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President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 33

**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

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the members of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee in document A/37/598. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided (decision 37/406).

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed tomorrow, Wednesday, 10 November, at 12 noon. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly so decides.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Charles of Haiti, to present the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

4. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

5. In accordance with resolution 36/172, the Special Committee is submitting to the General Assembly its annual report [A/37/22], a special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [A/37/22/Add.1], and another special report on the trade union action against *apartheid* in South Africa [A/37/22/Add.2].

6. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly contains a review of the work of the Special Committee, conclusions and recommendations, a review of developments in South Africa during the period concerned and a list of documents issued by the Special Committee.

7. I should like in particular to draw the Assembly's attention to the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report. In this respect, I should like

to emphasize very strongly that since its creation the Special Committee has always believed that the imposition against South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations constitutes for the international community the most reliable, the most effective and the most peaceful means of bringing about the elimination of *apartheid*.

8. The Special Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the responsibility borne by States which continue to collaborate with the Pretoria régime. The oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement have ceaselessly reiterated that the sanctions called for would be the most appropriate form of international assistance for their just struggle.

9. Acting upon the recommendation of the Special Committee, the General Assembly, in its resolution 36/172 B of 17 December 1981, proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, in order to prevail upon Governments that have not yet done so to cease all forms of collaboration with the *apartheid* régime. As it says in the first part of its report, the Special Committee has waged an active campaign to ensure observance of the International Year. However, the Special Committee considers it essential that the programme of activities of the International Year be continued beyond 1982. It has therefore recommended that the General Assembly take the necessary steps to this end.

10. Further, the increasingly dogged resistance of the people to the increased repression of the South African racist régime prompted the Special Committee to seek an increase in humanitarian, educational, political and other aid for the oppressed people of South Africa and for their national liberation movements. It has expressed its satisfaction to the many Governments, organizations and individuals at the assistance provided either directly to the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] or through the United Nations or other bodies.

11. Finally, in view of the grave situation in southern Africa, the Special Committee believes that it is essential to strengthen its activities aimed at expediting the elimination of *apartheid* by means of the coordinated actions of Governments, organizations and individuals.

12. In its first special report, relating to recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* had drawn the General Assembly's attention to the growing collaboration of those countries in the military, nuclear, political, economic and

* Resumed from the 40th meeting.

other fields. This dates back basically to the visit to Israel in 1976 of the South African Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, and the signing of a series of agreements between Israel and the South African régime. Such collaboration clearly hinders the efforts of the international community to bring about the total elimination of *apartheid*, and encourages the racist régime of South Africa to persist in its criminal policy. It is also a hostile act against the people of South Africa and of Africa as a whole, and it undoubtedly threatens international peace and security.

13. This special report covers events since the submission of the last report in September 1981.

14. In its second special report on trade union action against *apartheid* in South Africa, the Special Committee dwells in particular on trade union action against *apartheid* in the light of the increased resistance of black trade unions in South Africa, the ruthless repression of their leaders and the crucial role played by trade union organizations throughout the world in their campaign for the elimination of *apartheid*. The Special Committee has had consultations with both national and international trade union organizations in order to encourage the effective co-ordination of their efforts to bring about greater solidarity with the oppressed workers of South Africa. This was done pursuant to the request of the General Assembly, in its resolution 36/172 H of 17 December 1981, that the Special Committee take steps to organize in 1982 an international conference of trade unions on sanctions against South Africa. In the report the Special Committee sums up the situation of the black trade unions in South Africa as well as the results of the consultations on the organization of the conference.

15. The Special Committee consequently recommends that it be enabled to organize in 1983, in accordance with its second special report, "the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and other Actions against the *Apartheid* Régime in South Africa", that adequate financial provision be made for the preparatory work and the holding of the conference, and that all Governments and organizations be asked to support the black trade union movement in South Africa.

16. In conclusion, I should like to express the Special Committee's profound gratitude to the Secretary General for his abiding interest in its work. I also take this opportunity to express the Committee's sincere gratitude to all those States that have supported its work as well the liberation movements of South Africa—the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC]—to the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations. Our thanks go also to the Director of the Centre against *Apartheid*, Mr. Enuga S. Reddy, the secretariat of the Special Committee and all the other members of the Centre against *Apartheid* for the devotion and effectiveness they have always shown in carrying out their work.

17. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Mr. Neil of Jamaica, to present the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

18. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour to introduce its report [A/37/36].

19. Five years ago the General Assembly adopted resolution 32/105 M, in which, *inter alia*, it requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention in order to extend and solidify the campaign against *apartheid* in sports. The results of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's efforts appear in the annex to its report, which contains the text of a draft convention.

20. The draft articles are designed to strengthen national action for the isolation of *apartheid* in sports and for its exclusion from international sports competitions. Articles 2 to 9 provide for a series of preventive and punitive measures to be applied by States to deter their nationals from any participation in *apartheid* sports. Those measures relate primarily to the withholding of any assistance, denial of the use of public facilities, denial of visas and action for the expulsion of *apartheid* sports bodies from international associations. Due account was taken in the drafting of these articles of the constitutional limitations that might exist on action by Governments with regard to sporting activities, while at the same time ensuring that public policy against *apartheid* in sports is given concrete expression.

21. With regard to measures to be adopted in connection with non-nationals who participate in *apartheid* sports, the *Ad Hoc* Committee has not yet been able to reach a consensus formula. Over the past year the Drafting Group of the Committee has considered a variety of approaches to resolve the differences of view on the principle of action against third parties. Some delegations consider such measures to be essential for an effective convention which would advance the campaign against *apartheid* in sports. Other delegations in the Committee viewed such measures as introducing complications in the implementation of the convention and also expressed reservations based on legal and political considerations. In short, despite continued efforts, a consensus formula has not been arrived at in the Committee on the draft provisions of article 10 of the draft convention.

22. In connection with this and other provisions of the convention, the *Ad Hoc* Committee has been conscious of the need to broaden its consultations and has accordingly held discussions with sports personalities and organizations concerning the proposed convention. Due account was also taken of the views expressed in the debates in the General Assembly and in written responses by Member States under General Assembly resolution 35/206 M.

23. It is clear from the report that the *Ad Hoc* Committee is nearing the completion of its mandate. A draft convention has been prepared on which agreement exists except for the provisions of one article. The *Ad Hoc* Committee considers that further discussion and negotiations by the Committee will enable it to arrive at an agreed text. Accordingly, I draw the attention of the General Assembly to paragraph 18

of its report, in which the *Ad Hoc* Committee recommends that its mandate be extended so that it may continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention for the consideration of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

24. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria.

25. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: For 30 years the General Assembly has debated the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa. It has reviewed each year the constant deterioration of the situation in that country, the entrenchment and intensification of racist domination and exploitation, the escalation of repression against the black people and all opponents of *apartheid*, the anguish and resistance of the black men, women and children, and the violent suppression of all opposition to injustice.

