



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 33

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

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

1. Mr. LOGIE (Trinidad and Tobago): Approximately one year ago the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 36/172 B]. This year, however, there has been a flurry of activity on the part of the régime in Pretoria and certain Western countries to blunt the ever-increasing condemnation and isolation of South Africa.

2. The recent decision by the International Monetary Fund [IMF] to grant South Africa a loan of more than \$1 billion is of concern to my delegation and indeed to those of all countries which believe in the freedom and dignity of man and woman, irrespective of colour or the racial or ethnic origin of the person. Such a loan will enable South Africa to continue with the oppression of its black citizens, to strengthen its illegal hold on Namibia, to continue attacks on the front-line States and to expand the scope of its mercenary activities. The continued collaboration between South Africa and IMF is a clear violation of resolutions of the United Nations which have repeatedly called for the denial of all assistance and commercial or other facilities to the racist régime in South Africa.

3. It is a sad state of affairs when certain members of the Security Council use the veto to frustrate the efforts by members of the international community to force South Africa to put an end to the despicable system called *apartheid*. It is also shocking when, in courting South Africa, certain countries view the strategic and economic importance of that country as being of more significance than that of the sub-human and inhumane conditions to which the white South Africans have relegated its black inhabitants. Any support for South Africa helps to nurture the intransigent attitude of the régime in Pretoria.

4. The refusal of the illegal, racist régime in South Africa to implement the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which calls for genuine self-determination and independence for all the people of

Namibia, is evidence of the régime's hardened policy and of its brazen contempt for the United Nations. It is unacceptable for South Africa to link the withdrawal of its troops from Namibia to an ending of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Withdrawal by South Africa of its troops from Angola and Namibia is not enough. It must be stressed that *apartheid* in all its manifestations must be eliminated before South Africa is accepted by the international community. Members of the international community must not be frustrated in their efforts to bring pressure to bear on South Africa.

5. South Africa's frequent attacks on Mozambique, Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia and its complicity in the unsuccessful attempt by mercenaries to overthrow the Government of Seychelles are a gross violation of the territorial integrity of those countries. Such action aggravates the already volatile situation in the region. The relaxation by the United States Administration on exports to South African Government entities, including the military and police, as reported by *The Washington Post* on 3 November 1982, will not help to defuse the crisis in that part of Africa. It might further serve to boost the confidence of the Pretoria régime, which could interpret this as United States tacit support for South Africa's suppression of its black inhabitants.

6. As a result of its increasing isolation in the sporting and cultural world, the South African Government has offered substantial sums of money to some of the leading sporting figures from the Western world to take part in related activities in that country. Trinidad and Tobago is totally opposed to all contacts with South Africa, be they cultural, sporting, military or economic. In the area of sports, I welcome the recent decision taken by the Commonwealth Sporting Authorities to ban from participating in Commonwealth Games countries that engage in sporting activities with South Africa.

7. Earlier this year, a group of cricketers from Sri Lanka defied the Sri Lankan Government's ban on sporting contacts with South Africa by visiting that country to play a series of cricket matches. My delegation welcomes the statement of the representative of Sri Lanka, who in his address on this item [61st meeting] announced that his Government had banned its rebel cricketers for 25 years for playing in South Africa. The action by the Government of Sri Lanka should serve as a warning to artists as well as sportsmen.

8. As opposition against *apartheid* mounts at home and abroad, the South African Government has become increasingly repressive: it has resorted to large-scale arrests, detentions and bannings, as well as to torture against trade union leaders, students, intellectuals.

professionals, churchmen and prominent members of its community.

9. The South African Government has attempted to thwart the rising wave of nationalism among Africans by increasing the establishment of bantustans, the so-called independent homelands to which the international community has rightly refused to accord any recognition. Trinidad and Tobago is in full accord with this refusal.

10. Earlier this year mayors from Trinidad and Tobago were among the more than 1,500 mayors from cities throughout the world who signed a petition appealing to the South African Government to release immediately and unconditionally all prisoners detained for their political views under the *apartheid* laws. My delegation joins with all critics of *apartheid* in calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. The régime in South Africa should know that imprisonment of the opponents of its inhumane system will not quench the desire of Africans for freedom, justice and human dignity. On the contrary, it will make them more bitter and more defiant.

11. In this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, my delegation takes the opportunity to express its support for the indefatigable efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, in the struggle to rid the world of the evils of *apartheid*. Those efforts have found a ready response in the numerous non-governmental organizations and individuals who are committed to the struggle against *apartheid*.

12. My delegation once more affirms its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and its continued co-operation with all those who are involved in the campaign against the brutish and evil system called *apartheid*.

13. Mr. BABBA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The problem of *apartheid* clearly became manifest in South Africa with the accession of the National Party to power in 1948, when that party started to perpetuate the domination of the white settlers in the country over what it called the "black danger". That régime started to implement its programme by enacting unjust laws that perpetuate *apartheid* and deprive the black African citizen of his most fundamental rights. The United Nations realized early the loathsome and tragic nature of the *apartheid* policy, which has been debated endlessly since 1952 and has been on the agenda of the General Assembly ever since that date. Despite the debate over the last 30 years, and despite all the efforts by the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations, this problem remains unresolved. Oppression and repression have grown in southern Africa and the suffering of the peoples of the area is continuously increasing.

14. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contains the following statements:

"In these 30 years, over 3 million black people have been uprooted from their homes.

"About 13 million Africans have been arrested under the humiliating 'pass laws' which restrict their freedom of movement outside the reserves.

"The racist régime has sought to deprive 7 million Africans of their citizenship in their own land through its policy of bantustans, and is proceeding with that policy.

"It has resorted to massacres—such as the gruesome events in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976—in which thousands of unarmed men, women and children have been killed and maimed." [A/37/22, paras. 295-298.]

15. It is indeed regrettable and embarrassing that the international community should have failed so far to eliminate the phenomenon of *apartheid*, which was condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. The practices pursued under this policy by the régime of South Africa represent a real tragedy inflicted on the African peoples in South Africa and Namibia where the Pretoria régime continues to defy the will of the international community and tramples daily on the principles of human rights to the knowledge of the international community.

16. Under that policy the black citizens of South Africa, who represent about 80 per cent of the total population, are subjected to the worst repression and oppression and to the most brutal exploitation. They are imprisoned and subjected to torture and assassination for merely demanding their rights and asking for justice, equality and self-determination. While the white minority dominates over all the important sectors of the country, particularly the production centres of the nation, the black citizens have no choice but to work in servitude for the companies, on the land and in the factories owned by the whites; thus they are exploited as cheap labour, they are denied the right to enjoy the riches of their own country, and they live a life of alienation on their own land. In this respect, a report prepared by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in September 1981 stated that in 1980 the average monthly wage of the black worker in the mines was 168 rand, while the average wage of the white worker was 1,057 rand. This means that the monthly wage of the black worker is only 15.8 per cent of that of the white worker. In addition to that, the transnational corporations that work in South Africa and Namibia use the *apartheid* laws to practise the most hideous and arbitrary acts of exploitation against the black workers. If they dare demand any improvement in their conditions, they are dismissed and banished to the bantustans, where they are alleged to belong.

17. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa has not been content with the hideous and scandalous massacres and the inhuman policies practised in South Africa and Namibia. It has gone so far as to spread devastation, subversion, intimidation and instability in southern Africa. It launches repeated military attacks against the front-line States and murders innocent civilians under the pretext of pursuing the combatants of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. It continues to occupy part of the territory of Angola and sends its agents to carry out subversive operations in the neighbouring countries. An example of this is the invasion by mercenaries of the Republic of Seychelles at the end of last year, designed to topple that country's Government, although it failed to do so.

18. Despite the repugnant policy and the aggressive acts carried out by the racist régime in South Africa, and despite all the United Nations resolutions calling for States to refrain from co-operating and collaborating with it, a number of States, first and foremost the United States of America, still maintain close relations of co-operation with that régime and provide it with aid in various fields. Moreover, these States have reinforced their relations with it in recent years and have encouraged their companies to invest in South Africa. The number of companies with investments in South Africa increased from 1,888 in 1978 to 3,035 in 1981. The highest rate of increase was that of companies from the countries forming the Western contact group on Namibia. The number of American companies increased from 539 to 894; British companies from 699 to 874; West German companies from 135 to 296; French companies from 116 to 202; and Canadian companies from 39 to 86.

