring about the final liberation of Africa from racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation.

64. I find no better words to express most perfectly the determination and commitment of the international community concerning the eradication of *apartheid* than those of Winnie Mandela, the wife of the well-known leader in the struggle to free his country, Nelson Mandela, who is among the thousands of political prisoners in South Africa. Winnie Mandela said: "We are aware that the road before us is uphill, but we shall fight to the bitter end for justice." This is also the global commitment, because history has shown that the struggle of peoples that fight for a just cause, for their freedom and human dignity, always leads, however long it takes, to their liberation. The march of history is never reversed and the struggle of peoples against *apartheid* and injustice will inevitably succeed.

65. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Each year for many years past the Assembly has been required to consider the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. It is essential, therefore, that we should not allow our consideration of this important item to degenerate into a matter of routine. For the issues at stake involve basic principles of the Charter and have consequences which extend far beyond the confines of South Africa itself.

66. In the first place, the *apartheid* system violates the human rights of the great majority of the people of South Africa in ways which are abhorrent to men and women everywhere. The Preamble to the Charter affirms the faith of the peoples of the United Nations in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Article 1, paragraph 3, and Article 55 of the Charter call for international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. These basic provisions of the Charter are violated daily in South Africa.

67. The Australian Government has repeatedly affirmed, within the Assembly and outside it, its strong and continuing opposition to *apartheid* and to all of its repugnant manifestations as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne in September/October declared in the final communiqué "their total rejection of all

policies designed to perpetuate this inhuman system" and further recognized "that it was the solemn and urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of *apartheid* by the adoption of effective measures against it and to assist those struggling to rid themselves of it" [A/36/587, annex, para. 12].

68. The effects of *apartheid*, oppressive as they are for the people of South Africa, are also felt far beyond its borders, where they threaten the stability of the region. Examining the unsolved problems of southern Africa at large, the Commonwealth heads of Government stressed in the Melbourne communiqué that "at the core of these problems is the *apartheid* system which the white minority régime in South Africa continues to sustain and strengthen in a variety of ways, including the brutal internal repression of the African majority, the persistent refusal to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions providing for Namibia's long-delayed independence, the pursuit of policies of destabilization against neighbouring States, the repeated threats to and violations of their territorial integrity and the expansion of South Africa's military capability" [*ibid.*, para. 11]. The Commonwealth heads of Government called accordingly on the international community to strengthen its collective resolve to eradicate *apartheid*.

69. The Australian Government has heard the promises of reform that have been made by the South African Government over recent years. We have not, however, as yet seen any tangible evidence that these promises have been carried out in any substantive way. We have noted the efforts of some group within South African society—and I speak now of groups within the minority race to work for the cause of justice and equality on behalf of their fellow citizens. We commend their efforts and urge them to continue. We also commend the independence of spirit of white South Africans who advocate, for example, the integration of the system of education within South Africa so that South African children of all ethnic groups can have equal opportunity to make the most of their lives. Confronted by the evidence that some groups in the ruling minority are prepared to break down the barriers of discrimination, it is more discouraging than ever to see the South African Government reject recommendations for reform and criticize those who have demonstrated that they no longer wish the areas in which they live to be decided on the basis of *apartheid*.

70. What I have said before should leave no doubt that the opposition of the Australian Government and people to the policies of *apartheid* is absolute. We find those policies repugnant. We shall continue to argue against them, no matter what the forum, as our Prime Minister has been doing for many years.

71. At the beginning of this statement I said that this debate should not be an occasion for annual expressions of rhetoric; rather, we should be looking for formulations which attract universal support. The Government of South Africa has shown itself to be very adept at misinterpreting expressions of opinion by this world body by pointing to expressions of reservation by some delegations. Let us on this occasion seek language in the draft resolutions we submit which will attract universal support and at the same time leave the Government of South Africa in no doubt that it is pursuing policies which are condemned by the Members of the Organization. On a matter as important as this it should be possible to have the present series of draft resolutions adopted by consensus. Let us therefore seek forms of words which can be universally sup-

ported and which make our message both to the Government of South Africa and to the oppressed people in that country loud and clear. References commending armed struggle, references to the appropriateness of continued links with the Pretoria régime or to the purported errors of others in support of Pretoria do nothing to enhance our deliberations. Let us not give the Government of South Africa the comfort of resolutions which fall short of unanimity. The policies of *apartheid* are so obnoxious, so abhorrent, so unacceptable and so morally wrong that we owe it to those who live under that oppression to state our opposition with a clear and single voice.