26. It has seen *apartheid* extend from genocide within the national boundaries to the whole of southern Africa, causing death and destruction. The records of this Assembly and this Organization fully document the crimes of the *apartheid* régime, as well as the heroic resistance of the South African people to racist domination.

27. The issue in South Africa is clear. It is a struggle between the forces of racism and those that seek freedom, equality and democracy. The choice for this Organization and for all Governments, organizations and men and women of conscience is equally clear: non-co-operation with the evil régime in South Africa and solidarity with those struggling for freedom. It is time for those that still sit on the fence, those that profess abhorrence of racism and at the same time profit from collusion with that evil, to choose, and they must be made to choose.

28. The first Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1900, declared: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." Because the Powers of the world failed to heed that warning and resisted the attempts to eliminate colonial and racist domination and destroy the "colour line", the world has suffered numerous conflicts, with untold casualties. And Europe itself was devastated by Nazi racism in the Second World War. The United Nations emerged from that holocaust with the determination "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . ."

29. It has been seized of the problem of racist domination in South Africa almost since its inception, following a complaint by the Government of India in 1946. It has pledged its full support to the South African people in their struggle to destroy racist tyranny and to establish a democratic State. The Assembly has, indeed, recognized the great contribution made by the national liberation movement of South Africa to the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations. It proclaimed in 1975 that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and

their national liberation movement and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against *apartheid*.

30. The commitment of the United Nations to the struggle for freedom and human dignity in South Africa is unequivocal and unlimited. That struggle is our struggle, for *apartheid* in South Africa is a serious blot on human civilization and an inescapable moral challenge confronting all humanity.

31. I should like on this occasion to pay a tribute to the national liberation movement of South Africa—one of the greatest and most righteous movements of this century, which has inspired not only the peoples in the rest of Africa but also those in far-away lands, from India to the United States of America. In spite of the brutalities and even massacres by a régime which claims to represent European Christian civilization, this movement has always consistently upheld the ideal of a non-racial society in which all people, including those of European descent, will enjoy equal rights. In contrast to the minority régime, which alone spurns the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it has inscribed that Declaration on its banner. Even when it was obliged to undertake armed struggle as a last resort, it subscribed to the Geneva Conventions on the principles of humanitarian law, and it has been selecting its targets so as to avoid injury to innocent civilians. It deserves respect and unstinted support in its just struggle for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

32. More than 70 years ago, when Mahatma Gandhi was leading a campaign of non-violent resistance against racism in South Africa, the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy wrote to him:

"And so your activity in Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, in which the nations not only of the Christian, but of all the world will undoubtedly take part."

Today, the United Nations is part of that struggle, as are the non-aligned movement, OAU and other international organizations.

33. Not only the great majority of national Governments, but also city and local authorities, trade unions and religious organizations, students and youth and numerous public organizations and institutions have accepted the moral challenge posed by the situation in South Africa.

34. We had occasion at the 56th plenary meeting, to hear from eminent leaders of the great movement of solidarity with those struggling for freedom in South Africa. Yet the international community has not succeeded in its efforts to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*.

35. Indeed, the crisis in South Africa and southern Africa has assumed even more serious proportions. In its determination to dispossess and even denationalize the indigenous African majority, the racist régime has further escalated its acts of terror against the people. In the past year alone, numerous trade unionists, community leaders, students and others have been brutally tortured in prison, and several patriots have died as a result of torture.

36. Oscar Mpetha, a 73-year-old trade union leader, has been held in prison for over two years and faces a possible death sentence after a trial which he could not even attend because of ill health. Six young freedom fighters have been sentenced to death and are awaiting execution. Half the student body of Fort Hare University has been expelled for opposing the monstrous régime installed in the bantustan of the Ciskei. Even as we meet, thousands of Africans are being arrested in the Cape and deported to starve in the bantustans.

37. The Pretoria régime is carrying on a war in the international Territory of Namibia and is occupying tens of thousands of square miles in the independent State of Angola. It is engaged in subversion and destabilization in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, causing numerous casualties and enormous damage to the economies of the newly independent nations. Its agents participated in the mercenary invasion of Seychelles and in the assassinations of South African patriots in independent States.

38. We mourn the death in detention of Neil Aggett, the young physician and trade unionist, and Earnest Dipale, the African student, in the dungeons of *apartheid*. We mourn the death by assassination of Mrs. Ruth First, the scholar and writer, and many other South Africans in exile. Black and white, men and women, they are martyrs in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

39. Almost daily, the crimes of the Pretoria régime remind us that we have not done enough to fulfil the commitment of this Organization. Twenty years after the Assembly called for sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa, we have not succeeded in persuading the few powerful Governments and the many transnational corporations to stop their collaboration with *apartheid*. They continue to sustain the Pretoria régime in its defiance of the world and to undermine the credibility of this Organization.

40. Even the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is not being effectively implemented and monitored. South Africa has been able to obtain the technology and components to develop further its armament industry. It has acquired or built eight missile-carrying corvettes since the mandatory arms embargo went into effect. It has unveiled a new and powerful G-5 cannon. It is even attempting to export military equipment.

41. Instead of tightening the embargo, the United States Government has chosen to relax restrictions on military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa. Only a few weeks ago it was disclosed that 2,500 electric-shock batons were exported from the United States to South Africa—to Bonuskor, a holding company which built the military aircraft industry for the racist régime.

42. A recent court case in London has disclosed illegal shipments of military equipment to South Africa for several years, directly or through a Zurich firm. Economic collaboration with South Africa continues to increase, despite numerous resolutions of the General Assembly.

43. In this connection, we cannot but express serious regret at the decision by the International Monetary Fund [IMF] last week to grant a credit of over

\$1 billion to the South African régime, in defiance of resolution 37/2, adopted by the Assembly on 21 October. That credit is equal to the annual cost of South Africa's military operations in the Territory of Namibia, for which the United Nations has assumed responsibility. It is incongruous, to say the least, that an agency of the United Nations should finance the Pretoria régime, which is at war with the United Nations.

44. We have heard the argument that South Africa is entitled to the credit under the Articles of Agreement of IMF and could thus not be denied it. We do not accept that argument. We call on the members of IMF, especially the Western Powers which dominate that agency through weighted voting, to exclude South Africa forthwith from IMF so that IMF will no longer finance the racist régime. The credit from that agency is in addition to the huge loans provided to South Africa by banks and financial institutions in certain Western countries.

45. The Centre against *Apartheid* published a report last month showing that South Africa had obtained at least \$2.75 billion in bank loans between 1 January 1979 and 31 July 1982. Such loans have greatly increased this year, amounting to \$897 million between January and July.

46. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 5 October 1982, South African public and private corporations had borrowed more than \$2 billion on foreign money and capital markets by September of this year. That figure is nearly four times higher than the figure for all of last year.