19. Moreover, the well-known investments of the United States and of the States of the European Common Market in South Africa reached the figure of \$11 billion in 1979. This figure must undoubtedly have doubled by now. The United States, under the present Administration, has shown itself to be the State that is most enthusiastic about reinforcing its relations with the *apartheid* régime. The *Transafrica News*, published last June, stated:

“While repression inside South Africa has increased considerably over the past year, the United States has continued to broaden its friendship with this régime by: defending it in the United Nations; violating the mandatory United Nations arms embargo; allowing South Africa to enlarge the size of its defence attaché in the U.S. and increase the number of its consulates in the U.S.; offering to renew nuclear co-operation with South Africa; training the South African Coast Guard; tolerating South African stalling tactics in the negotiations for Namibian independence; and lifting trade sanctions against South Africa’s military and police.”* [*Ibid.*, para. 331.]

20. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa receives absolute support from certain Western countries which see in it a guardian of their strategic and economic interests in South Africa. It also receives the support of another racist entity—that is, the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. The similarity between the two régimes and their aggressive and Nazi nature is clear to everyone.

21. The racist régime of South Africa denies the black majority their fundamental rights and denies the Namibian people their right to self-determination and independence. The Zionist racist entity denies the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to establish an independent State of their own. The racist régime in South Africa occupies Namibia and a part of Angola. The Zionist racist entity occupies parts of a number of Arab countries and has recently occupied Lebanon, after wantonly invading it.

22. Both régimes have carried out repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring countries under the pretext of pursuing the freedom fighters, members of liberation movements, whom they call terrorists.

23. The identical nature of the two régimes has led them to maintain close co-operation with one another. The special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/37/22/Add.1] refers to the fact that Israeli exports to South Africa increased from \$48.2 million in 1979 to \$80.75 million in 1980. In the military field, the annual publication of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London reported that the South African navy had seven Israeli-built fast-attack craft, armed with Israeli missiles, and that seven more were on order. The London *Sunday Times* reported last May that, according to a book to be published in Israel, South Africa and Israel were developing a cruise missile with a range of 1,500 miles, a neutron bomb and various nuclear delivery systems.

24. The aid received by the racist régime in South Africa from the Western countries, as well as from the Zionist entity, in the form of investments and directly through the transnational corporations, and the technical aid that is given to that régime have enabled it to have access to the technology needed for the development of its military industries. It has become self-sufficient in the area of many types of military equipment and has consequently been able to strengthen its military capability to persist in its occupation of Namibia and to violate the sovereignty of neighbouring African States.

25. The support given by the United States of America and other Western States to the racist régime has not been confined to bilateral aid; it has included the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In the Security Council the Western countries have continually had recourse to the veto to defend that régime and prevent the Council from taking any deterrent measures against it.

26. It is regrettable and deplorable that IMF on 3 November granted the racist régime of South Africa a credit of \$1.07 billion, which is equivalent to the military expenditure of South Africa in Namibia. The loan was granted in outright defiance of the will of the Members of the United Nations and of the terms of General Assembly resolution 37/2 of 21 October 1982. That loan would not have materialized without the support of the American Administration, which as usual defended the racist régime and was able, through the voting power it enjoys, together with its Western allies in IMF, to secure IMF approval of the loan despite all the international initiatives that were taken to stop it. It is clear that the American Administration, which argued, in supporting the loan, that it did not want to politicize IMF, had itself in the past exploited the Fund for political reasons. In that respect, the Democratic representative William Gray III stated in *The Washington Post* of 2 November:

“This Administration has already politicized the IMF and other international funding institutions by opposing loans to Nicaragua, Viet Nam and Grenada and by insisting on a loan to El Salvador in spite of opposition from West European nations and IMF staff.”*

27. My delegation also knows that the American Administration tried to exploit its position in the Fund in order to prevent a number of African States

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

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from participating in the African summit which was scheduled to be held in Tripoli last August.

28. My delegation maintains that the international community must reconsider the status of IMF as a specialized agency of the United Nations and revise the Fund's voting system so that in future it will not be able to defy the resolutions of the General Assembly.

29. The policy of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and the dignity of man. The efforts of the entire international community should be co-ordinated to eliminate this policy, which we believe could not have persisted to this day but for the collusion of the United States of America and certain Western Powers, as well as the Zionist entity, with the racist régime in South Africa, which they have supported in the political, economic and military fields.

30. The desperate situation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia under the institutionalized policy of *apartheid* calls for more than sympathy and moral support. What is necessary is unreserved support for the armed struggle waged by those two peoples in order to throw off oppression and persecution and enjoy freedom and dignity within a society where justice and equality prevail in equal measure for all, regardless of origin, colour or creed.

31. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa to make it abandon its *apartheid* policy, in order that majority rule may be established and Namibia may achieve independence.

32. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is committed to a total boycott of the racist South African régime in all fields and I wish to reaffirm our unlimited support for the heroic struggle waged by the two peoples of South Africa and Namibia against *apartheid*, because we are convinced that the will of the nations can never be overcome.

33. With regard to the repeated acts of aggression carried out by the racist Pretoria régime against the front-line States, we also confirm our absolute support for those States.

34. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, for their efforts to mobilize international public opinion against the policy of *apartheid*.

35. Mr. SEWRAJSING (Suriname): The General Assembly, in its resolution 36/172 B of 17 December 1981, endorsed the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa of May 1981 and proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

36. In his report the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule, has given a full account of all the activities and actions he and the Special Committee against *Apartheid* have undertaken to muster national and international support in order to turn 1982 into a veritable International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

37. My delegation wishes to express its sincere satisfaction at and appreciation of the determined efforts undertaken, and congratulates Mr. Maitama-Sule and through him the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the tangible results achieved. My delegation wishes also to extend its congratulations to the outstanding personalities who, on the recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, received awards in recognition of their great contributions to the cause of the international movement for sanctions against South Africa during the special meeting of the General Assembly on 5 November 1982 [56th meeting].

38. The minority racist régime in South Africa has up till now not responded to the call of the international community to co-operate and abolish the inhuman and degrading system of *apartheid* and initiate a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa.

39. Instead, this racist régime, assured of the support of some Western States and multinational companies operating in South Africa, continues with its intransigent and arrogant attitude and has now embarked on a policy of strengthening the abhorrent system. It is sad to observe that the same Western States very often qualify themselves as the guardians of human rights elsewhere in the world but fail to take actions of any kind against the institutional violations of basic human rights under the *apartheid* system. This abhorrent system, which inflicts immense suffering on the oppressed people in all aspects of their daily life, has already been qualified as a crime against mankind. The victims have no other recourse to redress the situation than to resort to armed struggle.

40. Besides being a manifestation of racism, the *apartheid* system is a clear expression of political and economic exploitation and domination of the non-whites in South Africa. This system is virtually a system of State slavery. It is geared towards a maximization of profits for those that control and support the system, the maximum exploitation of the human resources and the plundering of the natural resources which belong to the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa.

41. The continued acts which deprive the black population of their nationality, force them to live in artificial and unlawfully established bantustans and deprive them of access to adequate education, training and human development are all geared towards the perpetuation of this system and to securing reservoirs of cheap labour. Moreover, the white minority racist régime has made sure that it has factual and effective control of all developments within the bantustans.

42. The international community, through the General Assembly, has time and again expressed its deep concern at the continued existence of *apartheid*, which poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly has in various resolutions urged the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the minority régime in South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

43. The Security Council has till now failed to discharge its responsibilities properly. Some members with the veto power have prevented the Security Council from imposing comprehensive and mandatory

sanctions as requested by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. The international community welcomed Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which instituted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, as the first effective action against *apartheid* and expressed the hope that this step would constitute the beginning of a programme of sanctions against the minority régime in South Africa.

44. Even the mandatory arms embargo is gradually losing its effectiveness, owing to the restrictive interpretation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution by the major Western Powers.

45. The sophisticated equipment and technology supplied to South Africa are employed for military use. This enables the régime not only to develop a sophisticated arms industry within South Africa but also to develop a highly trained army, whose main concern is to maintain *apartheid* and crush all actions against it.

46. The racist régime has not confined its actions to South Africa but has undertaken military actions against Angola and other neighbouring States. The South African army has killed innocent citizens of those countries, and destroyed villages and property indiscriminately. The South African army continues to occupy parts of Angola.

47. The violation of the territorial integrity of neighbouring States proceeds unpunished because of the paralysing effect of the veto power of some members of the Security Council. The call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations is still being rejected by some Western States under the pretext that these sanctions would not be effective and would even hurt those who are already suffering under the system of *apartheid*.

48. We have only recently seen that, even though the Security Council had not called for action of this kind, collective measures were taken in the war in the South Atlantic and proved to be highly effective.

