



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (*continued*)*

(a) Report of the General Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite the General Assembly's attention first to the third report of the General Committee [A/37/250/Add.2] concerning the agenda of the current session.

2. In paragraph 1 (a) and (b) the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Observance of the quincentenary of the discovery of America" and its consideration directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (a) and (b) the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations" and its consideration directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly also approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

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

4. Mr. CHAND (Nepal): At the outset I should like on behalf of my delegation to convey our deep sympathy and heartfelt condolences to the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the sad demise of Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

5. The world has witnessed in many instances how policies of discrimination on grounds of race, creed or

colour, besides being unethical and tyrannical in themselves, can bear the seeds of war. Therefore, 37 years ago, when the founding fathers of the United Nations took a pledge to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, they unmistakably reflected in the very first Article of the Charter of the United Nations mankind's firm faith in fundamental human rights and respect for the dignity and worth of human persons. This principle of the inalienable rights of all members of the human family found its subsequent expression in yet another historic document of the United Nations, namely, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

6. The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, the subject under discussion, clearly represent the extreme antithesis of the values enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly has, for the past several years, repeatedly denounced the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa as a gross violation of this unalterable principle of basic human rights and as a crime against humanity itself. The policy of *apartheid*, based as it is on the fallacious notion of the superiority of one race over another, is socially unjust, politically dangerous and economically preposterous. The situation in South Africa as it obtains today is universally recognized as a threat to international peace and security and to the development of genuine international co-operation. The racist oppression in South Africa has been the cause of the enormous suffering of its own people.

7. In the course of 30 years over 3 million black people have been reported uprooted from their homes, about 13 million Africans have been arrested and 7 million Africans have been deprived of their citizenship in their own country, through its policy of creating bantustans. Over 5,000 people, including women and children, have been held in custody and subjected to brutal torture. In its efforts to stop the march of freedom, the Pretoria régime has waged an undeclared war against the Namibian people and committed acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against the neighbouring States of Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and, recently, Seychelles. Racist South Africa's mounting arms build-up and its nuclear programme cannot but pose an increasing threat to peace in the region and the world at large.

8. The question of racism in South Africa has been on the United Nations agenda since 1946. The United Nations has adopted several resolutions to bring to an end this anachronistic system, but racist Pretoria has defied all appeals to abandon its policy of *apartheid*. It has continued, on the contrary, with its measures to consolidate it further, behind a smoke-screen of diversionary propaganda. It is indeed

* Resumed from the 31st meeting.

** Resumed from the 62nd meeting.

frustrating to note that the *apartheid* system, so universally condemned, persists to this day, and it is no secret that it has persisted largely because of some external support extended to it overtly or covertly. Such a situation constitutes a grave undermining of the authority of the United Nations and a betrayal of the commitments of the international community.

9. It may be recalled that the General Assembly has repeatedly called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation fully endorses the recommendation as the most appropriate, effective and peaceful measure by which the international community could bring to an end the *apartheid* system.

10. It was with a profound sense of regret that my delegation learned of the recent approval by the International Monetary Fund [IMF] of a loan of \$US 1.1 billion to South Africa. Particularly disturbing is the fact that IMF continues to provide the racist régime with large-scale monetary assistance despite resolution 37/2 of the General Assembly against such a loan.

11. This year has been proclaimed by the General Assembly the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 36/172 B]. At this juncture, my delegation would like to assure the people of southern Africa that they do not stand alone in their struggle against the *apartheid* system but that they continue to enjoy the moral and political support of people of conscience the world over. Nepal, for its part, will, as ever, stand by their side in their arduous struggle towards their goal.

12. Finally, my delegation commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria for their relentless campaign for international support and assistance for the struggle of the South African people. I also take this opportunity to thank the Chairman very much for his excellent report on the agenda item under discussion [A/37/22].

13. Mr. CORRÊA DA COSTA (Brazil): On behalf of the delegation of Brazil, I wish to express to the delegation of the Soviet Union our sincere condolences on the demise of Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I request the Soviet delegation to convey to the Soviet Government and to the bereaved family the Brazilian delegation's sympathy in this moment of sorrow.

14. Each time the item entitled "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" is taken up by the General Assembly, I feel tempted to avoid participating in the debate. After all, my country's position on the subject is a matter of record, as I believe is the case with the position of each and every Member State. I say I feel tempted not to speak, because I am convinced that in many instances repetition blunts sensibility. Nevertheless, the nature of *apartheid* is such that forswearing this annual opportunity to condemn it might be interpreted as some form of acceptance of its inevitability. Nothing could be further from the truth. Those who are responsible for the perpetuation of what the international community has already described as a crime

against humanity must come to understand that they will have no respite until they take serious and trustworthy measures to bring *apartheid* to an end.

15. There is hardly an item on our agenda that musters the same degree of unanimity as the one under consideration. *Apartheid* is repudiated in all quarters of the globe. Apart from those that practise it in South Africa, nobody has ever raised a voice in its favour. There is no way to gauge the extent and intensity of the efforts and actions of the United Nations and of the world at large to eradicate *apartheid*. Perhaps no single issue has engaged our attention so compellingly and for so long. Yet *apartheid* still exists. Its evil effects are felt daily by millions of South African men and women who continue to suffer the humiliation of being treated as second-class citizens in their own country.

16. Again this year the General Assembly will adopt a number of resolutions on this item. Just as has been the case so often in the past, these resolutions will fall short of achieving their full purpose. As a result, *apartheid* will go on thriving as a political doctrine meant to give legitimacy to a social order in which the very few feel no constraint at subjugating an entire people on the grounds of their ethnic traits. If we are to succeed in our endeavours, we have to face reality and shall perforce arrive at the conclusion that our words alone, however loudly proclaimed in this Hall, will not help liberate the people of South Africa from the yoke of racial domination. Over the course of the years Brazil has undertaken a series of actions that in our opinion are the best contribution we can make towards the achievement of our common goal. Every country should be in a position to know for itself in what way it can best assist the international struggle against the crime of *apartheid*. While there may be differences of opinion on which measures would be most advisable in the short run, Brazil is convinced that all countries have realized by now that the elimination of *apartheid* is in their own best interests and that the less violently this can be brought about the better.

17. In addition to moral and ethical considerations, Brazil's commitment to international efforts to eliminate *apartheid* is a matter of self-interest. Our national interests are inextricably linked to the search for peace and to the achievement of a climate of general understanding among nations. We are, therefore, convinced that no effort should be spared to prevent the tensions lurking in South Africa from developing into an all-out conflagration which will inevitably spread not only throughout the southern African region but far beyond, with unforeseeable consequences. Some days ago Mr. Robert McNamara, the former President of the World Bank, warned that unless the South African authorities soon accept the principle of majority rule, South Africa, by the 1990s, will pose a threat to international peace and security equivalent to that posed by the Middle East today. This foreboding is shared by many others all over the world. Symptoms of what looms ahead are rife: the militarization of Namibia, a Territory illegally occupied by South Africa, from which it stubbornly refuses to withdraw; the occupation of part of the territory of Angola and the constant military forays into that country; the repeated attempts to destabilize neighbouring inde-

pendent States; the ever greater determination to pursue a policy of bantustanization.

18. These are only some of the aspects of South Africa's present behaviour which may become uncontrollable in the future. I have decided not to delve into the details of the situation in South Africa. I need hardly do so at this stage. Let me just add before concluding that the present South African leaders should be prevailed upon by those that may exert some influence over them to realize that time is running out and that, unless they change their policies, racial confrontation in South Africa will continue to increase, leading to ever growing tension in the area.

19. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Ukrainian people, like all Soviet people, are profoundly grieved by the passing of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. His multifaceted Party and State activities are inseparable from the most important stages in the history of our State. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev played an outstanding role in forming and conducting the foreign policy of the USSR, a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, détente, disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. That policy will be consistently and purposefully continued by our people.