47. In addition, according to the latest bulletin of the South African Reserve Bank, there was a long-term capital inflow of 600 million rand into South Africa in the first six months of this year.

48. The régime in South Africa is not only not ostracized by the major Western Powers and their transnational corporations, but is a privileged recipient of capital and technology denied to developing countries. South African whites even enjoy visa-free privileges in several Western countries which have imposed harsh restrictions on nationals of independent African and Asian countries.

49. This year has been proclaimed by the General Assembly the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The Special Committee has taken many initiatives to promote the observance of the International Year, as detailed in its report to the General Assembly. As the Chairman of the Special Committee, I have undertaken missions to many Western countries—France, the Netherlands, the Nordic countries and the United Kingdom—to appeal for co-operation in international action against *apartheid* and I have been encouraged by the response. I have visited several oil-producing States in the Middle East and received assurances of co-operation in efforts to monitor and reinforce the oil embargo against South Africa.

50. The Special Committee organized the Asian Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Manila from 24 to 26 May 1982, at which it was solemnly declared that "the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia is the cause of the Governments and peoples of Asia and

Oceania—as much as it is of Governments and peoples of Africa—and indeed of the international community as a whole” [see A/37/265]. This solemn commitment was confirmed to me personally by the Heads of State or Government of the Philippines, Indonesia and India.

51. The Special Committee also organized an International Conference on Women and *Apartheid*, held from 17 to 19 May 1982 in the building of the European Parliament in Brussels, with the participation of many eminent women leaders and organizations. It co-sponsored an important conference, held in London from 11 to 13 March 1982, on the theme “Southern Africa: The Time to Choose”, under the presidency of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and with the participation of the Vice-President of Nigeria and other eminent leaders. It organized an International Seminar on the History of Resistance against Occupation, Oppression and *Apartheid* in South Africa and initiated publicity on that struggle. It promoted a worldwide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

52. We have been gratified by the growing mobilization of men and women of conscience all over the world in solidarity with those struggling for liberation in South Africa.

53. I would like to express great satisfaction at the recent decision of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to suspend the two white Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa for as long as they do not reject the heresy of *apartheid*.

54. I congratulate the cities of the United Kingdom which have followed the example of Sheffield in declaring themselves anti-*apartheid* zones.

55. I welcome the decisions of the Commonwealth Games Federation—and of Canada, the Netherlands and Sweden—to tighten the boycott on *apartheid* sport.

56. I pay a tribute to the many eminent sportsmen and cultural personalities who have rejected the enticements of *apartheid*, with fabulous offers of money and fringe benefits, to demonstrate their commitment to principle. This expression of international solidarity complements the growing mobilization of the people of South Africa—of workers and students, of religious personalities and journalists, of women and even children—in determined resistance against *apartheid*, in spite of the terror unleashed by the régime. They have shown an indomitable spirit and require international action.

57. I note with great satisfaction that this resistance reflects the firm unity of all the oppressed black people, and that it has inspired a number of white men and women of conscience to join the struggle. I must also congratulate the freedom fighters of ANC on their heroic armed actions in support of the people's struggle.

58. The growing mobilization of the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*, and of Governments and peoples abroad in solidarity with them in that struggle, demands and creates the conditions for a final assault on *apartheid*. It must put to shame those selfish interests which place profit above principle. If the international community does not rise

to the occasion now, there is the great danger that the racist régime—armed to the teeth and having acquired nuclear capability—will plunge the whole region into a horrendous conflict.

59. We must ensure the full implementation and reinforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa; an end to all nuclear collaboration with South Africa; a mandatory and effective oil embargo against South Africa; an end to all loans to and investments in South Africa, as well as comprehensive economic sanctions; total sports and cultural boycotts against South Africa; and all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their great national liberation movement.

60. As Archbishop Trevor Huddleston pointed out at the 56th meeting, to be against sanctions is to be for *apartheid*. The world must make the right choice, and make it now.

61. As the Special Committee pointed out last year, the great majority of States and of humanity are not only committed to the liberation of South Africa but are willing to contribute, even by substantial sacrifices, to that end. It added:

“... the committed Governments and organizations have the power, individually and collectively, to take effective actions against the *apartheid* régime and to assist the national liberation movement of South Africa. They have also the power to confront the few recalcitrant States with an inescapable choice between collusion with *apartheid* and genuine international co-operation.

“The development of concerted action by the committed Governments and organizations is, therefore, an essential component of international action against *apartheid*.”¹

62. We must forge, in the words of the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., “an international alliance of peoples and nations against racism”.

63. I must, in this connection, address an appeal to the few Western and other Powers which continue to oppose sanctions against South Africa—and especially to the United States of America and the United Kingdom. We cannot accept their contention that collaboration with the Pretoria régime and profiting from *apartheid* can help bring about positive changes in South Africa. Involvement with *apartheid* and racism can never be constructive. We reject the propaganda about so-called reforms peddled by the *apartheid* régime in expensive advertisements, and repeated by some Western Powers:

64. Unilateral measures by the racist régime, as long as the leaders of the people are imprisoned, restricted or exiled, and as long as repression continues, can have no value. The United Nations has clearly defined the basic prerequisites for a peaceful solution in South Africa: first, release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; secondly, end all repression; thirdly, abrogate the bans on organizations and news media; fourthly, abandon the policy of bantustanization; and, fifthly, hold discussions with Nelson Mandela and other leaders on the future of the country.

65. The racist régime has not shown the slightest inclination to take any of those steps which have been unanimously demanded by the General Assembly and

the Security Council. Instead, it has sought to silence even the voices of reason in the white community and to prevent co-operation by whites and blacks in search of a common destiny. Mr. Beyers Naudé, the eminent theologian, has been banned again. The South African Council of Churches and its eminent leader, Bishop Desmond Tutu, are being constantly harassed.

66. The so-called constitutional dispensation which excludes the African majority and sets up subordinate legislative chambers for the Coloured people and the Indians is no reform but the entrenchment of *apartheid* in the Constitution and a diabolical manoeuvre to divide the oppressed majority. The changes in the labour laws are of little significance in the face of enormous repression against emergent independent black trade unions, police interference in labour disputes in collusion with the employers, and mass dismissals of workers, arrests and deportations.

67. Indeed, there can be no meaningful reforms so long as the régime is intent on proceeding with its bantustan policy to exclude the African majority from its inalienable rights in South Africa. The intention of the régime to tighten the hated pass laws by new legislation, which has been described by South African experts as virtual genocide, shows that its propaganda about reforms is merely a smoke-screen to divert attention from its diabolical final solution. Through the policy of bantustans, it has already declared 8 million Africans—twice the number of whites in that country—as non-citizens and it seeks to dispossess all the other Africans. This policy is a crime against humanity, with no parallel except under nazism.

68. The so-called constructive engagement with the racist régime will only give that régime the time to try to confront the world with a *fait accompli*.