49. The resistance of the freedom fighters in South Africa is increasing day by day; the people are more than ever aware of their basic rights and are determined to fight for total freedom rather than live in perpetual servitude. The freedom fighters have no alternative but to resort to armed struggle for genuine freedom and human dignity.

50. The repression by the racist régime may escalate in the years to come. This will only increase the determination of the oppressed people, who in the final analysis will survive and claim victory. The activities of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], as well as the increasing activities of the black trade unions, are, in this respect, commendable.

51. The only non-violent solution to the question of *apartheid* lies in the principle of genuine power-sharing by all the people in South Africa. To this end a peaceful transition to a free, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa has to be initiated without any delay. We therefore call on all responsible States, in particular the major Western States, to join hands and to co-operate in order to facilitate a peaceful transition to power-sharing. We believe that this is still possible,

and we are convinced that the peaceful transition to power-sharing will prove to be beneficial to all parties in South Africa as well as to the international community.

52. Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): Once again this year, which has been proclaimed by this body International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, and which also marks the seventieth anniversary of the beginning of the courageous struggle of the South African black majority against the practices of the *apartheid* system, we have to express our outrage at what the international community has declared a crime against humanity. After all these years the situation in South Africa remains explosive and has so far defied all possible solutions. We believe that the state of tension and confrontation will continue and that no peaceful settlement can be envisaged in that region unless the dismantling of *apartheid* and the liberation of the black African majority in South Africa and Namibia from the illegal occupation by the racist régime of South Africa are finally achieved.

53. It is very regrettable that the Pretoria régime, in spite of the repeated appeals of the international community, has refused to deviate from its *apartheid* practices, in defiance and flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

54. In South Africa and Namibia the black African majority are cornered from all angles and deprived of their most elementary human rights. They are treated as subhuman, unworthy of a decent livelihood. They are denied freedom of movement, of residence and of expression. Education for them has become a system which prepares them for servitude. They are exploited and subjected to forced labour in subhuman conditions.

55. In these circumstances, the black majority of the people of South Africa and Namibia have every right to struggle by every means available to them, including armed struggle, against the practices of segregation, racism and racial discrimination, against the continued brutal repression and genocide perpetrated by the South African racist régime, and against the arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and executions.

56. In the General Assembly and the Security Council the international community has extended every possible support to and shown its solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against those repressive practices. Scores of resolutions and decisions have been adopted in an effort to liberate these oppressed people from their subhuman bondage. Alas, the South African régime, instead of heeding international appeals and pressure, has become ever more defiant in its repeated breaches of the peace. It has become obvious, however, that the South African racist régime could not have carried out single-handed its policy of oppression in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions, had it not been encouraged by the collaboration and support extended to it by certain Western countries and Israel, as well as by transnational corporations, which for selfish reasons and to safeguard their short-term economic interests continue to collaborate with the illegal *apartheid* régime. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, gives clear proof of this collaboration, which in our opinion is a breach of trust and

a betrayal of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for their freedom and independence.

57. Any policy contrary to the eradication of *apartheid* frustrates the most elementary human right of mankind to liberation from bondage. Any policy in support of and sympathy with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and is doomed to failure.

58. We vehemently denounce the policy of grouping the black majority of the South African people under the programme of bantustanization and the creation of the so-called constellation of South African States, the sole aim of which is to create a permanent reserve of cheap labour on which the white minority would like its social and economic machinery to prosper.

59. We also condemn the criminal acts of intensified terrorism and armed aggression against the neighbouring independent front-line States. These front-line States have a legitimate right to protection against the repeated acts of intimidation and aggression, the sole aim of which is to destabilize these States so that they cannot assist the courageous people of South Africa and Namibia and their liberation movements. We praise the front-line States for the commendable role they have been playing in extending all possible moral and material support to the freedom fighters struggling against *apartheid* and its evils.

60. The covert manoeuvres of the South African régime and its collaborators threaten the security of the front-line States and should be arrested in time through the collective efforts of the peace-loving forces of the international community before the already tense situation in the area explodes into serious conflagration.

61. The South African racist régime has clearly shown its belligerence by its persistence in a massive build-up of its military machine, in addition to its acquisition of a nuclear-weapon capability. In this connection, the South African régime continues to collaborate with Israel not only in this field but also in political, economic and cultural activities.

62. What is needed in the face of this potential danger is a universal commitment to apply stringent measures against the South African régime in order to bring about an end to the *apartheid* practices against the people of South Africa.

63. We commend the efforts undertaken to this end by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which, under the able and dedicated leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria and in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 36/172 N, intensified its mobilization of support for sanctions against the South African régime. We note with gratification and appreciation that the active role played by this Committee has promoted world-wide support for sanctions against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. The delegation of Djibouti fully concurs with the conclusions of the Committee and accordingly supports its recommendations.

64. As long as the racist régime of South Africa does not abandon its hideous policy of *apartheid*, it must be isolated by the imposition of comprehensive

and mandatory sanctions against it, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

65. We believe that if all Governments apply and respect all the provisions of such sanctions the South African régime will come to its senses and a new era of reassessment of the rights and privileges of man will dawn in that part of Africa, where these rights have been trampled on for many decades. In this regard, we call upon all Governments and other institutions of the international community to co-operate in the observance of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa and to continue to provide all necessary assistance to the people of South Africa and Namibia and to their national liberation movements.

66. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): In the words originally spoken by my Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Muldoon, at the thirty-first session, six years ago, just after the Soweto riots: "The New Zealand Government's attitude to *apartheid* is very clear: we believe it is wrong and we want to see it ended." [21st meeting, para. 61]. Those words are as true today as they were in 1976.

67. To New Zealanders *apartheid* is wrong, not just because it legalises racial discrimination, but even more because it seeks to make racial discrimination the basis of a whole social order. In South Africa a person is judged and his place in society is determined, not by his character or his behaviour, but simply by his race. And the people of one race are given great privileges and great advantages at the expense of all the others. Such legalised discrimination is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations which itself embodies the standards common to all the great human traditions. *Apartheid* is certainly contrary to the principles and traditions by which New Zealanders live.

68. Racial equality is one of the fundamental principles of our own society. New Zealanders have various backgrounds: many have come in recent times from Polynesia, from Asia and from Europe to join those of us who were born in the country. We are committed to building a partnership—a society comprising various groups that live together in a spirit of mutual respect. New Zealand law specifically prohibits racial discrimination and special steps are taken to ensure that the law is carried out.

69. People who come from South Africa these days tell us that things there are changing. They say that some of the restrictions on social contact between people of different races are now being relaxed, at least in the cities. Any such relaxation is to be welcomed and encouraged. But we can see no sign so far that the policy of *apartheid* is being abandoned, or even seriously modified. As we understand it, the policy of the South African Government still is one of separate development for the various peoples of South Africa. And separate development still means forcing black South Africans into the so-called homelands, without giving them enough land and other resources to live on there, and thus compelling them to work in white areas as migrant labourers without the protection of citizenship. *Apartheid* still means that most of the people in South Africa are denied basic human rights and freedoms, as well as citizen-

ship in their own country, because of their racial origins.

70. New Zealanders cannot accept this situation. As our Prime Minister has often said, *apartheid* is an unjust and inhuman system. It can be upheld only by force, and it cannot be upheld that way indefinitely. If the South African Government does not change its policy fundamentally, that policy will sooner or later give rise to further and greater violence. No South African can expect to remain immune from the consequences.

71. New Zealand has demonstrated its opposition to *apartheid* in various practical ways. Soon after our present Government came into office it rejected the idea of establishing diplomatic representation in South Africa. It also rejected from the outset the idea of accepting any of the so-called bantustans as independent States. My Government has continued to enforce the arms embargo against South Africa—which it observed long before it became mandatory—and has made clear its willingness to carry out any economic sanctions that may be imposed on South Africa by the Security Council.

72. It is on the question of sporting contacts with South Africa that my Government's policy has attracted most attention and been least well understood. In the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977, Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed that they would seek to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa by means consistent with their respective domestic laws and practices. The New Zealand Government was a party to that Agreement, and has honoured its commitment. New Zealand is a free society, and the Government recognizes the right of sporting bodies, as well as other voluntary organizations, to decide for themselves who to have contacts with. The Government has told them that it is opposed to contacts with South Africa and has urged them to follow its advice. Most of them have done so, and few contacts have actually taken place in the last few years. The main exception was the tour of New Zealand by a South African rugby team last year. My Prime Minister deplored the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union to invite a South African team to New Zealand, and the tour met with widespread public opposition. Mr. Muldoon has recently confirmed that our Government policy is to seek to prevent sporting contacts with South Africa by persuasion.