72. The policies of *apartheid* are, in the view of the Australian Government, a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. If the Assembly chooses formulations to which we cannot give our unqualified support, let no one be in any doubt about our position. Our exclusive concern is to eliminate the injustices which are inherent in the system of *apartheid*. We are, and we shall remain, totally committed to that cause.

73. Mr. HANSPAL (India): The question of the policies of *apartheid* of the white minority régime of South Africa is still the central issue facing the General Assembly, even after decades of discussions in various forums aimed at eliminating that pernicious evil. The crime of *apartheid* is now the concern not only of the oppressed people of South Africa but of the entire international community, because it poses a danger to international peace and security.

74. Only about a week ago India had occasion once again to reiterate its full support for the people of South Africa in their heroic struggle against the evil system of *apartheid*. Speaking at a banquet given in honour of Mr. A. Milton Obote, President of the Republic of Uganda, who was on a state visit to India, the President of India, Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, said:

"In southern Africa, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues with its policy of institutionalized discrimination against its citizens on the basis of colour and race. India supports the African National Congress and other liberation movements in their heroic and valiant fight against this inhuman and abhorrent system. They have our full sympathy and support in their efforts to dismantle *apartheid*. The racist South African régime continues to defy world opinion in its attempts to destabilize neighbouring front-line States. We condemn these efforts on the part of South Africa and commend the Governments and peoples of the front-line States for their steadfastness in resisting aggression."

75. Indeed, India's total commitment to the eradication of the barbarous system of *apartheid* from our civilized world, and its moral and material support for and solidarity with the black majority of South Africa in its hour of trial and tribulation, have been stated by its leaders in no uncertain terms in national and international forums on several occasions in the past. What is more, the Indian Parliament, only a few months ago, unanimously adopted a bill which seeks to give effect to the provisions of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, which was adopted by the General Assembly in November 1973. India became a party to that Convention in October 1977. India is one of the very few countries in the world to have taken such action, which truly reflects the feelings of the people of India against this blot on the conscience of humanity.

76. India's sympathy and support for the valiant people of South Africa flow from a shared experience of domination and colonial exploitation. It is hardly necessary for me to restate the historical fact that the father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose dynamic leadership the people of India attained their independence, first raised the banner of revolt against injustice and oppression not in India, but in South Africa, where he tested and sharpened the weapon of mass civil disobedience which he later effectively wielded against the British rulers in India.

77. Mahatma Gandhi's political heir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, once described the abhorrent system of *apartheid* as the greatest international immorality for a nation to indulge in. During the period when he was free India's first Prime Minister the General Assembly took up its consideration of racism in South Africa for the first time at the request of the Government of India. During this time the Government of India imposed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. This was before any other country had even considered racism to be an issue deserving to be protested against. In October 1946 the General Assembly was convened in New York for the first time. Here India introduced the issue of the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa. During that session the General Assembly, at India's instance, adopted resolution 103 (I) declaring that "it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to . . . racial persecution and discrimination". In 1952 India, along with 12 other States Members of the United Nations, raised the general question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa. In 1962 a draft resolution was moved by 34 Member States, including India, deploring the failure of the South African Government to comply with the United Nations resolutions, and was adopted as resolution 1761 (XVII). It is, therefore, no wonder that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was posthumously honoured during the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year in 1978 for his outstanding contribution to the international campaign against *apartheid*.

78. The illustrious daughter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is leading our nation so ably today, recently called upon those Western Powers which support the Pretoria régime to give up that support and instead to uphold the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations pertaining to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Indeed, it is an irony of our times that some of these affluent industrialized nations which proclaim their support for the cause of human rights, equality and justice in other parts of the world continue to collaborate with the racist régime of South Africa in various fields, thereby not only giving a new lease of life to that régime but also adding to its might. Such collaboration not only emboldens the racist rulers of South Africa to trample on the human rights and dignity of the black majority in that country, but also gives them the temerity to flout the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations demanding that the régime cease forthwith its heinous crimes against humanity.

79. I must emphasize that it is not the resolutions which are adopted in this house year after year but a sincere change of heart on the part of the countries which collaborate with South Africa in diverse fields that is needed if we are to succeed not only in eradicating the scourge of *apartheid* from the face of our earth, but also in ushering in majority rule in South Africa before long.