69. The Special Committee has pointed out that the major Western Powers bear a great responsibility for the intolerable situation in South Africa and southern Africa. It has pointed to the weapons of destruction they have supplied to the racist régime, to their enormous investments in South Africa, and to their blocking of effective action by the Security Council while the Pretoria régime continues to escalate its crimes and acts of aggression.

70. I wish to look to the future rather than the past, and to emphasize that those Powers have an opportunity today to make a crucial contribution to freedom, peace and stability in southern Africa. We seek universal action so as to secure an end to oppression and conflict. We seek a solution which would enable all the people of South Africa to live together in peace as equals and which would enable all the nations of southern Africa to co-operate for mutual benefit. We wish to spare the people of the region from the conflicts of external Powers. We can reach that goal without further delay if we are given genuine co-operation by the major Western countries in concerted international action under the auspices of the United Nations.

71. I would therefore appeal to them to make their contribution during this crucial period. I would appeal to the citizens of these democratic countries to make the choice in the light of their own cherished ideals. Let it not be said by history that at a critical moment

for Africa they were so selfish and so short-sighted as to provide succour to the enemies of Africa, and indeed to encourage a misguided minority in a suicidal course.

72. It has been two decades since the General Assembly decided to establish the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We wish that it could have completed its work a long time ago and that the genuine leaders of the people of South Africa could be sitting as representatives in this Hall. But we are not frustrated. For we have seen, and contributed to, the growing world awareness of the inhumanity of *apartheid*. And we have faith that *apartheid* can and will be eliminated from this globe. With that faith, I commend the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the approval of this assembly of nations.

73. I cannot conclude this statement without expressing my great appreciation to many Governments, trade unions, religious leaders and other eminent personalities for their co-operation with the Special Committee. I must also express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his constant support.

74. I would also like to record recognition of the dedicated services rendered by the Centre against *Apartheid* which have earned the appreciation not only of the Special Committee but also of numerous organizations and individuals engaged in the struggle against *apartheid*.

75. Above all, I pay a tribute to the heroic struggles for freedom in South Africa which have constantly inspired and encouraged us in our task.

76. The struggle continues.

77. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its fourth plenary meeting, on 24 September 1982, I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

78. Mr. POKELA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): At the time of my incarceration on the infamous Robben Island—where I was sent by the racist and colonialist South African régime to serve a full 13-year prison term—two factors kept me, and hundreds like me, confident and optimistic about the future. The first was the determined and uncompromising struggle heroically waged by our people in difficult circumstances, for national liberation and economic and social emancipation. The second was the ever-growing international support enjoyed by our just struggle.

79. South Africa has been a topic of discussion ever since the formation of the United Nations, precisely because the policies propounded and implemented by the fascist, racist and minority régime in South Africa have been, and continue to be, in direct contradiction with the basic principles of the United Nations enshrined in its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, over the years the United Nations came to the correct and only conclusion, namely, that *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity and a very real and serious threat to world peace and security. Having recognized the fact that *apartheid* constitutes a very real danger, the question in everyone's mind is: What is

the United Nations, the custodian of international peace and security, doing to eliminate this diabolical scourge? Alternatively, can the United Nations take effective measures to combat and eliminate *apartheid*?

80. In the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], the liberation movement of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed majority, the United Nations has a political and moral responsibility to assist in the total elimination of a system correctly branded by the international community as a crime against humanity. However, in order to be able to render effective and principled support, it is crucial that the United Nations make the correct analysis of the South African situation.

81. The elimination of *apartheid*, it should be stressed, should not mean the removal from the statute books of racially-based discriminatory laws. The elimination of *apartheid* should first and foremost aim at the restoration of the inalienable rights of the dispossessed people, because the introduction and subsequent development of *apartheid* have their roots in the colonial conquest of our country by European colonial Powers.

82. Our country Azania was first colonized in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company decided to establish a half-way house for its sailing ships plying between the Netherlands and the East Indian Islands. When the Napoleonic wars broke out in Europe, Britain, at the time a major colonial and maritime Power, unilaterally decided to occupy the Cape Peninsula at the end of the eighteenth century to "protect" it against falling into Napoleon's hands. Britain grudgingly returned the strategic and lucrative outpost to the Dutch when the war was over. But not for long. In 1806 the British decided finally to colonize the Cape Peninsula. During the 1830s the Dutch settlers left the Cape Colony for the interior of the country. This attempt by the Dutch settlers to colonize the interior was met with stiff resistance from the African people, who valiantly fought a series of wars of resistance. The Dutch invaders then set up two colonial republics, the so-called South African Republic in what is now the Province of the Transvaal, and the Orange River Sovereignty in what is now the Free State. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century there were two Dutch colonial republics and the British had a colonial presence in the Cape and what is now the province of Natal. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in the territories occupied by the Dutch settlers, the British colonialists, with their covetous eyes, gave birth to a war plan. In 1899 the so-called Anglo-Boer war broke out. It ended with the defeat of the Dutch republics.

83. In 1902, when the Anglo-Boer War ended, the whole of Azania came under British colonial rule. But eight years later the British decided to seek reconciliation with the defeated section of the white-settler community. Why? The reason for the reconciliation and alliance can be found in the 1906 Bambata uprising. Bambata, the African patriot, mounted a war of liberation against the British colonialists in 1906. His call to his people was, "What has been taken by force can only be liberated by force".

84. Although the British colonialists succeeded in defeating the Bambata uprising, the uprising was

instrumental in compelling the British to seek reconciliation with the Dutch. In other words, Britain sought the unity of the whites against the indigenous population, and the result of this reconciliation and white alliance was the establishment in 1910 of the Union of South Africa. The principal aim of the white alliance was to ensure white supremacy and the perpetual exclusion, subjugation and exploitation of the indigenous majority.

85. This racist alliance has, however, been erroneously described as constituting the instrument of independence. Under the principles of the United Nations, no arrangement or document can claim to be or be regarded as the instrument of independence unless it is based on the free will of the dispossessed people and restores to them their usurped inalienable rights. In the case of the South Africa Act of 1910, our rights were not restored; rather, our perpetual dispossession was arbitrarily concretized and "legalized".

86. However, it was under the treacherous South Africa Act of 1910, passed by the British Parliament, the supposed symbol of democracy, that our country Azania was given the appellation "Union of South Africa", "Union" here referring to the union forged between the two white communities against the African majority.

87. The South Africa Act of 1910 is to us, the dispossessed people, what the 1917 Balfour Declaration is to the Palestinian people. Just as under the Balfour Declaration the British handed over mandated Palestine to international zionism without regard to or respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people of their fatherland Palestine, in Azania too the British, under the South Africa Act of 1910, entrenched a racist-settler minority to the total exclusion of the indigenous majority.

88. The struggle to eliminate *apartheid* will prove meaningless unless it is inextricably coupled with the restoration of the inalienable rights of our people, rights so blatantly usurped.