73. To sum up, New Zealand regards *apartheid* as an unjust and inhuman system, and wants to see it ended. Our opposition has been and continues to be demonstrated in various practical ways. We are willing to co-operate with others in working out how to end a system that can only be regarded as an offence against the dignity of man.

74. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): In his address to the General Assembly on 30 September 1982 my Foreign Minister stated that

“... after 300 years, the black majority of the South African society remain aliens in their fatherland. The creation for them of overcrowded, over-grazed and generally denuded so-called homelands, the denial of equal economic opportunities and power sharing, the down-graded quality of their education, their restricted and controlled movement—these

and the many other disabilities they are made to suffer have increased their frustration and anger and heightened their determination to secure an equitable deal for themselves by whatever means.”
[12th meeting, para. 357.]

75. A few months ago the white minority régime of South Africa unveiled what it called a new constitutional plan, ostensibly designed to liberate the South African society from the shackles of racism and *apartheid*. The plan has been greeted by Pretoria's apologists as a historic step in the direction of meaningful change in the land of *apartheid* and we are warned that it would be a mistake to reject it. The plan is seen by those apologists as a dramatic happening in South Africa, a bright star on a hitherto bleak horizon, a brilliant ray of hope and promise in a political atmosphere that is traditionally devoid of hope and promise, particularly for the victims of *apartheid*.

76. It is said that Mr. P. W. Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, has done what no other African leader before him has ever attempted: he has plunged South Africa into a heated and risky debate about power-sharing. He has risked his precarious leadership of the National Party to force white South Africa to face its moment of truth, to force it to arrive at a political crossroads, to force it to choose between international isolation and opprobrium and racial reform.

77. We beg to differ. South Africa, as far as we are concerned, remains the land of racism and *apartheid*. The so-called new constitutional dispensation only shows that even at this very critical juncture in the history of South Africa, the white rulers of that tormented land can still smugly afford the luxury of self-delusion by holding firm to their discredited belief that the evil policy of *apartheid* can still be reformed to make it less evil and less inhuman in its application and enforcement. We have contended on several occasions in the past and we contend here and now that *apartheid* cannot be reformed, modified or sugar-coated because it is by its nature intrinsically evil, blatantly inhuman and unforgivably insulting, not only to its immediate victims, the black people of South Africa, but also to the very one in whose image all human beings are created, and created equal.

78. The white rulers of South Africa can disregard only at their own peril and the peril of future generations of white South Africans the fact that any new constitutional dispensation in that country which proceeds from the premise that 18 million black South Africans can simply be ignored or treated as aliens in their own country, and by the white man's fiat declared citizens of rural elsewhere, is no constitutional dispensation at all but a recipe for disaster. So the new constitutional plan, as far as we are concerned, despite the support it seems to enjoy from South Africa's friends, is a recipe for disaster. Not only will the black majority derive no comfort from it, but their commitment to the liberation of their fatherland by whatever means will be reinforced and vindicated. Not only will the new plan create bad blood between the Indian and Coloured communities in South Africa—
—if they allow themselves to be lured into the trap—and their black South African brethren, but it will also set one Indian brother against another and one

Coloured brother against another as the sell-outs in these two communities, whose contribution to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa is otherwise indisputably self-evident, join Afrikaner in an enlarged laager.

79. What we are calling for in South Africa is change, real, meaningful, relevant, drastic change, and not mere constitutional adjustments designed to cover up the entrenchment of racial injustice in South Africa. We are not interested in webs of intricate and sophisticated constitutional manoeuvres designed to improve the image of *apartheid*. The enfranchisement of Indian and Coloured South Africans is as irrelevant as a so-called solution to the very serious racial problems that confront South Africa today as it is dangerous as a delaying tactic. The problem in South Africa is not one of finding a niche for the Indians and the Coloureds in the constitutional set-up of that country, but rather one of bringing about the conditions for the creation of a common society in South Africa in which the central constitutional *raison d'être* of the evil *apartheid* system will be totally abandoned and rejected, a society in which all the people of South Africa, regardless of their colour, race or creed, will live in freedom and peace born of a true sense of shared humanity.

80. The Indians and the Coloureds are not the problem in South Africa, I must repeat; they are not a special case requiring special attention. To single them out as a special case which deserves a special constitutional dispensation is to reveal a dangerous perversion of the kind of change the international community expects of South Africa. The plight of Indian and Coloured South Africans is inseparable from the plight of the black majority in that country. The new plan offers them nothing other than more racism, more *apartheid* and white domination in a tantalizing but dangerous guise; and surely, the two communities must themselves feel grievously insulted by being singled out as the newly-discovered beneficiary of Afrikanerdom's sudden benevolence.

81. The new constitutional plan seeks to create a South Africa in which the new political order would be no different from the old, since it would continue to be dominated by whites through the instrumentality of a white executive president, who would derive his authority and power from an electoral college composed of 50 whites, 25 Coloureds and 13 Indians. The new parliament of a recycled *apartheid* South Africa will be tricameral, to ensure the continued separation of races. There will be no racial equality. By design, Indians and Coloureds will remain aliens in their own country. They will continue to live in misery in their overcrowded townships on the fringes of white privilege.

82. We are compelled to dwell at length on the so-called constitutional reforms because we do not want to fail in our duty as neighbours of South Africa to demonstrate as clearly as we can that the so-called reforms are not reforms at all; they are not reforms because their sole purpose is to consolidate *apartheid* by confirming, once and for all, the brutal disinheritation of 70 per cent of South Africa's indigenous citizens, the black majority, who are being herded like cattle and exiled to live out their lives, without hope or dignity, in barren rural "archipelagos".

83. Indeed, for the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa the primary victims of the *apartheid* policies, there is no relief in sight. The new constitutional plan totally ignores them. It flies in the face of the fact that South Africa's fate will be decided not by the privileged minority and its invited guests but by the oppressed majority. As observed in the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*,

"It is clear that Blacks, who remain totally excluded, will find no pleasure from the [so-called constitutional] plan. And even after the most grandiose scheme for converting millions into 'citizens' of elsewhere, they are still going to outnumber by far all other groups in South Africa."

Indeed, the so-called Bantu homelands, in whatever form or shape, have inevitably proved incapable of satisfying the aspirations of black South Africans and no constitutional dispensation, however ingeniously contrived or crafted, which ignores this fact has any hope of faring any better.

84. Surely white South Africa knows that southern Africa stands at a very dangerous crossroad. All the makings of a racial conflagration are there. If the lessons of past wars of liberation in our sub-continent are anything to go by, surely South Africa must realize that it is too late to buy time for *apartheid* and white privilege even by intimidating its neighbours into abandoning the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The politics of intimidation can only bring doomsday closer for *apartheid*. Support for dissident movements will never make *apartheid* acceptable to us. We shall always reject this criminal policy.

85. Deprived of their God-given right to live in freedom in their own land, subjected to daily humiliation, racial discrimination and oppression, disinherited, brutalized, ignored, despised and treated as if they existed only in the imagination of their white rulers, the oppressed majority in South Africa have been forced to resort to extreme means by which they rightly seek, as many others before them have sought, to regain their freedom and dignity. We support them. We support them in their struggle for liberation. Their aspirations are our aspirations. *Apartheid* is an insult to them as it is to us. It is a crime perpetrated against them as it is against us. We share in a special way the tragedy of their existence as aliens in their own fatherland.

86. Our position is very clear. We reject any suggestion that change is taking place in South Africa. We reject any suggestion that white South Africa should be remunerated for having introduced reforms in South Africa when it is so painfully clear to us that the so-called reforms are designed simply to consolidate *apartheid*. The white rulers of South Africa themselves have said several times in the past that blacks and whites in South Africa will never share power. They are not only refusing to share power with the majority; they have deprived them of their birthright. Man's injustice to man must not be allowed to pay.

87. As if *apartheid* and racial tyranny in South Africa were not enough, the white rulers of South Africa have also for more than 60 years enforced *apartheid* and perpetrated racial tyranny in Namibia, an inter-

national territory at present occupied illegally by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations. There, too, indigenous Namibians are denied their right to decide their future in freedom and peace. South Africa deserves no remuneration for keeping millions of our fellowmen in southern Africa under brutal subjugation.

88. Mr. del ROSARIO CEBALLOS (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Dominican Republic deplores and condemns the situation prevailing in South Africa in connection with the practice of *apartheid*, which is a flagrant violation of fundamental human rights, which make discrimination amongst human beings, for whatever reason, inconceivable.

89. The political, social and historical development of the Dominican Republic has been characterized by the struggle against the oppression of man and the constant quest for an atmosphere of respect for the dignity of mankind.