80. A month from now ANC will observe the seventieth anniversary of its establishment. On this historic occasion, on behalf of my delegation, I send our greetings and good wishes to the President of ANC, Mr. Oliver Tambo, and to his numerous comrades in arms, both within and outside South Africa, for the successful culmination of their relentless struggle against the Fascist régime of South Africa. On this occasion we also greet the valiant freedom fighters of South Africa who are suffering long and barbarous prison sentences at the hands of the illegal white minority régime. Our sympathy goes to the kith and kin of the martyrs who have laid down their precious lives in the cause of freedom and human dignity in that unfortunate country.

81. It is impossible for any country, however powerful, by itself or aided and abetted by its affluent friends and allies, to stem the tide of history. The brave and courageous people of South Africa are on the march. It is only a matter of time before they finally achieve their objective of the elimination of the evil of *apartheid* and the exercise of their inalienable rights, including the establishment of majority rule. The people of India will continue to identify themselves fully with the people of South Africa in their hopes and aspirations and in their sacrifice and suffering. We look forward to rejoicing with them before long in their hour of glory.

82. I should like to conclude by quoting my Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi:

“A struggle for freedom can be suppressed, its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated, but the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out. Some spark will persist to burst into flame somewhere, some time, to light the way and illumine the heart and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior. No matter what laws South Africa devises for itself, history cannot be denied nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted”.

83. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

84. The members of the Community have repeatedly stated, both here at the United Nations and elsewhere, their condemnation of *apartheid*, their unequivocal rejection of it as an unacceptable system and their desire to see the *apartheid* system replaced by a Government based on a truly representative system of government. *Apartheid* is a fundamental denial of human rights that imposes enormous sacrifices on the majority of the South African population in the political and economic interests of the minority. Most recently the Governments of the 10 member States reaffirmed their positions during the general debate earlier in the present session. They condemn discrimination, injustice and the imposition of the rule of a minority on an unwilling majority wherever they occur. South Africa is unique because the South African system as it stands today is founded on a basis of institutionalized racial discrimination. It is this that attracts the volume of international condemnation and makes *apartheid* a major preoccupation of the United Nations.

85. In his statement on *apartheid*, at the 61st meeting of the thirty-fifth session, the representative of Luxembourg, on behalf of the member States of the European Community, expressed our hope that certain measures adopted or announced by the South African authorities might indicate a new awareness and the beginning of the abandonment of

*apartheid*. Since last year certain measures, particularly in the field of labour relations, have been introduced. Although these are welcome, so far they have failed to create the hoped-for momentum for the liberalization and dismantling of *apartheid*. In our statement last year we made it clear, and we reaffirm, that in our view the entire system of *apartheid* must be eliminated, not simply modified, and must give way to a Government based on truly representative democracy.

86. At the same time, the practice of banning and detaining people in South Africa for indefinite periods without charge or trial for their political opposition to the *apartheid* system has continued and, if anything, increased. The application of *apartheid* legislation by arbitrary means, the frequency of political trials and the number of political prisoners bear witness to a systematic oppression of those who are trying to build a just and equitable society. We reiterate our demand that the South African Government free immediately and unconditionally all those imprisoned because of their political beliefs.

87. The policy of separate development has continued to be enforced by the compulsory movement from one part of the country to another of large numbers of people against their will and without regard to their interests and wishes. The process of creating so-called independent homelands is continuing. The South African Government has announced the creation of another of these, the Ciskei, on 4 December. The members of the Community have repeatedly condemned this policy and have not recognized any of the bantustans.

88. The Community acknowledges the importance of economic factors in the context of intensifying pressure to promote peaceful change in South Africa. Furthermore, European companies there have continued to respond in an encouraging way to the standards set by the code of conduct adopted by the members of the European Community in 1977.<sup>3</sup> The members of the community will continue to consider ways and means that they might use in common in order to exert influence on the South African Government to abandon *apartheid*.

89. The United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*. The Community shares this objective of the Organization. In particular it strictly observes the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). The Community continues to support and contribute to the many United Nations and other organizations which help those who suffer both inside and outside South Africa as a result of *apartheid*. The European Community and member countries have also indicated their readiness to contribute to efforts designed by the States neighbouring South Africa to strengthen their regional co-ordination and self-sufficiency in the economic sphere, as for example the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

90. In the field of sport, the members adhere strictly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination; they reject all kinds of *apartheid* as manifested in sport. They respect the right of their citizens to travel freely and the basic independence of their sporting organizations. But within this limitation, the Governments of the member countries of the Community will continue firmly to discourage any sporting contacts that would have the effect of perpetuating racial discrimination.