89. Moreover, the first major act of the all-white Parliament established under the South Africa Act of 1910 was to pass the infamous Land Act. Under this Act the racists and colonialists expropriated African land in Azania. Consequently today the white minority, constituting one fifth of the total population, effectively occupies 87.3 per cent of the total land area in *apartheid* South Africa. On the other hand, the indigenous majority—the rightful owners of the land—has been declared by racist legislation to be foreigners in that rich and fertile part of Azania. Under the policies pursued by the racist-colonial régime, the African people, which constitute four fifths of the total population, politically and otherwise, are regarded as owning only 12.7 per cent of the total land area where the racists are establishing the so-called independent bantustans.

90. The establishment of bantustans constitutes the corner-stone of the *apartheid* policies of the South African racists. Internationally, the racists claim that they are granting independence to the African people in the territories which historically belong to them. It should be pointed out that the racists arbitrarily decided that the territories which historically belong to the

African people are the 12.7 per cent of the land set aside. Internally, the racists hope that by creating the toothless bantustans they will succeed in dividing the African people on tribal lines and thereby effectively control them under the colonial and imperialist maxim of "divide and rule". Moreover, these bantustans are nothing but reservoirs of cheap labour for the mines and for multinational corporations to exploit to the full. It is the exploitation of the migrant labourers, the majority of whom are confined to the bantustans, that enables investors to reap super-profits in *apartheid* South Africa. Profit returns in *apartheid* South Africa are said to be the highest in the world. Thus, the struggle to eliminate *apartheid* must include the total rejection of the policy of balkanizing Azania and the recognition of the right of the African majority to the whole of Azania. Any recognition of or collaboration with these so-called independent bantustans constitutes support for *apartheid* and endorses our dispossession.

91. *Apartheid*, consequently, cannot be eliminated unless the right of the African people is unconditionally recognized and fully restored, and the United Nations is duty-bound, politically and morally, to ensure this.

92. Having dealt, albeit briefly, with the status of *apartheid* South Africa and the all-important land question, I should now like to refer to some of the political gimmicks currently being employed by the South African racists to hoodwink international public opinion. In recent months there have been much talk and undue publicity about the constitutional plans to establish a so-called tri-racial Government in *apartheid* South Africa. Some have labelled it a "power-sharing" plan. What is this plan, in reality?

93. Under the proposals drawn up by the racists there will be three parliamentary chambers, representing whites, so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin. The indigenous majority is totally excluded. The proposals envisage the election of an executive president by an electoral college composed of 50 whites, 25 so-called Coloureds and 13 persons of Asian origin. Members of the electoral college will be elected by a proposed three-chamber parliament representing the white, the so-called Coloured and the Asian communities respectively. Election to each chamber will be on the basis of racially separate voters' rolls for the three communities. The majority in each chamber will elect the full quota of its racial representatives to the electoral college, thus effectively eliminating any prospect of a minority of whites siding with so-called Coloureds and persons of Asian origin in the electoral college to elect a Coloured or Asian president.

94. Each of these chambers will deal exclusively with its so-called own affairs. The country will then be run by the powerful president's council. The council will consist of 20 whites, 10 so-called Coloureds and 5 persons of Asian origin, elected by the three parliamentary chambers, and 25 members nominated by the president.

95. However, the important thing to appreciate about the constitutional proposal is that it further entrenches and perpetuates white domination and white minority rule rather than introducing any fundamental changes. What is even more sinister is that,

under the guise of power-sharing, the proposals aim at further dividing the people of Azania, oppressed, exploited and discriminated against, by enticing puppets from the so-called Coloured and Asian communities to give credence to this political farce. Under the terms of the proposal, the president will always be the leader of the majority party in the white parliamentary chamber. The entire scheme, therefore, is to buttress white domination by selective recruitment from the so-called Coloureds and Asians and to make this palatable internationally as a step in the right direction. The proposals therefore entrench the divide and rule policy—a corner-stone of *apartheid*—and consequently can in no way be called a step in the right direction. The United Nations and the international community must unequivocally condemn this racist manoeuvre.

96. In this respect, we want to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the so-called Coloured people and people of Asian origin have categorically rejected the president's council plot put forward by P. W. Botha and his racist all-white political party. Already in the mid-1960s the South African Coloured People's Congress was voluntarily dissolved and its members joined PAC, which represented oppressed and exploited Azanians fighting for the same cause. On 4 November 1981 the South African racists attempted to solicit the support of the people of Asian origin in electing puppets to the South African Indian Council, a dummy institution, and only 10.3 per cent turned out to vote. The massive boycott was therefore a decisive rebuff to the sinister attempt by the authorities to divide the people of Azania, oppressed, exploited and discriminated against. The so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian origin have decisively thrown in their lot with the indigenous majority and have refused to be divided, bridled or cajoled into accepting crumbs from the table of the self-styled master race.

97. There exists an international consensus that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and must be totally eliminated. The various resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations have all categorically called for this. However, what has not enjoyed a consensus so far is the method to be employed to ensure the total elimination of *apartheid*. There are those who claim that they would like to see the *apartheid* system eliminated gradually and peacefully. The major Western Powers fall into this category. Although they are often vocal in expressing this opinion, they are at the same time most reluctant to employ methods that can peacefully solve the problem. The only way of peacefully solving the Azanian problem is through the imposition of total and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime, but no advocate of peaceful change is prepared fully and truthfully to employ this method.

98. The reasons for this reluctance on the part of the Western Powers are not difficult to find. True, *apartheid* is abominable; but it is also very, very profitable to the Western countries. Western investment, in defiance of international calls for sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, has been steadily growing. For instance, American investment in South Africa has grown in the past decade from just under \$1 billion

to \$2.63 billion. Such investments do not constitute pressure for change, but an active form of encouragement of *apartheid*.

99. In March 1977 the United States came up with the Sullivan principles. These principles were supposed to eliminate racism at work-places. Some even went so far as to say that the implementation of the Sullivan principles could help end racism in South Africa. The European Economic Community, for its part, drew up a code of conduct for its multinationals operating inside South Africa.

100. We of PAC wish to state categorically that the Sullivan principles and the code of conduct of the European Community were not conceived as secret weapons or a strategy to bring down *apartheid*, but rather to justify the continued presence in *apartheid* South Africa of Western multinational corporations in the face of mounting African and international pressure.