90. Although we have an ethnically varied population, with a high percentage of persons of European and African origin who maintain their social and cultural characteristics, there has never been in our country any kind of racial discrimination. We all live together in complete harmony, which has been strengthened even more in recent years by the democratic processes which we Dominicans enjoy in an atmosphere of complete respect for fundamental human rights. Proof of this is to be found in the fact that there are no political prisoners or exiles in our country.

91. How is it possible that at present, when human interrelationships have achieved their maximum expression, *apartheid* is still being practised? The Dominican Republic continues to affirm before the General Assembly its repudiation of the continuation of the policy of *apartheid*, which is contrary not only to human rights but also to all the principles proclaimed by the United Nations through its organs—and in the case of the Dominican Republic, it is also contrary to the Constituent Charter of our State.

92. We support the efforts made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in the hope that that body and the United Nations as a whole will be able to achieve the most complete success in eliminating, as is absolutely necessary, the anti-social practice of *apartheid*. At the same time we express the hope that this practice will be eradicated from the face of the earth.

Mr. Bartlett (Jamaica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

93. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa have become one of the mainstreams of concern, not only to the people of South Africa and the African continent but also to the conscience of all humanity. We cannot help pondering how the international community, in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, can still tolerate this abhorrent feature of the repression of man by man. Millions of the indigenous black population of South Africa have become the most unfortunate victims of institutionalized racism and segregation, practised by a white minority that did not even originate from the same land.

94. Highly disturbing reports have reached the international community over the past year about the dangerous escalation of repressive measures by the *apartheid* régime, while collaboration between some Western countries and the racist régime of South Africa has been expanded. This development is particularly disturbing when the world community has declared 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Detention, torture and disappearances continue to occupy an important part of the reports from South Africa. Attacks on black communities and trade unions, the banning of all democratic and civil rights organizations, the imprisonment of black and democratic white leaders, the confiscation of private properties, the closing down of democratic publications, the dissolution of black and democratic white organizations and other similar actions remain an every-day practice of the racist authorities.

95. In an attempt to divide the non-white majority, the racist Government has adopted regulations according to which the Coloured population has been given a separate title to distinguish it from black Africans. That attempt has been rejected, not only by the black population but also by Coloured sectors. In order to deprive large African communities of their right to citizenship, the South African régime is continuing its policy of bantustanization and the cession of vast areas where there are heavy concentrations of the black population to certain neighbouring countries. Ciskei thus became the latest "independent" bantustan, with a population of 1.5 million black Africans.

96. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa has extended every aspect of its repressive rule to the illegally occupied territory of Namibia. Continued suppression of the right of Namibians to independence and the depletion of their human and natural resources have aroused the strongest condemnation of all peoples of the world.

97. Independent African States have been targets of repeated acts of military aggression by the *apartheid* régime. The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Seychelles have been innocent victims of acts of destabilization and aggression by the racist régime.

98. We do not believe that it is lack of comprehension of the inhuman character of *apartheid* or of the criminal repression in South Africa that has allowed the racist white minority régime to continue its existence and threaten the existence of others. The international community has time and again pronounced itself on the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. Hundreds of resolutions have been adopted by this Organization and others in strong condemnation of the *apartheid* policies of the South African régime, and all nations have been urged to adopt such measures as would ensure the termination of racial oppression in that part of the world. Deplorably, however, the racist régime of South Africa is becoming increasingly stronger, through the co-operation of certain Western Powers.

99. Indeed, this Assembly reiterated its firm conviction, in resolution 36/172 A, that the *apartheid* régime has been encouraged to undertake its criminal

acts by the protection afforded by major Western Powers, and especially by the pronouncements, policies and actions of the Government of the United States of America. It also condemned the actions of those States, especially the major trading partners of South Africa, that have increased their political, economic and military relations with the racist régime of South Africa despite repeated appeals by this Assembly.

100. The Government of the United States has, in the guise of "constructive engagement", elevated the level of its co-operation with South Africa to an extent that leaves no doubt about the criminal partnership of the United States Government in the suppression of South Africans and in the acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. In spite of the condemnation by this Assembly, in its resolution 36/172 D, of the continuing economic and other collaboration of certain Western and other States, in particular the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel, with the racist régime of South Africa, such collaboration expanded last year. The granting of a loan of over \$1 billion by IMF to the racist Government of South Africa, in defiance of the repeated calls of this Assembly, was yet another manifestation of the real deeds of the imperialist Powers which control that financial institution.

101. The Assembly also strongly condemned the collusion by the Governments of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field. It further condemned the manoeuvres to create a South Atlantic treaty organization with the racist régime of South Africa. It also expressed deep concern about the continuing talks between the United States of America and South Africa concerning closer collaboration in the nuclear field. In total disregard of world public opinion, that collusion was not only maintained, but grew even deeper and wider.

102. As if the concern of the vast majority of nations amounted to nothing, the urging, the calls and the appeals for the termination of collaboration with South Africa have gone unheeded.

103. Inside South Africa and in Namibia the peoples of the two countries have added new dimensions to their heroic struggle against the racist rule in South Africa and the illegal occupation of Namibia. The vanguard of the struggle of the South African people, ANC, under the leadership of Comrade Oliver Tambo, has gained wide recognition and prestige in the international community for its political and diplomatic maturity, as well as for the armed struggle it is carrying on within the country.

104. The people of Namibia, for its part, under the heroic leadership of its sole, authentic representative, SWAPO, have dealt severe blows to the racist forces of occupation in their country. We applaud the courage and heroism displayed by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their respective organizations.

105. While expressing our gratitude for the work of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the wise and devoted chairmanship of

Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, we declare our full support for the recommendations contained in the report of the Committee.

106. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): If we were to recount what has happened in the years which have passed since the beginning of the struggle of the international community against the deplorable policies of *apartheid* of South Africa, it would be a repetition of what has already been said at this rostrum as well as in many reports and resolutions. It would not change the simple fact that at the present time, in 1982, final success in the struggle for the eradication of these policies and for the prevention of the violation of fundamental human rights in South Africa has not been achieved yet.

107. This is not to say that in the past few years, or to be more specific during 1981, no progress has been achieved. Certainly, important efforts have been exerted to mobilize international public opinion in favour of the enactment of effective measures against the Pretoria régime. If we review the events and the activities of the past year, the most notable feature, and what impresses us, is the exemplary and effective role played by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, especially, the dynamic leadership displayed in this field by its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria.

108. The major activity of the Special Committee in the last year has been in the field of the observance of 1982 as International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. A remarkable campaign has been launched under the auspices of the Special Committee to bring together international forces so as to exert the necessary pressure on the perpetrator of the policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa. Obviously, one year is not sufficient for the completion of such an important and complex campaign. My delegation will support proposals to ensure that this campaign is further developed in 1983. At this critical stage and in the face of the stubborn resistance shown by South Africa, the important work undertaken by the Special Committee in coordinating international action deserves high praise and our full support.

109. We share the view expressed in the report of the Special Committee that the international community should at this time reassess the effectiveness of the measures taken so far. To all appearances South Africa is simply not heeding the sense of outrage of the international community, which has been expressed time and time again in numerous United Nations resolutions and in various appeals and demands made at all levels, national and international, public and private, throughout the world. Its policies of flagrant oppression and persecution, uprooting large populations, depriving people of their citizenship through the illegal scheme of so-called bantustanization, detention without trial, restriction of and gross violation of all the basic freedoms of a very large segment of its population, all this continues unabated. The tragic death of the young trade unionist, Neil Aggett, was a most unfortunate example of the methods of interrogation of the South African police. And the conscience of the world community is deeply troubled at the continued unjustified imprisonment of

political prisoners in South Africa, notably the aged leader Nelson Mandela.

110. At the same time, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the oppression and exploitation of its people are continuing with impunity. South Africa's illegal policies and practices do not stop at the borders of Namibia. They seriously threaten the peace and security of the African continent, as a result of South Africa's continuing acts of aggression, destabilization and coercion aimed at all of its neighbouring States, in particular Angola.

111. Finally, there is the disturbing evidence pointing to the development of a nuclear-weapon capability in South Africa. The grave implications of this possibility extend far beyond the African continent and raise the spectre of a catastrophe.

112. All the Members of the United Nations are united in the belief that what South Africa is practising is evil and should be stopped. What can be done by the South African people? What can be done by the international community?

113. If we consider South Africa's total disregard of persuasion, appeals, negotiation or political pressure of various types, it becomes quite clear that only decisive, mandatory sanctions, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, can be of any use. The mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed by the Security Council in 1977 [*resolution 418 (1977)*] was an important step in the right direction. However, the report of the Committee established by the Security Council¹ to examine the progress of the implementation of the arms embargo, indicates that there may be shortcomings in the implementation of this resolution. We have welcomed the efforts being exerted, including Security Council resolution 473 (1980), in order to ensure strict observance of the arms embargo.