20. Our position of principle remains unalterable on the question of the struggle against colonialism and racism. In the complicated and diverse range of problems considered by the United Nations, the item on *apartheid*—the disgusting official policy and practices of the white racist minority, which seeks by all possible means to retain the domination over millions of indigenous people in South Africa—is of particular importance.

21. Thirty years ago, in September 1952, representatives of 13 developing States, supported by the socialist and other progressive countries, proposed the inclusion on the agenda of the General Assembly of the item on the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa.¹ Its initiators believed in the need for an immediate examination of the problem of *apartheid* as a flagrant, massive violation of the fundamental rights and human freedoms proclaimed and enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

22. However, in subsequent years the world witnessed ever more horrible crimes being committed by the racist régime of Pretoria. Three million of the black population were forcibly relocated from their places of birth and 13 million Africans were arrested on the basis of the humiliating pass laws, which restrict the freedom of movement outside reservations. So-called bantustanization has led to a situation in which 7 million Africans do not have the citizenship of their own country. The international community was shaken by the bloody events in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Soweto in 1976. Thousands of innocent civilians were killed or wounded, including the elderly, women and children. Thousands of people were thrown into the racists' torture chambers.

Sophisticated, brutal torture of victims subjected to repression was a daily occurrence in South Africa.

23. The ever increasing aggressiveness of the *apartheid* régime has given rise to serious concern among the international community as well as frustration at the failure to solve the problem. In view of their desperate situation, the racists of Pretoria are using armed force, hoping to intimidate the independent African peoples and compel them to renounce their support for the legitimate struggle of the patriots of South Africa, headed by the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC].

24. South Africa continues its militarization of the illegally occupied territory of Namibia and is expanding its military activities against the Namibian people and their sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The racists have undertaken large-scale military activities against the People's Republic of Angola and at the present time are occupying a large part of the territory of that country. Zambia and Mozambique are constantly subjected to acts of terrorism and aggression. On 25 November 1981 a group of mercenaries carried out an incursion into Seychelles with the aim of overthrowing the Government of that sovereign State. The report of the Security Council and the testimony given by the mercenaries themselves irrefutably revealed that the incursion had been planned and organized by the South African authorities.

25. The list of evil acts and crimes committed by the South African racists in violation of generally recognized norms of international law, could go on. The danger to international peace and security of the policy of *apartheid* appears particularly threatening if we look at Pretoria's actions in the context of the global strategy of the imperialists. The leaders of the front-line States, at the summit meeting held in March this year, mentioned the increasingly aggressive nature of the imperialists, the tool of which in this region is South Africa.

26. There is no lack of facts showing that all-round collaboration by the imperialist States of the West, primarily the United States, with the Pretoria régime has entered into a qualitatively new stage at the present time and is the main obstacle to the elimination of the criminal system of *apartheid*. Those facts are eloquently and convincingly presented in the report of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*. For example, it states:

“... the responsibility of the major Western Powers and many transnational corporations and other interests which have, in spite of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, helped sustain *apartheid* by their collaboration by providing military, economic, technological and other support...” [*ibid.*, para. 312.]

27. The actions of the United States of America arouse legitimate indignation, for they have cynically stated their intention of continuing constructive relations with the racist régime. As we learned from the Washington publication *Transafrica News*:

“In the spring of last year, top U.S. officials informed their South African counterparts that domestic change within South Africa would not be a

pre-condition for improved U.S./South Africa relations.” [*Ibid.*, para. 331.]

28. The South African authorities were also informed that the United States was trying to bring nearer the time when South Africa would take its place in the regional system of security interests. Today we can say quite clearly that the United States has been faithful to its commitments. The figures speak very eloquently about the growing collaboration between the United States and the racist régime. According to an article in *The New York Times* of 3 November 1982:

“The value of American investments in this country rose by 13.3 per cent in 1981, to \$2.63 billion ...

“Some 250 American companies with subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa account for about one-fifth of total foreign investment there ...”

29. How, if not by a desire to retain this racist preserve, can one explain the more than \$1 billion loan given by IMF to Pretoria? This was only possible because the present United States Administration made full use of the principle of the so-called weighted voting system. All this happened only a few days after the urgent appeal by the General Assembly [*resolution 37/2*] to refrain from granting credits to the South African aggressors who had just spent the same amount waging a war against the People’s Republic of Angola. This was really an unprecedented challenge to independent Africa and to the international community as a whole.

30. The broad military assistance given by the Western Powers, particularly by the United States and other member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] and Israel, to the white minority Pretoria régime, arouses universal condemnation. That assistance, which circumvented the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) on the supply of arms to South Africa, led to a situation in which by the end of the 1970s the level of general military self-sufficiency in South Africa reached 70 per cent to 90 per cent. Furthermore, as stated in document A/AC.109/704, South Africa has become the largest arms producer in the southern hemisphere and the tenth largest in the world.

31. We are seriously concerned by Pretoria’s feverish attempts to acquire the nuclear weapon, with the assistance of its sponsors. Bearing in mind the increasingly aggressive nature of the racist régime of South Africa, the implementation of such plans is fraught with serious consequences, for they constitute a threat not only to Africa but also to international peace and security. In this connection, we consider the decision of the group of sponsoring States to submit again for the General Assembly’s consideration a separate draft resolution demanding the ending of collaboration with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields to be quite correct.

32. The international community cannot any longer postpone the adoption of effective measures to eliminate the last bastion of racism and *apartheid* in our world. My delegation feels that the most effective way for the United Nations to give practical assistance to the struggling people of South Africa, under the leadership of its political vanguard, ANC, is by

adopting comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

33. The joint efforts of Governments and non-governmental organizations and of all people of good will are now more necessary than ever before to overcome the obstructionist position of the imperialist States and to call upon the Security Council once again to adopt effective measures under the Charter against the *apartheid* régime. For its part, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is willing to work actively with all interested delegations to carry out that task.

34. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Virtually since its foundation our Organization has been compelled to take up the extremely important problem of South African *apartheid*, that most disgusting form of racism, which is the basis of the ideology of the Pretoria régime and the organizational principle on which State power is exercised in South Africa. That system allows the white minority to exert by means of force unimpeded oppression of the non-white majority of the population and to exploit it to the utmost in the economic sphere. This is not only completely contrary to the system of ideological values and humanitarian ideals of mankind in the second part of the twentieth century, and to the feelings and moral consciousness of peoples, but also violates the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and a number of other important resolutions and declarations of our Organization.

35. The adoption and pursuit of the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. That policy is in essence completely inhumane, and at the same time it is aggressive a priori. Like other racist ideologies, *apartheid* involves oppression and repression on the one hand and acts of aggression against other States on the other. The exercise of *apartheid* as a State policy is not something that relates to the internal régime only; it seriously impedes the completion of the decolonization process and also constitutes a serious threat to security and international peace.

36. The policy of the Government of South Africa is eloquent proof of that. The Pretoria régime, with its cruel repression of the non-white population, continues its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, refuses to recognize the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and to respect the territorial integrity of Namibia. In addition, it has unleashed an undeclared war against Angola, Mozambique and other independent African States and has committed acts of destabilization, diversion and terrorism on the territory of these neighbouring States. The interests of the South African racists were at the root of the attempted *coup d’état* against the Seychelles. The aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime has led to a situation in which Africa has been turned into an explosive pocket of tension.

37. In our Organization and other forums, world public opinion is often treated to theories about the alleged evolution of *apartheid*, its alleged toning down, but these are attempts to justify what cannot be justified, a case of taking the desire for the fact. For the system of *apartheid* continues to exist,

despite the fact that its ideologues and zealots make a great fuss about certain changes from time to time. The whole system of discriminatory laws remains unchanged. As the system of *apartheid* is strengthened, the repressive machinery is strengthened too, in particular the police and the army; some of the facts revealed in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* are eloquent testimony of this.