101. What, then, are the basic flaws in the Sullivan principles and the code of conduct of the Community, and why do we believe that they cannot bring about the peaceful elimination of *apartheid*? First and foremost, there is the erroneous belief that the removal of *apartheid* signs in work-places would ultimately lead to the elimination of racism. Isolated factories inside South Africa displaying no *apartheid* signs are no compensation for the daily oppression and exploitation suffered by the African people. Secondly, there is the erroneous belief that the struggle of the people of South Africa at this historic moment is for equal pay for equal work. Of what use is the principle of equal pay for equal work if there exists national oppression and if the opportunities are unequal? For instance, only a few statistics in the field of education are required to show the disparities between educational opportunities for whites and those for blacks in *apartheid* South Africa. Although there are four and a half times as many Africans as there are whites in South Africa, there were only 1,400 African university graduates in 1970, compared with 104,500 white university graduates. In 1979, university enrolment on a full-time residential basis included 80,000 whites and only 7,000 blacks. The *Sunday Times* of 5 August 1979 pointed out that there were not more than 10 African engineers and certified accountants (compared with several thousand whites), no African corporate lawyers and less than 100 Africans who could be described as managers. Hence, it is clear that the Sullivan principles and the code of conduct of the European Community are not designed to fight *apartheid*, but to circumvent international criticism of the multinational corporations operating inside Azania.

102. The real dilemma for the Western imperialist countries is that they would like to eat their cake and have it. They would very much like to continue exploiting the riches of Azania, but would not like to be seen to be condoning the inhuman and universally condemned system in South Africa.

103. This hypocritical position, needless to say, has been directly responsible for encouraging the *apartheid* rulers of South Africa to refrain from making any meaningful changes. The intransigence displayed by the South African racists concerning their illegal

occupation of Namibia is due to the military, political, economic and other forms of assistance the Western countries give to the racists. This encouragement has not only led to the racists adopting an intransigent position over the independence of Namibia; they also regard it as a licence to commit aggression against neighbouring and far-off African States. Besides illegally occupying Namibia, the racists now also occupy parts of Angola under the pretext of fighting the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. But even African States further to the north have not been spared racist interference and naked aggression. The attempt by South African-based mercenaries to overthrow the popular Government of Seychelles is a case in point. The South African racists today are openly training mercenaries and deploying them to create a state of instability in southern Africa.

104. The very recent granting of a loan of just over \$1 billion by IMF to the South African racists is further proof of Western connivance in *apartheid*. The South African economy is currently facing a serious crisis. Western economists blame the fall in the price of gold for the current crisis. While it is true that the drop in the price of gold did reduce South Africa's earnings, its deficit for 1981—\$3.4 billion—was due largely to the war the South Africans are waging in Namibia and southern Angola. If South Africa did not have such a large military budget and did not spend over \$1 million a day waging its war of occupation and aggression in Namibia, it would be able to manage with its current level of earnings. The IMF loan, therefore, directly assists the South African racists to continue their war of aggression and occupation in Namibia.

105. Moreover, the granting of the loan by IMF should be seen as one more signal of Western reluctance to end the problem in southern Africa peacefully. There can be no other conclusion.

106. The overt and covert assistance given to the South African racists by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Switzerland and Japan and the close co-operation that exists between the racists in occupied Azania and the Zionists in occupied Palestine have also been instrumental in the intensification by the racists of internal repression and suppression.

107. We of PAC had operated legally for only 11 months when the racists decided to ban our organization after it launched, on 21 March 1960, the final positive action against the pass laws. That mass-oriented nationwide campaign culminated in the massacre of Sharpeville. Today we have six of our comrades languishing on Robben Island; they are the longest-serving political prisoners in *apartheid* South Africa, now serving their twenty-first year.

108. At any given time there are approximately 100,000 prisoners in South African prisons. This is considered one of the highest prison rates in the world. Already over 50 persons have died while in detention in South Africa. Currently the racists have turned their attention against trade unionists. The black trade unionists are being systematically rounded up and tortured to death, held in detention or given heavy sentences. This is not surprising, because in 1981 a

record number of strikes took place in all the major cities and in some key mines. According to figures given in the all-white Parliament, 283 strikes and work stoppages took place during 1981. The interesting phenomenon is that the strikes are not just for higher wages but are carried out to promote the struggle for national liberation. Further, the workers are no longer boycotting buses and trains; they strike at work and confront the employer. Students, too, are being constantly harassed. For instance, in May this year the entire leadership of a student organization was picked up by the South African racists, and they are held to this day without being either formally charged or tried.

109. In the 1960s PAC, as a result of the final positive action of 21 March 1960 against the pass laws, shook the very foundations of the *apartheid* régime. For the first time the régime was compelled to declare a state of emergency. Foreign capital left the country and a new militant mood was displayed by the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania. It is true that 69 of our compatriots died at Sharpeville, but there also died at Sharpeville the sterile method of non-violent struggle. PAC, moreover, was the first to form an armed wing, POQO, and to launch the armed struggle.

110. Soon after the Sharpeville massacre, when the racists faced their most severe dilemma, it was once more the Western Powers and financial institutions that went to their assistance.

111. In 1976 PAC was again indicted by the racists for predicting and organizing the Soweto uprising. Eighteen of our comrades were charged in what has come to be known as the Bethal 18 secret trial. Accused No. 1 in that marathon secret trial was Comrade Zeph Mothopeng, a founder member of PAC and a tried and tested veteran freedom fighter. He is currently serving a 30-year prison term and he is now in prison for the third time. He is 69 years old, but is undaunted and determined to win freedom for Azania.

112. Given the objective fact that all our attempts to solve the problem in *apartheid* South Africa peacefully were answered by reactionary violence, given the fact that the racist rulers of South Africa have no intention whatsoever of leaving of their own free will the stage that they currently occupy, and given the fact that the Western Powers—especially the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Japan and Switzerland—are not prepared to impose any form of collective, mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, the oppressed people of Azania decided long ago to employ whatever means are at their disposal to gain their inevitable victory. They consciously chose the path of armed struggle, not because they love violence, but because they know full well that it is the only true path to liberation in the face of racist intransigence and Western connivance.

113. While correctly opting for the path of revolutionary armed struggle against the perpetrators of a crime against humanity, we of PAC do not ignore or rule out the call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. We call for sanctions, and we shall continue to call for them, as we consider them an important contributory form of struggle.

114. We condemn unequivocally the military, economic, financial, diplomatic and other forms of assistance given by any country or régime to the racists, as such assistance plays a direct role in our suppression and subjugation. Moreover, we strongly condemn nuclear co-operation with the South African racists. We ask those who supply nuclear know-how and material to the racists: have you ever contemplated what would have been the fate of the universe if Hitler had had a nuclear device at his disposal? If the thought is frightening, is it proper or sane to arm with such deadly weapons men who were incarcerated during the Second World War for pro-Nazi activities?

115. In this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, we call on the peoples of the world who cherish justice and are resolutely opposed to all forms of exploitation to launch a major international campaign against all those that connive overtly or covertly with the South African racist régime.

116. Mr. LÓPEZ del AMO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): All of us in the Assembly know that the *apartheid* régime constitutes one of the most incredible social aberrations in the world today. That is why we have excluded its representatives from the work of our Organization, while the liberation movement occupies a place in our midst.