114. Events have shown that the arms embargo should be complemented by further measures, such as economic sanctions, which are also provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. Effective sanctions require the determined participation of all Members. In our view due note should be taken by all concerned of the fact that the alternative to the application of such peaceful measures as are envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations is the escalation of violence and conflict in southern Africa. Force is unfortunately the only recourse left to the people of South Africa and that is why their national liberation movements deserve our full sympathy and support.

115. At this critical point, when the international community is obliged to accelerate its efforts against the concept and practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, we wish to reiterate our belief that it is imperative for South Africa finally to turn its face towards the realities of the world and the dynamic developments and progress taking place in Africa. It is imperative that it finally change its isolated position and illegal policies, before it is too late. It cannot continue on this dangerous and destructive path for long. It must realize soon that the strands of colonialism it is clinging to belong to an era that is long past.

116. At this point, when we reiterate that the efforts of the international community should be doubled, I should like to express the firm commitment of my

Government to all the measures designed to bring to an end these policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Turkey does not entertain any kind of relations with the Pretoria régime, either in the diplomatic and consular or in the economic, commercial or military fields. Turkey is pleased to contribute, although in modest terms, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid* as a sign of its solidarity with these people.

117. Turkey's traditional commitment to the issues of southern Africa and decolonization is based upon the very principles on which the Turkish Republic was built, following the first victorious struggle for national independence in the twentieth century. We are confident that victory will be realized in South Africa, too, and that a new democratic society will prevail, in compliance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Mr. LUCE (United States of America): The situation in South Africa deserves the attention of all concerned with respect for human rights in the contemporary world. The practice of *apartheid* in South Africa gravely concerns the Government of the United States. It deeply troubles the conscience of Americans. The system of *apartheid* is at fundamental variance with the values of liberty, equality and democracy which constitute the very foundation of American society.

119. Although the subject of our debate today is *apartheid*—a word which, by virtue of its linguistic origin, applies only to South Africa—the broader issue of concern is the fundamental right of all peoples to equal opportunity without regard to race, colour or creed. As we discuss *apartheid* as it applies to South Africa, I trust this Assembly will bear in mind that *apartheid* is not the only system by which contemporary Governments deny citizens freedom of speech and assembly, the right to democratic participation in Government and equality under the law. Government by and with the consent of the governed remains a rare commodity in our world. The principles of freedom, equality, democracy and the standards of human rights which so many endorse for South Africa are also utterly absent from the political practice of many other nations represented here.

120. *Apartheid* is deplorable because it robs a person of his dignity. It does not even pretend to deal with people equally.

121. The United States has no blueprint for a future political system for South Africa, nor do we or any other Member of this body have a right to attempt to impose such a plan. We do have a right to ask of South Africa respect of the same universal principles of human rights and human freedoms that we seek for peoples everywhere.

122. For South Africa, as for citizens everywhere, we ask that government rest squarely on the freely expressed consent of the governed. *Apartheid*, we feel sure, will never be accepted by those to whom it applies. South Africa's programme of forced settlement to and ascribed citizenship in so-called homelands for black South Africans does not rest on consent. We

believe it will never be accepted by those affected by it. Let us be clear, also, that the fact that forced resettlement is practised by many other Governments in Africa and around the world does not diminish its injustice. The United States regards these homelands as integral parts of South Africa and considers their inhabitants to be South African citizens.

123. We cannot abandon our opposition to a system that does not provide or permit full citizenship and full respect for the human rights of all its citizens. We disapprove of and deplore all Governments that deny full citizenship to all citizens. That includes South Africa.

124. The point of a debate such as this, however, is not merely to criticize the practices of a Government. If our deliberations here are to have beneficial consequences, our objective must be to devise effective and constructive means by which the international community can encourage genuine change.

125. Successive United States administrations have engaged in concrete efforts to promote change throughout the southern African region. We supported negotiations that led to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. We are currently engaged, with other members of the Western contact group, in an intensive effort to bring into being an independent, stable and democratic Namibia, through negotiations based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978). While outstanding issues must still be resolved, substantial progress has been made. We remain confident that, with the good faith and persistent effort of all concerned, those negotiations can and will lead to a settlement in Namibia that will greatly enhance the prospects for stability throughout the region.

126. These examples are not incidental to South Africa itself. They demonstrate that negotiation and dialogue can lead to solutions which preserve and protect the rights and interests of blacks and whites alike. They establish that change, while inevitable, need not necessarily be feared or resisted.

127. The United States effort to bring about the attainment of independence for Namibia is therefore an integral part of broader United States policy in the region and towards South Africa specifically. At the same time, we have undertaken specific action designed to encourage movement away from *apartheid* towards a more equitable system.

128. We have reaffirmed our commitment to the effective implementation of the Security Council arms embargo against South Africa, as is fitting, since in 1963 we became the first major country to impose a unilateral arms embargo. This was a decade and a half before we joined with other members of the Security Council in imposing a mandatory arms embargo. United States restrictions on sales to the South African military and police go well beyond the requirements of the Security Council arms embargo. They are at least as rigorous, and as rigorously enforced, as those of other nations.

129. Our strictly enforced restrictions, dating from 1975, on the sale of nuclear materials or any other items that could be used in developing South Africa's capacity to produce nuclear weapons are consistent with our overall policy of discouraging as vigorously as we can the proliferation of nuclear weapons

anywhere in the world. We have not and will not permit the sale of fuel or sensitive nuclear materials except to nations that sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and accept full-scope safeguards on all their nuclear facilities.

130. For years, there has been widespread agreement that *apartheid* education is one of the most damaging facets of the *apartheid* system. The United States, for one, is now looking beyond mere expressions of sympathy and outrage towards practical ways to rectify that situation. We have continued to contribute to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and have maintained our refugee scholarship programmes. In 1982, a United States effort, jointly sponsored by the United States Government and the American private sector, brought 117 black South Africans to the United States on full scholarships at American universities and colleges. The United States Congress has earmarked \$8 million for that programme. We have also begun a substantial programme of educational assistance in conjunction with black community groups in South Africa, entirely outside the *apartheid* educational system. In so doing, we in no way intend to absolve the South African authorities of their own responsibility to provide equality in education, as in all other fields.

131. We also support exchange programmes between the United States and South Africa. These include visits by American trade unionists, who lend support and encouragement to the black trade union movement in South Africa, a movement which promises to become a significant force for democratization. Prominent South African educators and ecclesiastics have also traveled to the United States, often on grants provided by the United States Government. The encouragement of such contacts and communication establishes links between those inside and outside South Africa who share a common commitment to equal opportunity and peaceful change.

132. Finally, the United States Government has continued to encourage and support the efforts of the American private sector, which also serves as a positive instrument of social and economic change. Most American companies operating in South Africa have subscribed to a set of fair employment practices known as the Sullivan Code. Together with similar codes adopted by the private sectors of other countries, the Sullivan Code has encouraged progress in eliminating discriminatory practices in work places, the granting of equal pay for equal work and increased training and promotion opportunities for black workers. In addition, by their willingness to recognize and work with black labour unions, American and other foreign enterprises have also contributed to the rapid growth of the black trade union movement, which is destined to play an increasing role in the struggle for economic, social and political equality in South Africa.

133. We have listened with interest to the statements of other delegations. We were moved by the words of our good friend and colleague, the representative of Nigeria [59th meeting], who is Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We understand his intensely felt abhorrence of the system of *apartheid* and his commitment to bringing about its elimination. However, we cannot endorse his belief

that South Africa's increasing isolation—political, economic and cultural—will bring about the kind of constructive change we so urgently and vigorously seek.

134. In our judgement, such a course is not a prescription for change but a blueprint for disaster, a course whose human consequences would be felt not only in South Africa itself, but throughout the region. To pursue such a course would constitute an admission of defeat. It would deny hope to those in South Africa—black and white alike—who seek a peaceful way out of the nightmare of *apartheid*. It would condemn those whose lives we seek to improve to an unending and deepening cycle of violence and repression, a cycle of violence that would have grave consequences not only for South Africa, but for the region as a whole. It would create conditions that would make anything but a violent cataclysm impossible. Surely this is not what the representative of Nigeria intends, but it is, I fear, the logical consequence of the approach he has advocated.

135. We do not pretend that the actions we have taken or may undertake in the future will, in and of themselves, bring about full democracy in South Africa. Ultimately, the future of that country will be decided by the people of South Africa themselves. But those in South Africa who work for peaceful change need and deserve our understanding, our encouragement and our support.