38. Examples have shown quite clearly that some of the changes in South Africa, much vaunted by a number of Western countries, are only cosmetic changes made for propaganda purposes. This system cannot be reformed; the only way, in the interests of humanity and decolonization, peace and international security, is the consistent and speedy abolition of the *apartheid* system.

39. The implementation of the policy of *apartheid* would be impossible were it not for the generous, multifarious and systematic assistance given to the Pretoria régime by a number of Western States, primarily the United States. Member countries of NATO are relying in their strategic plans on a militarily strong South Africa and on the dominating position of the reactionary régime of *apartheid*. At the same time, they are fully supporting the policy of destabilization of progressive African States pursued by the Pretoria régime. That régime is for them another guarantee of their unimpeded, unceasing exploitation of the mineral wealth and the labour market in southern Africa. Despite the important decisions taken by our Organization, and against the will of the overwhelming majority of world public opinion, the United States and other Western countries continue to arm South Africa. This is occurring with the particularly active participation of Israel, whose increased supplies to South Africa are mentioned in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. As was quite rightly said in another forum, the Western countries concerned have raised and armed a nuclear Frankenstein in southern Africa. They have expanded their economic collaboration with South Africa and have increased their capital investments there. The conditions are being created for economic collaboration between their citizens and private companies in South Africa.

40. As is stated in the study by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, published in Brussels in September 1981, since 1978 the number of Western monopolies which invest in South Africa has increased from 1,888 to 3,035; that is, by 1,152. As that study says, 80 per cent of those monopolies are based in the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and France. Interested Western States are creating conditions for the activities of the transnational corporations, for the benefit of South Africa. Investment in South Africa goes hand in hand with the violation of the oil embargo. Thus, the political, economic, propagandistic and military support given to the Pretoria régime and to its policy of *apartheid* has led to the organic unity of the position of these countries.

41. A few weeks ago at its 40th plenary meeting, the General Assembly was compelled to state its views about the reprehensible intention of IMF to grant South Africa a loan of more than \$1 billion. That is a loan which will certainly be used to cover the in-

creasing expenditure of South Africa entailed in its repressions, its occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States. We learned with great disquiet that IMF had ignored an appeal by our Assembly and granted the loan to South Africa. Its decision has also been signed by representatives of States which have systematically blocked the adoption of effective measures against *apartheid*.

42. The results of the vote in the IMF are well known. The loan was approved, thanks to the weighted voting system in IMF, by representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Canada. IMF has once again quite definitely adopted a position of strength preferring the interests of capital and profit to the postulates of humanism, decolonization and peace in southern Africa. This is a blatant act which runs counter to the purposes and principles of our Organization.

43. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it would be useful to take a close look at the deleterious consequences for peace and security in southern Africa of the granting of that loan.

44. The Czechoslovak Government and people indignantly reject the criminal system of racism and *apartheid*, and express full solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia who are struggling against racial discrimination and colonialism. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, back in 1963, broke off all relations with the South African racist régime. We strictly abide by all United Nations resolutions which seek to isolate the South African racists, to eliminate the *apartheid* régime, to bring about the speedy granting of independence to Namibia, and to stop South Africa's aggression in southern Africa. We unreservedly welcome the proclamation of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [resolution 2919 (XXVII)] and the proclamation of 1982 as International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 36/172 B]. We also welcome the intention to convene a second international conference against racism and racial discrimination.

45. We highly commend the efforts and results of the work of the Special Committee Against *Apartheid*. We fully endorse the conclusions of that Committee, and the decisions they submitted to the General Assembly, which we consider to be cogent and effective.

46. We support any measures, including sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which our Organization might adopt to force the Pretoria régime to renounce *apartheid*, colonialism and aggression. We fully support the universal implementation of these measures, that is, their consistent implementation by all States, because only through joint efforts by the entire international community can we eliminate *apartheid*, that ignominious blot on modern-day civilization, a phenomenon which is totally incompatible with the purposes of our Organization and with the aspirations and ideals of all peoples.

47. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): My delegation was deeply grieved at the news of the death of President Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev of the Union of Soviet Social-

ist Republics. On behalf of my delegation I wish to express sincere condolences to the delegation of the Soviet Union on the loss of their leader, who was a great world statesman.

48. Turning now to the item before us, I should like to begin by commending the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which, under the able chairmanship of my good friend and brother Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, has continued effectively to spearhead United Nations efforts in the eradication of *apartheid*.

49. Because of the commitment and dedication of the Special Committee, the campaign against *apartheid* has reached new heights. Men and women of conscience all over the world have been aroused and the struggle against *apartheid* has become truly universal.

50. It is significant in this regard that our consideration of the question of *apartheid* this year was preceded by an important special meeting [56th meeting] during which seven eminent persons were given awards for their outstanding contribution to the struggle against *apartheid* and the cause of freedom and human dignity in South Africa. There is no doubt that these most fitting awards will provide a further impetus to the universal campaign against *apartheid*.

51. In the history of international controversies the question of *apartheid* is unique in many ways. It is a problem born with the United Nations and one that remains unresolved to this day. Ever since 1946 the question has appeared on practically every annual agenda of our Assembly. During this period the international community has called *apartheid* morally repugnant, a crime against humanity, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and a threat to international peace and security. The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions invoking the application of sanctions as a means of achieving the elimination of *apartheid*. However, in spite of the tremendous efforts exerted by the overwhelming majority of Member States, it has as yet proved impossible to eliminate *apartheid*, an inhuman and diabolical system which is being seriously challenged by world public opinion.

52. The fundamental reason for this state of affairs remains that, although opposition to and condemnation of South Africa's *apartheid* policies have been widely supported both within and outside the United Nations, the censures have not been translated into action because of the support given to the South African *apartheid* régime by some powerful Western States. The actions and reactions of these States have in effect contributed both directly and indirectly to the maintenance of the *status quo* in South Africa and have also enhanced the geopolitical role of the *apartheid* régime in the region, a role whose characteristics are *apartheid* at home and hegemony in the southern African region.

53. The *apartheid* régime's friends and allies talk of their traditional commitment to democratic ideals, to freedom, to justice and to equality. They say that they abhor violence and opt for peaceful solutions to intractable problems. True, there is much that is attractive in theory about this strategy. Unfortunately these verbal niceties bear little relation to the ques-

tion of *apartheid* in South Africa, either as it has evolved or with respect to where it is going.

54. South Africa's friends have not offered any rationalization of the contradictions apparent with regard to their policies towards *apartheid* in South Africa, nor have they explained how they have arrived at a balance between their moral positions and their perceived national interests in the economic, political, strategic and military fields.

55. Over the years South Africa's friends have offered two explanations. The first argument is that, in order to influence South Africa's policies, States have to remain on friendly terms with the Pretoria régime. The second is that economic development is a liberalizing force and therefore all those who wish to undermine *apartheid* and the racist régime ought to increase their trade with and investment in it.

56. These have long proved to be sham arguments. Decades of open economic relations between South Africa and certain Western countries have witnessed the escalation, not the abatement, of South Africa's repressive policies. Furthermore, the racist régime's friendly trading partners, rather than challenging its *apartheid* policies, have become apologists for it. In the first place these investors were lured to South Africa because of the larger than normal economic returns made possible by the *apartheid* policy of the régime. After all, exploitative economic returns are the rationale on which the *apartheid* system, with its essential ingredient—plentiful, cheap and enslaved labour—is built.

57. It is equally foolhardy to argue that friendly diplomats in Pretoria will have any impact on the *apartheid* régime when time and again their Governments have made it abundantly clear that they will not back diplomatic initiatives with substantive action. *Apartheid*, after all, is not a minor wayward prejudice which the Pretoria régime could be shamed into abandoning. On the contrary, it is an institutionalized system which secures status, economic and political power, fundamental human and social rights for its minority white ruling class by using the full power and resources of the State to ensure that the black masses are kept under perpetual domination and in servitude.