91. In conclusion, the Community considers that, without an early move towards government by consent and the abandonment of the system of *apartheid*, the prospects for a peaceful evolution in South Africa will disappear. It is progress in that direction that the Community earnestly wishes to encourage.

92. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): Only a few days ago we were dealing with the question of Namibia here in this body. The central issue of that question, as of the question of *apartheid*, was the abnormal and illegal policies and practices of South Africa. And in both of these related questions, what we are trying to do is find the ways and means to make South Africa realize the absolute wrongness and futility of its policies and actions.

93. The problem of *apartheid* in South Africa, which has engaged the international community for over 35 years now, is certainly one of the most important and tragic issues with which we are confronted. The question is important because what is at stake is the dignity and prestige of mankind and the moral values of the contemporary international community, as well as the violation of basic human rights as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The question is also of an urgent nature because a more determined response from the whole of the international community should no longer be delayed.

94. Despite continuous appeals and demands by the international community in this respect, South Africa has remained stubbornly and defiantly undeterred. It has continued to resort to massive repression and persecution of the opponents of *apartheid* and the indigenous population of South Africa through the enactment of new and arbitrary legislation such as internal security acts. It has banned numerous organizations and imposed new restrictions on the press. The various races have continued to be artificially separated through a network of legislation which has denied the vast majority their basic human rights and the rule of law. The Pretoria régime has continuously uprooted large numbers of people from their homes.

95. Furthermore, the implications of South Africa's policy of *apartheid* have not remained confined to South Africa alone but have always overflowed its boundaries. During the year under review, South Africa has continued its occupation of Namibia. It has resorted to the militarization of the Territory and has increased its acts of aggression against neighbouring front-line countries such as Zambia, Botswana and, most recently, Mozambique and Angola, not only causing human loss and material damage, but also widening the area of conflict in southern Africa.

96. I do not think it a great prophecy to say that the present régime in South Africa cannot continue to sit for long at the tip of the great continent of Africa with its back turned to the tremendous developments taking place there. It cannot keep its eyes closed for ever to the dynamism and achievements of this truly new world, with its vast natural and human resources and many inspired leaders. South Africa is bound to realize, one way or the other, that the strands of colonialism to which it is clinging belong to a long-past era. It will one day have to see the discrepancy between its short-sighted beliefs and the reality of a world several centuries ahead.

97. But the experiences of the past years have clearly shown that political pressure by way of negotiations, dialogues and action taken within the framework of the

United Nations have not proved effective enough to bring the Pretoria régime to see reason. Therefore, as time goes on, we are more and more convinced that it is only through the threat of concrete measures to be taken decisively by the international community against South Africa that the present distressing trend can be reversed.

98. We consider Security Council resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter to be a landmark in regard to the readiness of the international community to combine concrete action with political pressure against the Pretoria régime. We welcome Security Council resolution 473 (1980), which calls upon all States to implement resolution 418 (1977) strictly and scrupulously, as well as to enact appropriate and effective national legislation for that purpose.

99. However, the attitude of South Africa so far makes it quite clear that the pressure on it should be increased. Therefore, we should like to reiterate the conviction we have expressed in the General Assembly on several previous occasions that the arms embargo should be complemented by further measures such as economic sanctions, also provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. This would require the determined participation of all the Members of the Organization. Any Member with any hesitation in this respect should, we believe, take into consideration the fact that the alternative to the application of peaceful measures foreseen by the Charter is the escalation of the violence and conflict in southern Africa, with the ultimate overthrow of the racist policies of Pretoria. Account should also be taken of the unanimous and deep concern felt by the Members of the Organization in general, and African States in particular, as well as the fact that even South Africa cannot place the responsibility for the inflexibility of its policies and the consequent worsening of the situation on anyone else but itself.

100. Moreover, a very dangerous dimension has been added to this situation by the alarming evidence, mentioned also in previous documents, of the development of a nuclear-weapon capability in South Africa. This development has the gravest implications for the peace and security of southern Africa and of the world. Every effort should be made to achieve the denuclearization of Africa and the ending of such nuclear co-operation with South Africa and to ascertain that effective and proper safeguards are taken to prevent irreversible tragedies.

101. I wish to underline the importance, along with concrete action to be taken against South Africa, of public information and the role of the mass media in encouraging international awareness and action. I am pleased to note that the momentum created in the mobilization against *apartheid* at both the national and the international levels during the International Anti-Apartheid Year will be continued next year, which is to be proclaimed as the international year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. In this respect, I should like to thank, and commend the work of, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and especially its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, in the discharge of the mandate given to the Committee for the promotion of the international campaign against *apartheid*. I should also like to commend the key role played by the Centre against *Apartheid* in the co-ordination of international efforts in this respect.