136. South Africans do not need to be told that the *status quo* is deplorable and untenable. They do not need to be told that the black population—which it is anticipated will double to nearly 40 million by the end of the century—will not forever endure the suffocation of its aspirations. They do not need to be told that repression at home and intimidation directed against South Africa's neighbours are no substitute for a successful effort to address South Africa's own internal problems and policies. White South Africans need no reminder that their future, and that of their children, can only be secured if they in turn are willing to accommodate the interests and aspirations of South Africa's blacks. South Africans need not be reminded that change is needed—dramatic, constructive, peaceful change. These are self-evident truths.

137. These self-evident truths, moreover, are present today in South Africa's perception of itself. The South African Government has announced proposals for replacing the present whites-only Parliament with a tricameral legislature, in which South Africans of Asian and mixed descent would for the first time be accorded a degree of political representation. We cannot celebrate a proposal that perpetuates a racial approach to political enfranchisement, and continues to exclude the 72 per cent black majority from national political life. It is none the less significant that these proposals reflect increasing awareness within South Africa of the need to move toward a broader sharing of power. There are other indications that a process of change has begun. How rapidly this evolution will occur cannot now be foreseen. But it is under way.

138. For its part, the United States is committed to supporting, by deed as well as word, a process of peaceful change away from *apartheid*. So long as there are people in South Africa, black and white,

making a sincere and determined effort to create a system based on liberty, equality and democracy, they will have our full encouragement and support.

139. We will not be party to policies that can only encourage a deepening cycle of violence and repression. We will not support policies that substitute one repressive system for another. Possibilities for peaceful change exist in South Africa. Indeed, peaceful change is under way. The opportunity still exists for reason and democratic will to prevail. We can and must make every effort to preserve for the people of South Africa—black and white—an alternative to violent confrontation on the one hand and hopeless paralysis on the other. We hope others will join us in these efforts.

140. Mr. BLAIN (Gambia): Permit me at the outset to congratulate the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, my friend and brother, Mr. Maitama-Sule, and through him the other members of the Special Committee on their unwavering dedication and commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*, which has found reflection in the excellent report submitted to the General Assembly. I wish also to pay a tribute to the invaluable support provided by the Centre against *Apartheid*.

141. For the thirty-seventh consecutive year, the policies and practices of the racist Government of South Africa are under consideration by the General Assembly. At issue is a system of institutionalized racial discrimination, unparalleled in its scope and perversity, which has rightly been condemned as a crime against humanity.

142. Under the yoke of *apartheid*, some 20 million non-whites are routinely and systematically denied the most fundamental human rights. Formally excluded from any participation in the political process, the black population is further subjected to a formidable array of repressive legislation, to which the hundreds of patriots imprisoned on the infamous Robben Island and the many thousands more detained or banned bear living testimony. These legislative measures have in turn been reinforced by a campaign of indiscriminate physical repression of which the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto remain a tragic reminder.

143. Within this oppressive political matrix, the economic and social conditions imposed upon the African population are no less appalling. Compelled by law to accept salaries which represent an average of only a quarter of the wages earned by whites, the African population is ill-equipped to contend with the spiralling domestic inflation which has resulted from the recent decline in the price of gold.

144. While African wages have stagnated and often declined in real terms, the prices of such basic foods as maize, bread and dairy products have increased by as much as 15 per cent. This has effectively rendered a number of essential food items inaccessible to a significant proportion of the African population and has aggravated the state of malnutrition which has long been endemic in the black community. In addition to chronic malnutrition, the African population has had to face the ravages of even more debilitating diseases. Over the past year, the incidence of tuberculosis, polio and cholera is reported to have attained epidemic proportions.

145. It is not my intention to undertake an exhaustive review of the injustices which are institutionalized under *apartheid*, for their number is massive and their scale indeed gross. Moreover, the General Assembly already has before it the excellent report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

146. Since 1980, however, much has been made by the racist régime and its supporters of South Africa's ability and intention to reform, in compliance with internationally recognized norms. Despite considerable reservations occasioned by the totally unrepresentative character of the Presidential Council, it was with keen interest that the Gambia awaited the publication by this body of its recommendations on constitutional reform. However, our worst misgivings were justified by the publication in May of an ill-disguised version of the age-old policy of divide and rule. In addition to entrenching the exclusion of blacks from political power, the enlightened Council further sought to co-opt the support of the Asian and Coloured communities. My delegation is pleased to note that this support has not been forthcoming.

147. Evidently determined to perpetuate its monopoly of power and wealth in South Africa, the *apartheid* régime has resorted meanwhile to the policy of bantustanization as a final solution to the demographic realities of the country. The already disenfranchised black population is now being stripped of its citizenship and any residual rights and assigned on the basis of ethnic criteria to the barren homelands upon which independence is then literally forced. Bereft of any natural resources or meaningful infrastructure, those barren wastelands are incapable of supporting more than a fraction of their inhabitants. The vast majority is thus collectively reduced to supplying cheap migrant labour for South Africa's voracious industries.

148. The sham independence of the Ciskei homeland, proclaimed on 4 December 1981, marked the fourth such charade undertaken by the racist régime and brought to a total of 9 million the number of Africans who have become technical aliens in their own country. My Government has, however, noted with approval that the international community in general and the Security Council in particular have denied recognition to all four of these puppet entities. Moreover, South Africa's recent attempts to amputate portions of the Transkei homeland have dramatically underscored the real status of these territories.

149. Despite the totalitarian power wielded by the racist régime, popular resistance to *apartheid* has crystallized considerably during the past year. All sections of the oppressed population, supported by enlightened religious organizations, have endured the most savage repression to manifest their steadfast opposition to the degenerate order under which they are compelled to live.

150. In the militant tradition of the 1956 demonstration by South African women against the pass laws, women have been in the forefront of community protest against poor living conditions in general and, in particular, against increases in the cost of food, housing and transportation. For their part, students have followed the heroic example of Soweto and continued to reject the inferior system of education

reserved for Africans and intended to perpetuate *apartheid*. Of particular significance is the fact that the student protests have not been confined to purely educational issues, but have also addressed other manifestations of *apartheid*. This was exemplified by the mass demonstration called to protest the visit of Ciskeian chief Lenox Sebe to the University of Fort Hare in May. Two people were shot and a total of 25 detained in this forthright manifestation of the students' unqualified rejection of the policy of bantustanization.

151. Embracing the theology of liberation, a number of churches have registered their opposition to the racist policies of the *apartheid* régime, which have been condemned as heresy by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. This courageous stand has exposed church leaders themselves to a campaign of official harassment and intimidation. In this regard, my Government has noted with considerable concern the establishment by the authorities in Pretoria of a special commission to investigate the activities of the South African Council of Churches which, under the leadership of Bishop Desmond Tutu, has called repeatedly for an end to the evil of *apartheid*.

152. In the vanguard of resistance to *apartheid* is the black labour movement, which during the past year has delivered a series of crushing blows to the industrial backbone of South Africa. The Ministry of Manpower itself has conceded that a total of 1.7 million man-hours has been lost due to work stoppages in the Republic over the last year. At the same time, it is evident that the level of labour activism has escalated steadily, with figures for the current year showing an increase of almost 63 per cent over last year. These strikes have not only focused on traditional labour concerns such as wages and conditions of service, but have addressed such overtly political issues as union recognition, and have thereby called into question the very fundamentals of *apartheid*.

153. The impact of these stoppages has been most devastating in the automobile industry. The eastern cape, where the automobile manufacturing plants are concentrated, has been in a state of permanent unrest for the last year, with walk-outs occurring on an almost monthly basis. The drastic effect of this action is most eloquently illustrated by the threat made by the managing director of Volkswagen (South Africa) in August, that employers might introduce robots if the unstable labour situation persisted.

154. This campaign of economic sabotage has been effectively complemented by the armed struggle being waged by the military wing of ANC. The last 12 months have witnessed a series of well-co-ordinated attacks against official targets such as police stations, railway depots and bridges in which painstaking efforts have been made to avoid injuring civilians. My delegation wishes at this juncture to pay a tribute to the valiant struggle being waged by ANC and to congratulate the Congress on the occasion of its seventieth anniversary. I wish also to reaffirm the unshakeable solidarity of the Government and people of the Gambia with the oppressed people of South Africa in their heroic struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity.