58. Today, 35 years after its institutionalization, *apartheid* continues to oppress, exploit and deny basic human rights to the black masses in South Africa and Namibia. It continues to degrade and dehumanize millions of black Africans because of the colour of their skin.

59. Recently, in a lecture he delivered at a South African university in Johannesburg, the former United States Secretary of Defense and former President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, said that unless South Africa's *apartheid* policies were changed fundamentally, "they will eventually lead to a catastrophic racial conflict that will have serious ramifications throughout the Western world". Mr. McNamara also said that failure to act now to eliminate *apartheid* would only ensure "having to act desperately later".

60. Time is certainly running out and so are the options open to us. We must act unanimously to back our pronouncements with substantive actions. All too often some among us, particularly the major

Western Powers, profess abhorrence of the *apartheid* system while in practice they perpetuate that crime against humanity. For instance, these countries recently voted in favour of the granting of a credit facility of over \$US 1 billion to South Africa by IMF. They did so notwithstanding the fact that the Pretoria régime was likely to use this facility to boost its military establishment in order to defend the *apartheid* system. The deplorable IMF vote was taken in total disregard of overwhelming opposition to the credit facility being extended to South Africa.

61. There is no doubt that the ambivalent attitude of certain Western Powers has strengthened South Africa in its intransigence. With the full support of the United States, South Africa now insists on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a prior condition of Namibia's independence. If the United States is genuinely interested in Namibia's independence, why should it at the same time give the Pretoria régime a pretext for perpetuating its illegal occupation of the territory by raising and insisting upon what is a totally extraneous issue?

62. The apologists for South Africa in certain Western countries have also been busy trying to deceive the world into believing that the Pretoria régime is committed to change in its *apartheid* policies. Much propaganda has been unleashed to glorify the so-called reforms in the *apartheid* system.

63. The oppressed people and the international community as a whole cannot and should not be deceived. The so-called changes are calculated only to weaken the ranks of the opponents of *apartheid*. They are intended to create a conflict between the blacks on the one hand and the Coloured and Indian communities on the other. As could be expected, they have been rejected by all South African patriots. Nothing short of the total eradication of *apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations and the establishment of a democratic State in which all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, will enjoy equal rights, including the right to elect a representative national Government, will satisfy the oppressed people and put an end to their just struggle.

64. My delegation pays a tribute to the oppressed people of South Africa for their heroic struggle under the leadership of their national liberation movement. We are confident that their struggle will be rewarded with victory in the not too distant future. *Apartheid* will certainly be eradicated and majority rule will come to South Africa.

65. Mr. MUSTAFFA (Malaysia): We meet today at a most difficult and unpredictable time in our common endeavour to strive for a better world. The international economic and political environment has not been improving. It has in fact worsened.

66. The General Assembly has therefore a special and important duty to perform this year. We will have to implement expeditiously the decisions of 1981 in the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa² and take separate and collective measures to implement the objectives of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa to eliminate *apartheid*.

67. The perpetuation of *apartheid* in South Africa is indeed one of the most humiliating human experi-

ences of our time. The fact that it is getting worse demands a greater and more concerted effort on our part. The people of South Africa must be liberated and their most fundamental rights and liberties must be recognized and restored.

68. The white minority régime of Pretoria continues very religiously professing and stubbornly implementing its State philosophy and national policy of *apartheid*. This neo-Nazi ideology is already defunct in the eyes of the world—a policy that this Assembly and the world community have declared to be a crime against humanity. *Apartheid* is a challenge to international morality. It defies the norms of international law and is a glaring violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. *Apartheid* and the policy of *apartheid* threaten international peace and security. Rightly, the minority white régime of Pretoria is seen as the international delinquent by the world community.

69. Emboldened by the encouragement and assistance of a few major Powers, including the delinquent entity in Tel Aviv, the Pretoria white régime has acted with total disregard of and disdain for the decisions and views of the international community. It has intensified with impunity its repression and brutality against the people of South Africa. It has unleashed a reign of terror against the nationalist freedom fighters of southern Africa and has increasingly resorted to indiscriminate arrests, detentions and torture of innocent men, women and children. It has committed aggression against its neighbours and flagrantly violated their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

70. Since 1952, over 3 million of the people of South Africa have been uprooted from their homes. About 13 million have been arrested under the humiliating pass laws, which restrict their freedom of movement outside the reservations. About 7 million have been deprived of their citizenship in their own land through the policy of bantustans. Thousands of civilian men, women and children have been killed or maimed. Over 5,000 people have been held in indefinite detention without trial. Many more are believed to have been tortured brutally during interrogation for suspected offences. Even women and children have not been spared.

71. South Africa is today increasingly resorting to aggression. It has expanded its aggressive activities by waging an unremitting war against the Namibian people, who seek independence from Pretoria's inhuman political bondage. South Africa, under the white minority régime, has embarked upon military adventures against its neighbours Angola, Mozambique and Zambia and has recently involved itself in a mercenary invasion of Seychelles in the Indian Ocean. Its military build-up and its nuclear plans threaten the area with wider conflict and conflagration which potentially represent an enormous threat to international peace and security.

72. The white minority régime of Pretoria would not be able to defy the world and carry out its evil scheme without the support and tolerance of a few major Powers and of the equally racist régime of Tel Aviv. We appeal to those countries to live up to their ideals and their love for humanity and to act

quickly and collectively with the rest of the world community in taking common measures for sanctions against South Africa so that the people in that country will be free from the last vestiges of inhuman political and social bondage. This is the only way in which the basic rights and liberties of the African population can be restored and the forces of democracy be returned through a one-man one-vote election once *apartheid* is eliminated.

73. It is now time for us to act in unity and in concert so that humanity will for ever be free from this tragic and shameful episode in our history, free from the enormous injustice, suffering and humiliation.

74. Malaysia, in its own way, was instrumental some years ago in the efforts that resulted in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. We have also joined in the endeavour to expel South Africa from the United Nations. We have continuously worked, through the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to remove this tragedy in South Africa. We hope that through our participation in the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as through our active involvement in other regional and international forums, we shall be able to help remove the odious forces of *apartheid* from the landscape of our contemporary history. We shall strive to fulfil the aspiration of Nelson Mandela, who has said that "in its efforts to keep the African people in a position of perpetual subordination, South Africa must and will fail".

75. Malaysia, true to its obligation and position, was among the first to break off all links and contacts with South Africa. There is a total ban on all trade and economic relations between Malaysia and South Africa and a complete prohibition on travel and the exchange of sporting activities between the two countries. We shall continue with our policy of complete boycott and sanctions against South Africa until the voice of the international community is heeded.

76. At the United Nations, Malaysia will continue to impress on those few States that still support South Africa to live up to their obligations under the Charter and to make the Security Council an effective authority that will compel South Africa to abandon its neo-Nazi ideology and *apartheid* policy. Among such States, those that are powerful permanent members of the Security Council must not paralyse the United Nations and prevent it from fulfilling its noble and humane objective of freeing the people of southern Africa from their inhuman bondage. We shall always deplore the attitudes and politics of that powerful minority in undermining the authority of and in misusing its prerogative in the Security Council.

77. My delegation is happy to give its full support to the recommendations made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as contained in its report on the wide-ranging measures to strengthen the sanctions against South Africa in qualitative and quantitative terms. We also wish to express our sincere appreciation of the good work done by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule. We also appreciate the efforts undertaken by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports in submitting to us the revised

draft of the Convention [A/37/36]. We hope that the draft will be adopted at this session in order to uphold the spirit of the Olympics and of the Gleneagles Agreement.

78. I should like to conclude by reaffirming my delegation's support for and commitment to the purposes and objectives of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa of 1981, so that the spirit of Nelson Mandela and others who proudly oppose that obnoxious policy will continue to grow with increasing vigour and effectiveness.