102. The Turkish Government's traditional attitude towards the issues of southern Africa and decolonization is based upon the very principles on which modern Turkey

was built, following the first victorious struggle for national independence in the twentieth century. As my delegation has also stated, in the debate concerning Namibia, Turkey does not entertain any kind of relations with the Pretoria régime, either in the diplomatic and consular or in the economic, commercial or military fields. Turkey is pleased to contribute, albeit in modest terms, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*, as a sign of its solidarity with these people.

103. In conclusion, I should like to state that the Turkish Government will continue to lend its full support to all measures designed to put an end to the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and to support all efforts aimed at promoting a new society in South Africa based on democratic principles, irrespective of race, colour or creed and in compliance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

104. Mr. DORR (Ireland): Once again the Assembly is engaged in its annual debate on *apartheid*. Delegation after delegation, we come to this rostrum to condemn the system, as we have done year after year. Our debate, it may seem, has taken on almost the character of a ritual. There is no significant change in the reality of the system we condemn. It is difficult to find anything to say about it that we have not said many times before. Yet the great majority of delegations feel it necessary to restate their positions and to speak out again, year after year.

105. Are we right to do so, so massively and insistently? After all, few of us who come to this rostrum are without difficulties of some kind in our own countries, and all of us know, to our regret, that inhumanity and disregard for human rights are widespread in our world. Why, then, do we focus so insistently on South Africa? Critics of the United Nations say flatly that we are wrong to do so. They argue that our indignation is selective. It is not that they condone the *apartheid* system, but that they see it as one among many abuses of human rights in a world where abuses are common, and they cannot see why the Assembly should engage in repeated and concentrated attacks on South Africa if it does not, in their eyes, take up other abuses elsewhere with equal insistence.

106. What those critics do not see and what we need to state and restate clearly here is that the *apartheid* system is not simply one violation among others to be weighed against those others in purely quantitative terms. South Africa under *apartheid* is something more than a society where human rights are systematically violated. It is a polity based formally and explicitly on race, and thus a racist society in the strict sense. It is a society where skin pigment is destiny, where colour alone determines basic rights, in most cases from birth but occasionally through the traumatic procedure of examination and reclassification.

107. It is this central aspect of the *apartheid* system—the adoption of race and racist theory as a fundamental political principle for a whole society of 28 million—which distinguishes it from any other human rights violation elsewhere. It is this which explains the strength of feeling in countries such as mine against *apartheid*, and it is this which justifies the insistent and sustained concern of the world community, however imperfect its efforts at upholding human rights everywhere may still be.

108. South Africa today is unique. But once before in the lifetime of many here an effort was made to institutionalize racialism and make it the organizing principle of society. A world which has lived through that experience must instinctively recoil from any new effort to base social and political life on racial theories, however different the situation may be in other respects.

109. That is the reason why, in a very fundamental sense, this Organization, which was created out of a world catastrophe and which reflects today a multiracial world, is following its best instincts in condemning *apartheid* repeatedly and insistently. The record in upholding human rights throughout the world is indeed imperfect, and we are at times selective and even unfair, but not in picking on *apartheid*. There our instinct is right and true. What we need to state again and again is that *apartheid* does more than violate human rights; it is a conceptual challenge to the very basis for such rights. To build a whole society, as white South Africa has done, on the fundamental principle that rights depend on race is to contravert the very starting-point of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To provide by law and by decree that the political, social, economic and civil rights of an individual in his own country are decided by skin colour is to challenge a fundamental premise which the international community has worked for more than 30 years to establish and which has roots very far back in human civilization. The opening sentence of the preamble to the Declaration speaks of “the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family”. The first sentence of the very first article of the Declaration states the same theme explicitly, as the premise for all that follows: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”. It is this fundamental principle which South Africa contravenes in the most direct and basic way through the *apartheid* system.

110. The international community knows this—instinctively if not explicitly—and it does right, however repetitively, to renew and restate its rejection of that system. A world of many races rightly feels the danger of pitting race against race within any country and allocating basic rights by skin colour. A world community which is itself for the most part non-white cannot but take a political system which enshrines white supremacy and excludes and oppresses those who are not white as an outrage and a direct challenge to racial harmony everywhere. The challenge is all the greater because of the coincidence that the *apartheid* system has grown and developed in parallel with international efforts over 30 years to work out human rights principles and to ensure that they are universally accepted and observed. We need, perhaps, to remind ourselves of this coincidence and to remind ourselves that the *apartheid* system is new. It was not simply inherited; rather, it has been created of set purpose and developed steadily over the past 30 years.