117. *Apartheid*, the practice of segregating human beings according to the colour of their skin, which is rooted in the concept of a world of slavery and in the Fascist ideology, proclaims white supremacy and separates whites from non-whites, and non-whites—mainly mulattos and Asians—from each other and from blacks, according to groups.

118. Foreigners in their own land, the 26 million black Africans are deprived of their fundamental human rights. The only future offered to them by the *apartheid* authorities is to be concentrated in bantustans—nine rural areas which, put together, constitute no more than 14 per cent of the territory of South Africa—like the national parks where the indigenous fauna of a country is kept.

119. To its brutal internal policy, which is comparable only to the Nazi or Pol Pot atrocities, the *apartheid* régime adds its colonialist and aggressive foreign policy of State terrorism. The illegal occupation of Namibia and part of the territory of Angola, repeated attacks and destabilizing actions against the front-line States and the mercenary actions against the Republic of Seychelles are examples of the international conduct of South Africa, which is contrary to the peace and stability of the region and of the world. That is why most of the international community has tried by every available means to put an end to the *apartheid* régime.

120. Last year the Assembly, in addition to recognizing “that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be totally eliminated”, adopted a series of decisions contained in resolution 36/172, with the opposition of only the United States and other Western Powers. In that resolution the Assembly, among other things deplored the situation existing in South Africa, condemned the acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime against Angola and other independent

African States and the military and nuclear collaboration of the United States and Israel with that régime, called for an arms and oil embargo, the cessation of investments and financial assistance and academic, cultural and sports boycotts and proclaimed the year 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

121. Only a few days ago, at the 56th plenary meeting, eight distinguished persons from different continents were honoured by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for their contributions to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa.

122. The support given to decisions of the General Assembly by the vast majority of Member States of the United Nations, as well as by the non-aligned movement, OAU and many non-governmental organizations throughout the world shows the universality of the struggle against the *apartheid* régime and the support for Africa's national liberation movement, which, with exemplary heroism, is facing up to the racist repression.

123. What, then, enables *apartheid* to survive? Only the multifaceted support given to it by the United States, Israel and other Western Powers. Whenever there is an attempt to apply to South Africa the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of this Organization, it comes up against the veto of the Western permanent members of the Security Council. The United States, Israel and other Western Powers continue to provide to South Africa's racist régime all possible political, economic, military and nuclear support.

124. Three thousand companies from some 20 Western countries are operating in South Africa, according to data made available last year. From 1978 to 1981 the number of United States corporations operating in South Africa rose from 539 to 894—in other words, 355 corporations were added to those already in operation, precisely in the year when the Assembly declared the mobilization for sanctions against *apartheid* in South Africa. More recently, despite the resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 37/2*] to prevent the granting by IMF of a loan of over a billion dollars to the *apartheid* régime, the loan was granted, thanks to the activities of the United States and its Western allies.

125. The United States, Israel and other Western Powers share with their racist partners in Pretoria the responsibility for the continuation of the *apartheid* régime, for the fact that Namibia has not achieved its independence, for the fact that the African front-line States continue to be the objects of South Africa's State terrorism, for the fact that peace and stability in that region of the world are in constant jeopardy and for the fact that the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are continuously violated.

126. The forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism, including zionism, come together to defend their spurious interests against the legitimate interests of the peoples. In fact, the only right being defended by those forces is the right to profits, the corner-

stone of capitalist societies, built on the blood of slaves and the exploitation of workers.

127. The alliance between Washington and Pretoria, proclaimed a year ago at the time of Mr. Botha's visit to the White House, is based on ideological affinity but it contains other elements, which were defined in the statement made on 3 March 1981 by President Reagan:

“Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we ever fought? A country that strategically is essential to the free world in its production of minerals that we all must have?”*

On the basis of that definition, it is not strange that in the course of this session the representatives of the United States in the Third Committee and in the Special Political Committee have given an apologia for *apartheid* and have given it the dimension of a paradigm.

128. The multifaceted support that the United States, Israel and other Western Powers lend the Pretoria régime is the best contribution to the further repression of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to the continuation of aggression against independent African States.

129. There will be no peace or stability in southern Africa as long as the *apartheid* régime continues to exist. That régime must be eradicated and replaced by a democratic and unitary State. There must be an end to the repression, the persecution, the massacres, the tortures and the murders of South African patriots.

130. World public opinion calls for the release of South Africa's political prisoners, of patriots such as Nelson Mandela, a symbol of resistance and of future victory. The struggle of ANC is already 70 years old. More than 20 years have elapsed since SWAPO began to fight for the independence of Namibia. In them, there beats the heart of all of Africa, the heart of the best of mankind, resolved, as is stated in the Charter of our Organization, “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person”.

131. The causes of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are causes very dear to the non-aligned movement. From its foundation to the present time our movement has been an essential factor in the struggle against colonialism, racism and oppression. We understand very well the difficulties of the patriots of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine who have to face the concerted action of the imperialist, colonialist and racist forces. But we also know that the struggle of peoples cannot be halted and that its victory is assured.

132. Three years ago the patriots of Zimbabwe were fighting in the jungles against the racist minority in Rhodesia. Today they are full Members of the United Nations and beginning in January they will be part of the Security Council.

133. History does not come to a stop while people struggle and sooner rather than later the legitimate representatives of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine too will occupy their rightful places in this Assembly. That is the commitment of honour of the non-aligned

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

countries, of the international community and of every man of worth.

134. Cuba's independence was born after a long struggle. From the outset, the ranks of our liberating army were made up of the sons of Spaniards, Africans and mulattos. Together they shed their blood. Together they followed the path of glory.

135. From our national hero, José Martí, we learned that "Man has no special rights because of the race to which he belongs". We learned that "Man is more than white, more than mulatto, more than black", and that "It is a sin against mankind to promote and spread hatred among the races".

136. The *apartheid* régime is a sin against mankind. The Governments of the United States, Israel and the other imperialist Powers sin against mankind when they support the racist régime. Placing their trust in the force of arms, they refuse to hear the voice of the peoples of the world. They forget that a just idea is worth more than an army. They forget that we no longer live in the piratical times of Francis Drake or the filibustering times of Teddy Roosevelt and his rough-riders. The peoples are on their feet. Mankind has said: "Enough". The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

137. Mr. NATH (India): Human society has come a long way since the dawn of civilization. Through the rise and fall of empires and the blossoming and atrophy of cultures, man has consistently conquered new horizons of knowledge, learning and achievement in virtually every sphere of human activity. Socio-political institutions have evolved considerably through the ages, in step with man's innate genius and his yearning for progress. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in particular, witnessed the phenomenon of the democratization of politics, of society, of economics and of life in general.

138. There have also, however, been those in history who have chosen to defy the process of change and thus to try and reserve the tide of history. They have so chosen, almost invariably, for reasons of narrow self-interest. They have resisted change in the apprehension that change would snatch away from them their positions of power and privilege. They have striven to preserve the systems and institutions by which they have arrogated to themselves the right to deem themselves superior to other, lesser mortals and to rule over them without scruple or regard for conscience.