79. Mr. ADAMOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to express the profound sorrow of its people at their great loss, the demise of the great statesman of our time, a person who gave his whole life to the prosperity of the working people, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

80. The generally recognized merits of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev include the formation and pursuance of the foreign policy of the Soviet State, a policy which is aimed against a nuclear threat, strengthening the hopes of mankind for a future free of destructive wars. Yesterday we heard the deeply felt words of gratitude to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev from the sons of Africa and from the representatives of other States that cast off the fetters of colonialism with the help of the country which he led for nearly two decades. During that period, the map of the world has seen the emergence of dozens of African States and that tendency cannot be reversed.

81. The United Nations and the whole of the progressive world community has repeatedly condemned the South African régime's policy of *apartheid* as being incompatible with human rights, human dignity and the Charter of the United Nations, as a serious violation of international peace and security and as a crime against humanity. Pretoria's *apartheid* is the most disgusting system of racial domination in the world, involving the exploitation and humiliation of more than 20 million indigenous Africans. Not only has it caused, as it continues to cause, enormous suffering to the oppressed South African people and the people of Namibia, but it is also a source of, and a reason for, the continuous violation of peace and stability in the southern African continent and the systematic acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States, particularly against the People's Republic of Angola.

82. The Pretoria régime, which institutionalized *apartheid* and made it a State policy and ideology, tramples under foot the elementary human rights of the indigenous African population and answers the peaceful demonstrations of opponents of *apartheid* with cruel repression. It physically punishes the South African patriots and those fighting for their liberation from racial and social oppression. The prisons in the country are overflowing with political detainees, and to judge by the number of death sentences South Africa has long held the top place in the world in that respect.

83. In implementing their racist plans, the Pretoria authorities have over the past 30 years forcibly ousted from their native lands about 3 million native Africans.

Another 1 million Africans will suffer the same fate in the near future. Thirteen million Africans have been arrested under the humiliating pass laws, which restrict freedom of movement outside the reservations. Now, by virtue of those laws, more than 2,000 Africans suffer arrest every day.

84. Despite demands by the United Nations, the racist régime of South Africa continues to make even harsher the already Draconian measures against the indigenous African population. It conducts a criminal policy of bantustanization. Africans, because of their race, are thrust into the so-called homelands, which are allotted the worst land. The goal of bantustanization is to fragment the South African people and subvert the growing national liberation movements. Having created four such homelands, out of the 10 planned, the Pretoria régime has already deprived a third of the indigenous African population of South Africa of all rights in their own country, because when the homelands are created the Africans concerned automatically lose South African citizenship. Thus the South African authorities have resolved another of their important problems by creating a market of cheap labour, now migrant labour, which will be ruthlessly exploited by the South African and Western monopolies to produce capitalist super-profits.

85. The Western supporters and defenders of South African *apartheid* sometimes talk about the ostensible reform of the racist régime of Pretoria, but the cosmetic operations of the South African authorities do not and cannot change the racist, anti-human purpose of the *apartheid* system in South Africa. They seek to weaken the struggle of the indigenous population of the country to gain true freedom and seek to divert the wave of wrath and protest of international public opinion. These are merely attempts to guarantee the survival and adaptation of the ignominious system of *apartheid* at a time when throughout the world the last vestiges of colonialism are being eliminated. As many speakers have stressed, *apartheid* cannot be reformed; this ignominious system of oppression of the majority by the minority should and must be eliminated.

86. Events and many recent facts have shown that the South African racists have not softened their racial domination over indigenous Africans. On the contrary, they are hardening it by using the most monstrous methods. If anything has been reformed in South Africa—and I am talking about real reforms, not reforms in word only—it is primarily the military police machine of repression and aggression.

87. Ten years ago South Africa's armaments industry was capable of meeting only 30 per cent of the orders placed by the Ministry of Defence. According to the *Financial Mail* of 17 September this year, that figure is today closer to 90 per cent. We know that South Africa is now the tenth largest arms producer in the capitalist world. South Africa's military expenditure has grown more than threefold since 1977, amounting to about \$3 billion in the financial year 1981-1982. The military budget for 1982-1983 envisages another substantial increase—up by 24 per cent compared with that for 1980-81. Over the past few years the South African army's troop strength has been increased by 50 per cent, and the army is now half a million strong,

despite the fact that South Africa confronts serious economic and financial difficulties.

88. Disregarding the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the Pretoria régime is implementing a policy of *apartheid* in Namibia too. It is continuing its illegal occupation of that territory and is expanding and hardening its massive oppression of Namibians, primarily members of SWAPO. It has been turning Namibia into a springboard for aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States.

89. It is quite clear that South Africa could not continue its criminal actions, insolently disregarding the United Nations and the demands of world public opinion, if it did not receive constant assistance and support from the major Western countries that are members of NATO. The very existence of the *apartheid* régime would be impossible without Western support. Western investments in South Africa amount to tens of billions of dollars. The volume of trade between South Africa and the Western Powers is constantly on the increase. For example, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* states that between 1962 and 1980 South Africa's trade with the United States increased by more than 1,300 per cent; with the United Kingdom by more than 500 per cent; and with the Federal Republic of Germany by more than 1,700 per cent. In 1981 loans to South Africa amounted to \$2 billion, a threefold increase over those for 1980. As of March this year, the loans received by South Africa amounted to \$1.1 billion. As was once more shown quite recently, the United States and other Western countries are using the machinery of IMF to give enormous grants to the *apartheid* régime. After the \$250 million loan with which IMF oiled the wheels for the racists at the beginning of this year, we have again witnessed an all-time record loan of more than \$1 billion to the Pretoria régime, despite the special resolution adopted by the General Assembly, addressed to IMF and deprecating the very possibility of such grants to the racists. We could go on enumerating details of the munificence of the West in pouring out aid to the racist régime of South Africa as from a cornucopia. However, there is no need to dwell on the all-round collaboration between the Western Powers and the *apartheid* régime in economic, trade, political, diplomatic, military, particularly nuclear, and other spheres of activity. This is too obvious and too well known. We shall merely note some examples of the truly fatherly concern of the United States for the well-being of the racist régime of Pretoria which have been reported in the press this year.

90. At the end of February this year the Reagan Administration reduced its trade restrictions with South Africa and in particular opened the door for deliveries by United States companies to the South African army and police of so-called non-military goods, including computers, communication equipment and so on. In May this year the United States Administration adopted a very flexible policy allowing American firms to increase sales of nuclear equipment to South Africa. The Department of Commerce of the United States has informed us that since May 1980 five export licences have been granted for the purchase of equipment in the United States for the South African nuclear programme. Quite recently,

on 15 September of this year, *The Washington Post* stated that the Reagan Administration, at the request of the United States Department of Commerce, is considering deliveries to South Africa of sophisticated metallurgical equipment which can be used to produce important nuclear-weapon components.

91. All these and many other actions by the United States Administration are a manifestation and implementation of the avowed new regional strategy of the United States in respect of southern Africa. The essence of this strategy is the doctrine of recolonization, in which South Africa is to play the role of a destabilizer of independent African States.

92. The point of all this is that the maintenance of that pocket of colonialism and racism in southern Africa is in the long-term political, strategic and economic interests of the United States and other Western Powers, which see in South Africa a major bulwark of racism and a springboard for fighting the national liberation movements in Africa. According to the thorough report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa, entitled "South Africa: Time running out", published in 1981 by the Foreign Policy Study Foundation,³ among the interests and purposes of the United States in South Africa, the defence of its military strategic interests has become of overriding importance. Then we see that this is to guarantee sufficient deliveries to the United States of useful minerals such as chromium, manganese, platinum, vanadium and so on. All this shows that the Pretoria régime is an active tool of imperialism in Africa. The imperialists openly use the South African régime as a tool to perpetrate armed subversive actions against the sovereign States of southern Africa. They trample under foot the United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia and make attempts to maintain that country as a barbed-wire-enclosure preserve of racism and oppression for many years to come. That is why the Western Powers, primarily the United States, by frequent use of the veto in the Security Council, have impeded the adoption of effective measures against the *apartheid* régime. The conscience of mankind demands that there be an end to the despicable and inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

93. The illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa should be ended and power in that country should be immediately and unconditionally given to the Namibian people and its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. There must be an end once and for all to the acts of aggression of the Pretoria régime against sovereign African States. In particular, the aggressive South African forces should be withdrawn immediately from southern Angola. The Namibian and South African peoples must be liberated from colonial and racist oppression.

94. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the measures to eradicate the policies of *apartheid* contained in the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, calls for strict compliance with the sanctions that have already been imposed against the Pretoria régime and advocates the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

95. In conclusion, we should like to reaffirm our conviction that the just struggle against national and racial oppression in southern Africa will be crowned with complete victory and that the shameful system of *apartheid* will fall. It is the direct duty of the world community to promote that end by all the means available to it.

96. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Thirty years have gone by since the General Assembly first considered the question of *apartheid*. Throughout this long period the international community has substantially and effectively increased its pressure on the Government of South Africa in order to achieve the prompt and final eradication of an anachronistic practice which has rightly been dubbed a crime against humanity and a challenge to our Organization. This pressure has led to the growing isolation of Pretoria at the international level. However, it has not brought about the major changes called for by the General Assembly.

97. Indeed, with the exception of a few minor reforms that do not affect the substantive aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, racial discrimination is still the official policy of the South African State and the South African people today continue to be as oppressed as they were 30 years ago. The reasons for this are simple and have been repeatedly pointed out by the General Assembly. *Apartheid* is an intrinsically unjust system which cannot be improved by piecemeal reforms. The only valid acceptable alternative is its total elimination.

98. The continuation of the policy of *apartheid* has created a deep crisis in South Africa, the prolongation of which could have serious consequences for peace and security in southern Africa. This is a disturbing picture and what is needed is for the South African Government speedily and radically to change its present position. It is regrettable that this necessary change of attitude still seems far off. In fact, far from carrying through the fundamental reforms called for by the people of South Africa and by the international community, the South African Government has continued to develop policies that can only be explained as seeking a strengthening of *apartheid* rather than its elimination.

99. Thus, Pretoria has continued to develop its policy of bantustanization and has continued to imprison and repress political, trade union and spiritual leaders of the African majority. Furthermore, South Africa continues illegally to occupy Namibia placing obstacles in the way of that people's right to self-determination and independence and launching unprovoked attacks against the front-line States, whose Governments Pretoria seeks to destabilize. Even today, South Africa is occupying parts of Angola, violating the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State and seriously endangering peace and security in that region.

100. The continued intransigence of the South African Government and the danger to international peace and security represented by the policy of *apartheid* demand that the international community increase its pressure on Pretoria as a matter of urgency and in concrete form. This should be done through the effective measures repeatedly reaffirmed by the

General Assembly. As is clear, the frustration felt by the majority of the Members of our Organization is increasingly evident whenever this item is considered by the General Assembly. That is due largely to the fact that the opinion of this universal body has not been duly heeded by the Security Council.

101. Needless to say, the ineffectiveness of the Security Council concerning the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government is one reason for the growing discredit of our Organization. Furthermore, it is a significant incentive for South Africa to persist in its policy.

102. The reasons for the Security Council's inability to meet its responsibility in this area are well known to all and have been extensively examined by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report for this year. Those reasons, which show that interest and not justice is in many cases the yardstick for action in regard to South Africa, are the same as those that led IMF recently to decide, against the overwhelming opinion of the General Assembly, to grant South Africa a loan of \$1.1 billion.

103. Argentine solidarity with the struggle of Africa and of the international community to achieve the speedy and final eradication of *apartheid* is beyond any doubt. Our aim on this item is that of the whole of Africa: the total elimination of racism in southern Africa and the establishment of a just and egalitarian society in South Africa and Namibia, since only thus will a return to stability in this important region of the world and the harmonious development of the African continent be possible.

104. Consequently, Argentina most emphatically reasserts its determined support for the decisions of the General Assembly and joins in the appeal of the international community to South Africa to refrain from continuing the course of action which it has set for itself.

105. Finally, we wish to express our thanks to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which, under the effective leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule, has continued to do work of fundamental importance in preparing studies and making proposals which we hope to see properly reflected in resolutions of the General Assembly.

106. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): It is with deep sorrow that we learned yesterday of the death of President Leonid I. Brezhnev. He will long be remembered for his dedicated and courageous service to his country throughout his life, but particularly for his remarkable leadership during the past 18 years as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. His passing will be deeply mourned by the people of his country and, indeed, by the international community. On behalf of the Government and the people of Japan, I wish to extend our heartfelt condolences to Mr. Brezhnev's family, to the members of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations and to the Government and people of his great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

107. The question of policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa has been a matter of international concern for far too many years. The inter-

national community is united in its opposition to racial discrimination and particularly to *apartheid*, the institutionalized racism practised in South Africa, which continues to deprive the overwhelming majority of men and women there of their fundamental human rights and dignity.

108. One of the purposes of the United Nations, as stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3 and Article 55 of the Charter is to achieve 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. Regrettably, this basic principle is not respected in South Africa. It is deplorable that despite international efforts to persuade the South African Government to abandon its *apartheid* policies, the majority of people in that country continue to suffer under those evil policies, which are described in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

109. Japan has long been a steadfast advocate of the principle of racial equality. Its own entry into the community of modern States about a century ago came at a time when most of the peoples of Asia and Africa were suffering under racially discriminatory policies. The hundreds of thousands of Japanese who emigrated to other continents in the pre-war period experienced dehumanizing treatment in many of the recipient countries. For a number of years Japan was virtually alone in the struggle against racial discrimination. In 1919, at the end of the First World War, Japan attempted to have a clause proclaiming racial equality included in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but its efforts were to no avail.

110. Thus, Japan's opposition to racial discrimination is based not on some abstract intellectual concept but rather on our own bitter experiences, which have made us profoundly sensitive to the problem.

111. It is for this reason that my Government has consistently adhered to a position of uncompromising opposition to all forms of racial discrimination, and has resolutely opposed the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. The policies of *apartheid* must not be tolerated, for they trample upon one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations: respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms of all without racial distinction. South Africa's policies of *apartheid* must be vigorously condemned and the Government must abolish such policies once and for all.

112. It is reported that the Government of South Africa will shortly undertake some "improvement" measures with regard to the political status of Asians and so-called Coloured people in South Africa. We do not believe, however, that measures of this order will contribute to a fundamental change in the situation, because the problem can only be resolved by recognizing the rights of equality and freedom of all people living in South Africa, without regard to race, and by allowing all people to participate equally in the political, social and economic life of their country.

113. My delegation is fully aware of the prevailing feeling that, inasmuch as the steady stream of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over the course of the past 30 years has failed to produce any meaningful change in South Africa's policies, more

drastic action should now be undertaken by the international community. While fully sharing this sense of frustration, we would continue to urge that in efforts to achieve the prompt abolition of *apartheid* violence should be shunned. It is crucial that the international community continue to unify its efforts and exert, through peaceful means, maximum pressure on the Government of South Africa and encourage progressive and enlightened movements within South Africa to take more effective action. The ultimate goal of the international community's efforts must be to induce the South African Government to abandon its *apartheid* policies once and for all. To this end my Government has already taken the following measures: it maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa; it refuses to recognize the independence of the so-called Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; it issues no visas to South Africans for the purpose of cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities; it does not permit direct investment in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies.