111. Many societies unfortunately have a tradition of discrimination of one kind or another. Deplorable as this is, it is usually an old and stubborn practice which has not yet died out. But this is not the case in South Africa. *Apartheid* as a system was indeed built on traditional practices of racial segregation or discrimination which obtained in many parts of the Union. But as a formal system designed to structure a whole society through law and decree *apartheid* is quite new. It was introduced only in 1948, when the Nationalist Party won the election held for the white electorate. That was the very year in which the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which *apartheid* is the exact antithesis.

Over the years since then each system has developed in a strange parallel, one the direct opposite of the other. For 30 years the world community as a whole, however imperfectly, has worked towards a better definition and wider acceptance of human rights principles based on human equality. White South Africa over the same period has worked to develop and elaborate the labyrinthine details of the *apartheid* system as if to affront and challenge the principles which humanity as a whole was gradually coming to accept and uphold.

112. But, it may be argued, to characterize South Africa as racist is unfair: race as a basis for political life, yes, and racial separation as an aim—but racism and racialism, no. Let us briefly consider the facts.

113. The white population of South Africa is about 16 per cent of the total—4.5 million out of 28 million, according to a 1980 estimate. This minority controls the whole society, and has imposed on it a rigid and oppressive system of government to establish and maintain its own dominant position. No non-white person has ever had any voice in determining this system, under which all must live, nor has any member of the 84 per cent majority in the country today a vote or the right to stand for election. Article 46 of the 1961 Constitution was clear, and the principle still stands—“no person shall be qualified to be a member of the House of Assembly under this act unless he is . . . a white person”.

114. Blacks are not only barred from voting and from being elected to Parliament. Ever since multiracial parties were banned in 1968, blacks may not even join a political party along with whites in the hope of influencing, even indirectly, those who alone have a monopoly of political rights and privileges.

115. *Apartheid* has woven a web of institutionalized discrimination which determines almost every aspect of daily life. This is always to the disadvantage of the black African majority; and recent changes in the system, though welcome in their way, are relatively minor. Marriage and sexual relations between persons of different races are crimes punished by law. Freedom of movement within South Africa is severely limited. A recent report on South Africa by an American study commission quotes a legal expert as follows: “In general the African requires some form of authority or permission for any journey of consequence within the Union. The law of the land regards him as having true freedom of movement only within the circumscribed limits of his own immediate domicile”. The study goes on: “A web of statutes and regulations confines rural Africans to their tribal homelands and releases them only in the interests of white agriculture and industry”.

116. Since 1948 some 4 million Africans have been transferred elsewhere to secure racial separation. Another 1 million at least are marked down for so-called resettlement. Of the total South African work force of 9.4 million, 80 per cent are non-white, and some 70 per cent are black. South Africa's steady growth rate through most of this century was achieved by the use of cheap black labour. The study to which I referred puts it succinctly: “South Africa runs on black labour”. Yet black Africans are at an economic disadvantage in every respect. Black African per capita income in the mid-1970s was about one-tenth that of whites. Whites are wealthier, have better jobs and live longer than any other group in South Africa.

117. Education for Africans is greatly inferior to that for whites, and the facilities for blacks are poor. In 1978-1979 total Government expenditure on education was about \$940 for each white child, \$290 for each Coloured child and \$90 for each black child. The same pattern exists in higher education. A white child today has a 100 times greater chance of graduating than a black child. In 1979 there were 80,000 white students and 7,000 black students enrolled in universities on a full-time basis. The proportion is over 11 to 1 in favour of whites. In 1978, out of 6,000 medical students in all of South Africa, more than 5,000 were white. Only 306 were black.

118. One could go on and on with these statistics. What they amount to is a picture of a society where a small but dominant racial group monopolizes political and economic power; where traditional practices of discrimination have been consolidated and systematized over the past 30 years; and where a vast and complex bureaucratic system of discrimination has been instituted to maintain control. It is a society where race is destiny; where government by one racial group in its own interest is imposed, and the consent of the governed has never been sought; where inequality and disadvantage are not incidental but central to every aspect of human life.