139. That the policy of *apartheid* should persist in this day and age is to most people quite unthinkable. Notions of racial or ethnic superiority, however false, have prevailed in various societies over the ages. Individuals and groups have sometimes sought to promote such obscurantist ideas. Usually, those same societies or the Governments that administer them have exposed the fallacies inherent in such arguments and discouraged their propagation.

140. In that context, it is indeed incredible that a Government should continue, in spite of almost universal condemnation, to persist in the institutionalized practice of *apartheid*. Our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stated in the Indian Parliament in 1958:

"In South Africa, it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes South Africa's case unique in the world. It is a policy with which, obviously, no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is our ideas of democracy or human dignity. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way."

That was said in 1958. Lamentably, it can be said of the same country even today.

141. Thirty years ago, in 1952, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [*resolution 616 (VII)*] declaring that harmony and respect for human rights and freedoms and the peaceful development of a unified community are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all racial groups is on a basis of equality.

142. Eight years later, the Security Council first recognized that the situation in South Africa had led to international friction and constituted a threat to international peace and security. Since then the United Nations has adopted innumerable resolutions in an attempt to make South Africa see reason and abandon its racist policy. All those actions have been of no avail.

143. South Africa has disregarded all pleas, defied all appeals and treated the will of the world community with scant respect. It has only continued to enact Draconian legislation, intensify repression and trample without scruples upon the rights and sensibilities of its black and Coloured population. Every passing day we hear of fresh acts of repression, imprisonment of trade union leaders and activists, brutal torture and deaths in detention, and imposition of death sentences on valiant freedom fighters. The diabolical policy of the racist Pretoria régime of creating "bantustans", covered under the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, is designed to further dispossess the African majority of its inalienable rights and deprive it of its citizenship. Under this guise, over 5 million people have been uprooted to create racial pockets to serve the racial ends of a minority population. Never in the history of modern times have so few oppressed so many for so long.

144. The Pretoria régime, not content with its inhuman oppression of South Africans themselves, has escalated its subversive activities and aggression abroad. It continues not only to occupy Namibia illegally and to thwart efforts at bringing about its independence, but also to apply its repressive policies against the people of that Territory. It has indulged time and again in naked aggression against Angola and in efforts to destabilize other sovereign neighbouring States, like Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, and has committed acts of terrorism against those who have raised their heads to fight for freedom and dignity.

145. Not long ago Pretoria masterminded destabilization of the region by its armed subversive attempt—though abortive—against Seychelles. Do those of the international community who covertly and latently support and accept South Africa's repressive and aggressive racist policies imagine for a moment that other nations will sit back tight-lipped? Definitely not, and let me here unequivocally submit that the patience of the world community is running short. Too long have we tolerated South Africa's brazen defiance of world opinion. Too long have we waited and watched with hope that South Africa would recognize reality and choose a policy of sanity.

146. Today South Africa's policies demean its own people and threaten the peace and stability of the region. If we who value peace do not assert ourselves now, tomorrow South Africa will be a threat to the peace of the world. Even today, South Africa is trying to perpetuate its *apartheid* régime both in Namibia and within South Africa itself by seeking to impart legitimacy to puppet political institutions. I am afraid that by doing so they fool nobody but themselves.

147. No régime in the world, however strong militarily, can survive for long without popular support—in fact, in the face of relentless popular opposition—and history has ample evidence to bear that out. It is unimaginable that successive racist régimes could have managed to survive so long without the support, assistance and collusion of some of their friends and well-wishers. That assistance—both overt and clandestine—has been political, economic and military, and even in the nuclear field.

148. For all their professed disapproval of the policy of *apartheid*, South Africa's supporters must also answer to the charge of indirectly giving the Pretoria régime moral or, to be more accurate, immoral support. What else can one conclude when the Security Council is prevented by the actions of a few from imposing comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime? How else can one explain the continued supply of armaments and military technology to South Africa in spite of the existence of a supposed arms embargo against that country? How else has South Africa obtained nuclear-weapons capability, adding yet another dangerous dimension to an already volatile situation? Why do so many transnational corporations continue to plunder Namibia's resources through their dealings with South Africa?

149. The answer to all those questions are not far to seek. Clearly, South Africa has benign and powerful benefactors which enable it to persist in intransigence and in negation of all human values.

150. Less than a week ago IMF approved a loan of \$1.1 billion to South Africa. In doing so IMF spurned the appeal of the vast majority of nations in the Assembly. We cannot but express our deepest sense of regret and disappointment at this decision, which can only help Pretoria to laugh scornfully at all those who believe that isolating South Africa, and weakening it economically, is the only way to make it heed the will of the international community. As brought out in a study—strangely unpublished—commissioned by the Special Committee on decolonization, South Africa's drawings from IMF between 1975 and 1977 helped largely to meet increases in

its defence expenditures. Why this report did not receive wider circulation is a bit of a mystery. The latest loan would roughly equal the increase in South Africa's military expenditure from 1980 to 1982. Those concerned in IMF should have realized that voting in favour of this loan was not a vote for development or stability; rather, it was a vote for repression, subversion and aggression.

151. India's voice against *apartheid* was raised long before its own liberation from the colonial yoke. It was Mahatma Gandhi, the father of my nation, who first raised the banner of revolt against injustice and oppression in South Africa, much before many of us sitting here were born. The Government and people of India have consistently and firmly opposed all forms of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It was at India's initiative that the issue of racism in South Africa was first inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly, in 1946. It was India that was among the first countries voluntarily to impose comprehensive economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Pretoria régime, over two decades before the United Nations resolution of October 1968.

152. We have severed all diplomatic, economic, trade, cultural and sports links with the Pretoria régime. India has also acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. We have always supported the just and heroic struggle of the people of South Africa. Not very long ago, my Government conferred the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding upon Nelson Mandela. And only the other day our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated at Maputo:

“The [South Africa] régime is a remnant of the outdated colonial system . . . We share the deep agony of the black and Coloured people who suffer in South Africa. We share their faith in their ultimate victory . . . Zimbabwe is now free. So shall Namibia be. And indeed in the not too distant future South Africa too will be free of oppression, opening the doors of opportunity to people of all races. I salute the gallant freedom fighters of South Africa . . .”

153. One of the greatest poets of my country, Rabindranath Tagore, once said that the only thing that is constant in life is change. I reiterate that now for the benefit of those who seek to defy the inexorable logic of that statement. For those who stand in its way or attempt to turn it back, change must come with vengeance. How much longer can a repressive régime sustain the abhorrent system of *apartheid*? How much longer can human beings be deprived of their dignity and honour? How long can the United Nations remain an impotent witness to the desecration of humanity? How much longer can Pretoria avoid the writing on the wall? I am convinced that we shall not have to wait much longer.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22, sect. III, paras. 301-302.