114. Further, the Government of Japan, respecting the relevant United Nations resolutions, has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa. As a consequence, no Japanese bank or branch abroad has extended any loans to South Africa. In this connection, my delegation would like to point out that the information contained in a report entitled "Bank Loans to South Africa, 1979—mid 1982" does not reflect the actual situation. And with regard to military collaboration with South Africa, Japan has long adhered to the three principles on arms embargo, and has accordingly prohibited the supplying of arms and related equipment to South Africa by Japanese nationals or organizations.

115. With regard to peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or any related materials, nor has it extended any technical assistance to South Africa in nuclear-technology development.

116. Japan participated in the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid* which was organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the Government of the Philippines and held at Manila from 24 to 26 May 1982. That successful conference, which was attended by many countries from Asia and the Pacific, clearly demonstrated the solidarity of the people in the region with the people oppressed by the evil system of *apartheid*. My delegation expresses its appreciation to the Philippine Government for hosting such an important and timely meeting.

117. The Japanese people have consistently supported movements in South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid*. My Government has provided whatever humanitarian assistance it can through annual contributions to the relevant funds of the United Nations. We shall continue to do our best to accomplish our tasks on behalf of the oppressed people in that part of the world.

118. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Before I begin my statement on the item before us, I wish to associate my delegation with those speakers before me who have

expressed condolences to the Soviet delegation on the death of the Soviet leader, Mr. Brezhnev.

119. The report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* reminds us that this year we can take note of a number of anniversaries and landmarks in the history of the United Nations involvement with the question of *apartheid*. It is now 30 years since the specific question of *apartheid* was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly and 20 years since the Special Committee was established and an appeal made to Member States to take concrete measures against *apartheid*.

120. It might be added that 10 years ago the Security Council strengthened its arms embargo against South Africa and that nearly six years have passed since that embargo was made mandatory. We are of course nearing the end of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa—a year which coincides with the seventieth anniversary of the founding of ANC. My delegation extends to that organization warm congratulations on its historic struggle and on its persistent and determined efforts on behalf of the oppressed majority in South Africa.

121. In recent years we have been heartened by the courageous and successful national liberation movements on South Africa's borders, movements which have contained the spread of *apartheid* and brought achievement of the goal of eliminating racism and colonialism from southern Africa closer. We have noted also the firm and successful launching of the liberation struggle within South Africa itself. However, the anniversaries we mark this year cannot fail to remind us of the difficulties which still stand in the way of eliminating *apartheid* and the sad discrepancy between the goals and achievements of the United Nations in this regard. The virulent cancer of *apartheid* remains entrenched in South Africa. Furthermore, the Pretoria régime is still attempting to exert hegemony over southern Africa through subversion and military aggression and through its continued illegal occupation of Namibia. As a result, there is chronic tension, conflict and bloodshed in southern Africa, and both regional and international peace and security are seriously threatened.

122. There are some who claim that *apartheid* will disappear through the working of economic or other forces and who find it convenient to accept South Africa's attempts to cover the ugly face of *apartheid* with cosmetic measures. But the fundamental inhumanity and injustice of *apartheid* cannot be hidden, and it would be hard for anyone to deny that every hope of progress towards a just society in South Africa has been cruelly overturned. Compelling evidence of the deceit that underlies South Africa's propaganda can be seen in the well-publicized decision to allow the establishment of black trade unions. This decision has been followed by the systematic persecution of active leaders of these trade unions and by the death of many others, including Lawrence Ndzanga and Neil Aggett, who lost their lives after brutal interrogation and torture while under detention.

123. As the scope and intensity of the application of *apartheid* policies have widened and deepened, it has become more intolerable that this uniquely inhuman system should exist in a supposedly civilized

world. We have seen Soweto overtake Sharpeville as a symbol of racist brutality. The bantustan policy continues to alienate and dispossess Africans in their native land and to lock the African majority into an inescapable pattern of migrant slave labour. Legislation is being enacted to tighten the humiliating pass laws which go hand in hand with the bantustan system. The Assembly should strongly condemn the proposed legislation, euphemistically entitled "The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons". It seeks to reverse a decision of the South African Supreme Court which tended to liberalize pass laws affecting families, and it would reinforce the separation of husbands from wives and parents from children. It would also further tighten the system which confines in impoverished homelands Africans who are not needed for specific tasks by the white power structure.

124. It is claimed by some that South Africa is an open society operating under the rule of law. The grim reality is that the society has never been free and its laws have never been just where the African majority is concerned. Today, no voices of dissent, black or white, are allowed to be raised against a system of laws and a Constitution inspired by a philosophy of racism. As we know, South African leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and Bishop Desmond Tutu have been imprisoned, murdered or banned, and Pretoria turns a deaf ear to the protests and representations of the world community over the detention without trial, torture and execution of political prisoners.

125. The crowning injustice of *apartheid* is contained in a recent reaffirmation by the minority régime of its determination to exclude the black majority for ever from participation in the national political process. Africans must accept instead the mockery of self-determination and independence in the Pretoria-dominated homelands to which they are being banished against their will.

126. Unfortunately, the efforts of the world community to isolate South Africa until it changes its abhorrent policies have been largely nullified by the support and co-operation the Pretoria régime receives from its powerful friends and trading partners. This is not, of course, a new phenomenon. It has been evident over the past three decades, whose passing we have noted during this debate. But while Governments and large corporations have continued their collaboration with South Africa in the political, economic, military and strategic fields, the dismay, the disappointment and the frustration felt by African and other States has steadily increased. Undoubtedly this co-operation has contributed greatly to the entrenchment of *apartheid* and to the instability of southern Africa. The allies and trading partners of the Pretoria régime cannot escape responsibility also for the dangerous militarization of South Africa which has been effected in spite of the arms embargo; or for South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear-weapon capability with which it can threaten southern African States with nuclear blackmail.

127. The provision of massive financial support for the *apartheid* régime by IMF—a United Nations body—has rightly been condemned by the vast majority of Member States, but this development once again reflects the power of the interests vested in South

Africa. It also illustrates the ability of those interests to frustrate United Nations efforts to deny the racist minority régime the comfort and support of normal international relations. These interests seem indifferent to the fact that South Africa will undoubtedly use its IMF funds to entrench *apartheid* further and to continue its illegal occupation and military control of Namibia.

128. The General Assembly cannot fail to take note also of Israel's military and nuclear co-operation with a régime which is perpetuating the Nazi philosophy of the master race. The immorality and opportunism of this collaboration with Pretoria, carried out in open defiance of the United Nations, cannot be too strongly condemned.

129. Obviously the world community is still faced with a challenging task as it seeks to eliminate racism and colonialism in southern Africa. However, it has succeeded in keeping the question of *apartheid* before the conscience of the world and the steady and un-failing efforts of the majority of Member States will certainly continue while millions of Africans are subjected to this crime against humanity.

130. My delegation welcomes the increasing support that is being given for the attainment of the goals of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. It has long been evident that the threat to regional and international peace and security posed by South Africa's racist and belligerent policies and by its illegal occupation of Namibia demands action under Chapter VII of the Charter. The valuable work of national non-governmental organizations in gaining support at the grass-roots level for action against *apartheid* is another important contribution to the international campaign.

131. It seems clear, however, that effective external pressure for change in South Africa must come from its main trading partners. They can no longer claim with any credibility that conditions in South Africa have improved or that *apartheid* will wither away of its own accord. They must face the truth squarely that in continuing and strengthening their ties with South Africa they are placing themselves on the side of injustice, oppression and racism.

132. Recently, significant public statements on *apartheid* have been made by two Western statesmen who command great international attention and respect. Speaking in South Africa, Henry Kissinger called for human dignity, civil rights and full political participation for all South Africans.

133. In an article in *The New York Times* of 24 October, Robert McNamara warned that the refusal of the South African Government to make any fundamental changes in its racial policies appeared to make a violent explosion inevitable. In his view, such a catastrophic racial conflict would have serious ramifications throughout the Western world, and South Africa could become in the 1990s as great a threat to world peace as the Middle East is today.