119. Two arguments are nevertheless put forward in response to international criticism and condemnation of this system. The first is that the underlying aim is the promotion of racial separation and separate development, and that this is not of its nature wrong or unjust but rather is well suited to the particular circumstances of South Africa today. The second argument, heard increasingly over the past year, is that slow reform is now under way, and that in any case white South Africa must be encouraged to give up its untenable position in Namibia by a constructive dialogue which involves easing off on international criticism of the *apartheid* system itself. These two arguments deserve to be considered.

120. First, can white South Africa really say that its fundamental aim is merely separation and separate development and not racial discrimination? It does indeed pursue a homelands policy—though it seems to do so with decreasing conviction. Still, another so-called homeland—Ciskei—is shortly to be given what is called independence. It will join three others—Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana—which already have that doubtful status, a status which no one but South Africa itself has recognized, or will recognize.

121. These territories, of which 10 in all are planned, are, in the view of white South Africa, truly the homelands of millions of urban blacks—even though those concerned may never have seen those territories. In those areas, if and when they are ever transferred to them, the urban blacks will, it is argued, enjoy many rights. It follows through a wonderful logic that it is not unfair or unjust to deprive those millions of people of all rights now, in those places where they really live, simply because one day they may have full rights in remote areas where white South Africa proposes to send them.

122. The theory is very convenient. It offers the perfect conceptual underpinning for *apartheid*. But the logic and the approach are truly breathtaking. It amounts to saying that wherever reality does not conform to ideology one need only suppose a future change in that reality, with no regard for the human cost. All will then be well again. Actions which now seem oppressive will thus be justified and given a rational basis.



123. Thus, for example, if only 16 per cent of the present population of South Africa is white and the proportion is dwindling, there is no real cause for alarm. It is necessary only to make a wish which an all-white Parliament can quickly pass into law. The majority of the black population, whether they like it or not, will then disappear from the ideological map. They will cease to be South Africans and become at a stroke citizens of a distant homeland with which they may have only a slight connection. Nothing need change at once, of course. But now discrimination can be justified, since these so-called former South Africans have at a stroke become aliens living out of their homeland. So, *apartheid*, it is argued, is no more than separation and separate development.

124. But, of course, the reality does not change. What is that reality? What are the homelands? They comprise some 13 per cent of the total land area of South Africa. The black population of South Africa is about 72 per cent. Only one small homeland has a single self-contained territory. Each of the others consists of scattered and fragmented pieces of land, so that the bits of a homeland vary greatly in size and are usually separated from each other by large tracts of South Africa itself.

125. The land in those territories is for the most part poor and rather barren. The homelands include very little of South Africa's abundant natural resources. In general, their population is already relatively dense—much denser than the average of the rest of South Africa. Of course, if all those theoretically assigned to homelands were to return there the density would be even greater.

126. These facts—with the additional fact that Coloureds, for example, suffer discrimination even though they have no theoretical homelands—and all of the other stark facts about the reality of life for black South Africans, clearly refute the theory that *apartheid* in its intention is a benign system of separation of racial groups. It is hard to see how even white South Africa can by now believe otherwise.

127. But a second argument advanced recently is that the South African Government today is engaged in a process of gradual reform, and should not be pressed too hard while this is under way. Furthermore, it is said, to ease off now on international criticism of *apartheid* would be of help in the effort to persuade South Africa to accept Namibia's independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This argument, too, deserves some consideration. But is there any clear evidence that it is soundly based?

128. In weighing the general intentions and the motives of the South African Government one simply cannot overlook the increased belligerence it has shown in large-scale strikes across its own borders and those it controls, such as its recent strike from Namibia into Angola some months ago. These armed incursions, in our view, seriously endanger international peace and security and show little regard for international opinion or for the dangers of more general war in the region.

129. But, it is said, there have been some reforms within South Africa itself. Certainly reform of any kind should be encouraged if such a process is really under way. But changes must be more than merely cosmetic changes designed to consolidate the system and to fob off international pressures. The evidence so far is not convincing. I quote from an article on South Africa in the very latest issue of the American journal *Foreign Affairs*,

which assesses the present position. The author first acknowledges that there have been some changes. But he goes on:

“There is no evidence to suggest that fundamental change in racial ideology has influenced the Government . . . The recent changes must be set against the cold realities of the *apartheid* system, whose strength, durability and ideology are manifest in hundreds of different laws, enforced in thousands of different ways. Housing, schools, hospitals and most forms of transport are strictly segregated. Controls over the whereabouts of black labour, recently tightened by greatly increased fines on employers who use or harbour unregistered workers and their dependants, continue to dominate black lives and wreck black families . . . Dissent is crushed with an iron hand, sex and marriage across the colour line remain criminal acts and government spending continues to be grossly discriminatory.”