134. My delegation strongly hopes that these statements reflect the development of new attitudes towards the question of *apartheid* and that 1982 will mark the beginning of a new era of co-operation on measures to end this evil and dangerous system.

135. Mr. CANDA MORALES (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government and people of Nicaragua deeply regret the death of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev. We have no doubt that the cause of world peace has lost a great defender. We would ask the Soviet delegation to be so kind as to convey to the Soviet Government and people our most sincere condolences.

136. Mr. President, since this is the first time I have addressed the General Assembly, I should like to congratulate you on your well-deserved election and to express my delegation's gratitude for the way in which you are conducting our debates.

137. May I make special mention also of the untiring excellent work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria.

138. We have just commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Ever since its inception, the essential purpose of the Committee has been to ensure that measures agreed upon by the Member States of this Organization are implemented against the South African régime, with a view to the elimination once and for all of all forms of racial discrimination—in other words, to bring about the disappearance of the abhorrent system of *apartheid* or, as one distinguished diplomat has said, of the most repugnant and inhuman vestige of the colonial era.

139. Over all these years eminent representatives of different countries in our international community have cast light on the system of *apartheid* through masterly analyses. Our Organization has adopted countless resolutions condemning it. Rarely in the history of our Organization has there been such unanimity on an issue.

140. Sixteen long years had to elapse between the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the Soweto massacre of 1976 before the concert of nations began to react vigorously. On 4 November 1977 the arms embargo was imposed on South Africa.⁴ We have to say that that embargo was as late as it was ineffective, as has been clearly demonstrated, because at the time the embargo was brought into being the South African régime already had a vast and expanding military industry. That was made clear when South Africa carried out its first nuclear test, in 1979.

141. The blunt truth is that in 34 years of institutionalization, South Africa has not only maintained its position, against the will of the 25 million human beings that make up the South African people and of mankind as a whole, but also become a highly dangerous destabilizing element in southern Africa. How has this surprising and confusing change been possible? The answer to that question seems absolutely clear to the international community.

142. When the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, Commander of the Revolution Ortega Saavedra, addressed this Assembly at the thirty-sixth session, he said:

“We are the bearers of a specific proposal which could assist Central America in its struggle for peace, at a time when the racist régime of South Africa is invading Angola, promoting destabilizing actions in Zambia, invading the southern part of Mozambique, and training mercenaries to invade Zimbabwe, all with the support of the present United States Government” [29th meeting, para. 7].

143. A year later the situation has not substantially changed. South African troops are still occupying part of the territory of Angola, which is an independent sovereign State and a Member of our Organization. Fascist by definition, the Pretoria régime continues to intensify its destabilizing activities against African countries, particularly the front-line countries.

144. The change brought about between the South Africa of 1948, the year when *apartheid* was institutionalized as a system, and the military-industrial State it has become in our time has been possible only because of the economic, military and political support it has received from some Western countries, but fundamentally from the United States. In other words, South Africa maintains its inhuman régime—inhuman because it alienates, tyrannizes and discriminates—as a result of its strategic alliance with the United States, which clearly involves close relations with the State of Israel. This multifaceted alliance, with its clear economic designs, has been a determining factor in the survival, consolidation and expansion of the South African régime and its policy of *apartheid*.

145. One of the axes of the current internal policy of Pretoria is continuance of the development of what has been called bantustanization, through which it is setting up a chain of pseudo-States around it as a so-called protective zone. Further, it seeks to sow division among the oppressed people by means of such detestable manoeuvres as pretending to grant limited political rights to the so-called Indians or Coloureds in order to use them against the black population.

146. Today no serious-minded person, no Government with common sense or a sense of responsibility, can fail to realize that Pretoria continues to receive advanced industrial technology, sophisticated electronic equipment, advanced computer systems and so on, which it pretends are not for military use. They are not poor countries, developing countries such as our own, which are furnishing large amounts of assistance, not only in material and equipment but also in financial resources. It is some of the industrialized countries, Western democracies, as they are usually called—this is one of the paradoxes of history, since they are supporting a country whose régime is the very negation of the idea of democracy—which are helping South Africa and continuing to do so.

147. We, the countries which are currently suffering from the savage repercussions of a world economic crisis, with enormous balance-of-payments problems, lacking the financial resources to carry out our economic development plans, we, the countries of the so-called third world, with a total debt which approaches \$600 billion, which are today having great difficulty in obtaining loans and having to pay high interest rates, we are the last to benefit from the

vast funds made available by IMF to the South African régime.

148. Could there be a clearer example of contempt for and mockery of the universal conscience than that furnished by IMF in granting a loan of some \$1.1 billion to South Africa?

149. Those who brought pressure to bear to facilitate the granting of loans to South Africa are those who are hampering and preventing the granting of loans to our country. Those who are encouraging the crimes of the Pretoria régime are those who are authorizing the carrying out of covert activities against Nicaragua, supporting, training and arming counter-revolutionary bands which operate from the territory of Honduras and devote themselves to sowing terror in the northern part of Nicaragua by murdering our citizens. On Monday, 8 November, may I mention in passing, those bands invaded our territory, violating the territorial integrity of Nicaragua, and kidnapped 42 humble peasants from the frontier area, taking them to Honduran territory, where they are being held to this day.

150. Indeed, the United States is responsible for systematically abusing the power of veto in the Security Council in order to hamper and prevent the implementation of effective sanctions against South Africa. It was the United States which vetoed the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council in April this year whose aim, among other things, was to promote negotiations between Nicaragua and the United States and whose prime concern was to maintain peace in Central America.

151. Despite the fact that the enormous responsibility that the United States bears concerning the survival of the racist régime of South Africa is sufficiently clear, Nicaragua urges the United States to reflect carefully and at least once to act consistently with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which it claims to support, and with the great responsibility which it bears because it is a permanent member of the Security Council.

152. Having a common enemy and aspirations to freedom and independence which are also common, Nicaragua, because of a matter of principle and solidarity with peoples, not only supports but, indeed, embraces the heroic struggle that the comrades of ANC and SWAPO are waging against the troops of the South African régime.

153. Hence, we urge the nations of the world to intensify the campaign totally to isolate the Pretoria régime. Nicaragua feels constrained to condemn the assistance and protection that many Western coun-

tries are giving the South African régime. We must condemn the policies of some countries, most particularly the United States and Israel, and their transnational corporations and financial institutions which have increased their levels of co-operation with the racist régime, thus disregarding our Organization's resolutions.

154. Nicaragua firmly calls for the unconditional and total withdrawal of all South African troops now occupying Angolan territory. We demand that no more unjustifiable excuses should be put in the way of the independence of Namibia, which is still illegally occupied by South African troops, and that States comply with the resolutions and decisions adopted by our Organization, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

155. We recognize and reaffirm the right of the people of South Africa and of their vanguard ANC to fight, arms in hand, to eliminate the *apartheid* régime, so that they then can exercise their right to self-determination.

156. We demand that the freedom fighters captured by the troops of Pretoria should be treated as prisoners of war under the terms of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol 1 thereto.

157. Finally, we demand the immediate release of the patriots imprisoned in the South African dungeons, among them Comrade Nelson Mandela.

158. Before closing, I wish to reiterate our unreserved solidarity with our South African brothers, with the ANC and with SWAPO and with the Governments and peoples of the front-line countries, and we also express our support for the enormous efforts made by the Organization of African Unity and of the international community as a whole to ensure once and for all that Pretoria and its *apartheid* policy will be wiped off the face of the earth and, indeed, from history.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Annexes, agenda item 66, document A/2183.*

² See A/CONF.107/8.

³ *South Africa: Time running out*, Foreign Policy Study Foundation, Inc., University of California Press, 1981, p. XXIV.

⁴ Security Council resolution 418 (1977).