That is, of course, only one view. But it is a recent one from a correspondent who covered the election campaign in South Africa earlier this year. Still, one must give some credit for any change—even if its only effect is to give an oppressive system a slightly more human face.

130. But the danger now is that the South African Government will back off under internal pressure from even those minor changes it has made. The results of the April election, which was of course confined to the white electorate, seem to indicate increased support within the ruling Nationalist Party for those opposed to change. And the South African Government already seems to be backing away from such minor change as has been made. If that is indeed the case, then an easing of international pressure now would not encourage further change but, rather, make it easier for the South African Government to yield to its own right wing.

131. Nor is the present state of the negotiations on Namibia a very good reason to repress our natural instinct to criticize and condemn the *apartheid* system. It is good news if South Africa is at last coming to see that it must grant independence to Namibia. But if it does so it will be for its own reasons and in accordance with its own calculations. International pressure will play a part in this, and a muting of criticism of *apartheid* by the international community or an abandonment of positions stated strongly over many years is not likely to be of help.

132. We believe, on the contrary, that, while recognizing for what it is worth any reform which may be made, however small, international criticism of *apartheid* must still be sustained because of the fundamental principle at stake; and we believe that criticism should be accompanied as necessary by graduated international pressure on South Africa, provided that such pressure is carefully calculated to promote change. We have no illusions that change will come easily to such a deeply entrenched system established by a community with a strong historical sense of its own identity and a deeply rooted and exclusive origin myth—a people which is itself native to South Africa and which cannot look to any other homeland. We know how difficult it is to move from dominance to acceptance, to share power long held as a monopoly. But change will come. The only question is how and at what cost.

133. Ireland for its part sees three main kinds of action that we and other countries can take.

134. First, the Security Council in 1977 already took limited action on sanctions against South Africa by im-

posing an arms embargo. We believe that that should now be complemented by other measures. These should be carefully chosen, graduated, properly imposed by the Council in accordance with the Charter and fully implemented. In particular, we feel that the existing arms embargo should be strengthened and more carefully monitored, a mandatory oil embargo should be imposed and loans to and new investments in South Africa should be banned.

135. Secondly, my Government will continue to assist the victims of *apartheid* through its annual contributions to the United Nations Funds for southern Africa, and we urge everyone to support these Funds. The importance of these Funds was again highlighted in the statement made yesterday by the representative of Sweden [76th meeting]. In response to his appeal, I should like to mention that it is the intention of my Government to make supplementary contributions this year to the United Nations Funds for southern Africa.

136. Thirdly, we believe that the international community has a vital role to play in assisting those countries in southern Africa which have suffered as a result of South African aggression or which, because of their geographic location, are burdened by an unfortunate degree of economic dependence upon their large and frequently hostile neighbour. Ireland will continue its development assistance to certain countries in the region and will continue to support the activities of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference.

137. These are ways in which the international community can be of assistance and help to promote change. But, in the last analysis, the international community cannot make change or decide how it will be achieved. That must be a matter for the people of South Africa themselves—black, white and Coloured. It is they, from their different positions and by their respective actions, who will decide whether change comes relatively peacefully, although with some stress, or violently and with great suffering.

138. I venture to close with two quotations. One is from the preamble to the South African Constitution of 1961 enacted by white South Africa but intended in theory to apply to all its people:

“ . . . whereas we . . . are convinced of the necessity to stand united, to safeguard the integrity and freedom of our country, to secure the maintenance of law and order therein, to further the contentment and spiritual and material welfare of all in our midst . . . ”.

We believe it is evident—and it should be evident now to white South Africa—that these aims which it has proclaimed can be achieved today only by an end of the *apartheid* system in South Africa. While that system stands those aims proclaimed in 1961 can never be realized.

139. The other quotation is from the last public words of Nelson Mandela before he went into imprisonment for life in Robben Island in 1964. In closing his statement at his trial, he said:

“I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

140. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that, however painful the process of change, that ideal of Nelson Mandela can soon be realized throughout South Africa for the benefit of all its people; that neither he nor anyone will have to die to achieve it; and that he and others like him will soon be free to work towards it for the good of all the people of South Africa. Is that a vain hope? Perhaps. But we cannot do other than cling to it as he did, and mobilize every international effort to give it support. My delegation will try to play its modest part in that effort.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See A/CONF.107/8, sect. X.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14*, para. 295.

<sup>3</sup> See A/32/267.