155. Predictably, the racist régime has responded to this broad-based resistance with all the repressive means at its disposal and has declared a total war against the opponents of *apartheid*. The pattern of summary arrests and detention of political prisoners has been vigorously maintained and has in fact been expanded to include potential State witnesses for political trials. Meanwhile, the institutionalized use of torture and physical abuse against political prisoners has been dramatized by the recent murders while in police custody of the labour organizer Neil Aggett and student leader Ernest Dipale.

156. The arbitrary repression of all forms of protest has continued unabated, as was demonstrated by the cold-blooded murder of more than 10 miners in the riots which erupted in the gold mines of the Transvaal in July. In addition, summary deportation to the barren homelands has now been instituted as a fresh deterrent to protest.

157. Meanwhile, the already formidable arsenal of repressive legislation has been reinforced by the recent introduction of the Influx Bill, whose provisions are even more sweeping than the infamous pass laws under which a total of 13 million Africans have been subjected to arrest so far.

158. However, this total war is not confined to South Africa's territory alone. Irrespective of their location, all enemies of the régime, whether real, perceived or merely potential, are considered legitimate targets. During the past year, at least three prominent nationalist figures have been murdered in parcel bomb attacks outside South Africa. At the same time, the Pretoria régime has resorted to repeated acts of aggression against the independent African States of the region, clearly breaching international peace and security. These attacks have taken the form of both covert operations, as in the case of Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Seychelles, and open invasion, as in the case of Angola and Namibia. I intend to address this issue more extensively during the debate on Namibia.

159. There is a clear international consensus on the illegality and inadmissibility of these acts. Based on a common commitment to the provisions of the Charter and international law, by which relations between States must be governed, this consensus has found expression in the successive resolutions adopted by this Assembly. South Africa has, however, pursued its wayward course with complete impunity, and although the actions of the racist régime have placed it beyond the pale of civilization, Pretoria has continued to enjoy the active co-operation and support of a number of Governments.

160. Through the Centre against *Apartheid* and the Department of Public Information, the United Nations has achieved a considerable measure of success in sensitizing international public opinion to the evils which are institutionalized under *apartheid*. It is now time for Governments to give practical effect to the words which they have so piously intoned for 37 years. Economic self-interest and political expediency must be sacrificed in the higher interests of humanity, justice and the other principles to which all signatories to the Charter have pledged their solemn commitment. A failure to take effective measures to

eliminate the crime of *apartheid* can only hasten the advent of that new international anarchy of which the Secretary-General has issued so timely a warning.

161. Mr. KOR BUN HENG (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): We are considering item 33 of the agenda, entitled "Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of South Africa", at a time marked by two major events in the history of the Organization. Thirty years have elapsed since the General Assembly began its consideration of the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government, and 20 years have elapsed since the General Assembly, in resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, requested Member States to take, separately or collectively, a series of concrete measures in order to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*, and established the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Therefore, this is an appropriate moment to take stock of the action taken by the United Nations on this problem.

162. On this occasion, may I, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its sustained efforts to mobilize and arouse international opinion against the policy of *apartheid*, and also to its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, one of the eminent sons of Nigeria and Africa who, by his total and resolute dedication, his affability and competence, has made an invaluable contribution to the conduct of the affairs of the Special Committee in the fulfilment of its mandate.

163. My delegation is gratified that the General Assembly organized on 5 November last, on the recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, a special meeting on the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [56th meeting]. We were also pleased that prizes were awarded to seven eminent persons, including Madame Jeanne Martin-Cissé, Minister for Social Affairs of Guinea and President of the International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Women of South Africa and Namibia, and Mr. Abraham Ordia of Nigeria, President of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa, for their remarkable contribution to the international movement for action against *apartheid* in South Africa.

164. Ever since 1955, when my country became a Member State of the United Nations, it has unceasingly supported United Nations action against the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria authorities, a policy characterized by an intolerable system of domination, exploitation and humiliation in all forms, imposed in the name of racism on the great majority of the people of South Africa. This policy has brought immense suffering to that people. The international community still has a clear memory of the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto. This policy is also typified by the acts of aggression and destabilization against independent neighbouring African States and by the illegal occupation of Namibia. For all these reasons, the inhuman *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime has quite rightly been described by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity.

165. As an Asian country, Democratic Kampuchea fully subscribes to the Manila Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* [see A/37/265] adopted at the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid*,

organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in May 1982 with the assistance of the Philippine Government.

166. In its report on the major developments in South Africa in the year under review, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* painted a picture which is at the same time both gloomy and encouraging, a gloomy picture because of the intensification of repression by the Pretoria authorities, not only against the great majority of the black population, but also against the very large number of white democrats opposed to *apartheid*. It is a gloomy picture because of the increase in the number of alleged reforms undertaken by the racist régime in order to divide the oppressed population, such as the elections of the so-called South African Indian Council, which has been denounced and rejected by South African patriots and the international community; it is a gloomy picture because the racist régime has insisted in its policy of bantustanization by proclaiming on 4 December 1981 a sham independence for the Ciskei, as a result of which 9 million Africans have now become foreigners in their own country; and it is a gloomy picture because the racist régime has increased the number of its acts of aggression against independent African States, gravely jeopardizing the peace and stability of southern Africa and of the world.

167. However, confronted with arrests, detention, imprisonment, torture, political trials and the legislative measures of repression by the racist Pretoria régime, the struggle of the South African people has intensified in the past year. Workers, students, religious leaders, journalists, intellectuals and other persons have demonstrated their firm and resolute opposition to *apartheid* to an ever greater extent and the clandestine and armed struggle has been resolutely pursued. This is an encouraging sign which shows more clearly with each passing day that the people of South Africa is determined to rid itself of *apartheid*. Another encouraging factor is the increasingly wide support of the international community for this struggle against *apartheid*.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

168. During these three decades the Organization has adopted several resolutions with specific proposals contributing to the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*. In taking stock of the activities of the United Nations in respect of this problem, my delegation fully endorses the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General, who on 5 November last said in the Assembly that:

“There exists now a world-wide awareness of the injustice and dangers inherent in the policies of racial discrimination. Moreover, it is generally accepted that the international community has an inescapable responsibility to bring about the eradication of these policies.

“Of equal importance is the fact that the victims of *apartheid* know that they do not stand alone but have the moral and political support of the international community. We must continue to impress upon the upholders of *apartheid* that it is they who are isolated and that their policies and inherently self-defeating.” [56th meeting, paras. 15 and 16.]

169. It is thus the duty of this Organization to continue to put pressure on the racist régime of Pretoria. In this respect it is most regrettable that IMF recently granted a credit of more than \$1 billion to the Pretoria authorities against the wishes of the General Assembly as expressed in resolution 37/2.

170. The people of Kampuchea and the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, despite the current historical circumstances in which we find ourselves the victims of foreign invasion and occupation, wish to express once again their firm and constant support for the just struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of PAC and ANC to rid themselves of *apartheid* and to secure the right to live in freedom, human dignity and democracy. They affirm their support for the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa of 27 May 1981, which was endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 36/172 B.

171. They wish to take this opportunity to reiterate their firm support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative for the independence and sovereignty of Namibia and its territorial integrity. They also express their solidarity with the independent front-line States of Africa.

172. In past decades there have been many countries, among them many African countries, which have gained independence after their long struggles and enormous sacrifices. With the support, solidarity and sympathy of the international community they have come to swell the ranks of this Organization. My delegation is quite convinced that the people of South Africa and the Namibian people will be no exception to this historic trend.

173. In paragraph 497 of its report the Special Committee against *Apartheid* concluded:

“The Special Committee ardently hopes that 1983—the twentieth anniversary of the OAU and the Africa Liberation Day, as well as of its own establishment—will mark the turning-point in international action against *apartheid*.”

Such is also the wish of my delegation and I am quite sure that of the international community as a whole.

174. Mr. PÁEZ PUMAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 7 November 1945 the Union of South Africa joined the United Nations, making it a founding Member of our Organization. Two years after it contracted and proclaimed its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Government of what is today the Republic of South Africa officially institutionalized one of the most abhorrent practices known to mankind, the separation of races through the odious system of *apartheid*.

175. It is almost impossible to participate in the debate on this topic without being repetitious. These repetitions are not a mere routine response but rather due to the tragic fact that no solution has been found to this untenable and intolerable situation. The item has remained on the General Assembly's agenda for decades; to remain silent would be tantamount to accepting and condoning the system and the practices of *apartheid* and would be a denial of the fundamental principles that govern the demo-

cratic life of Venezuela and that guarantee full enjoyment of human rights to all those who live within our borders, regardless of their political convictions, religious beliefs, social status or race.

176. While, as we said, the item has been considered by the General Assembly for decades now, it has been discussed for centuries in that other assembly of mankind, namely the development of civilization. As early as the sixteenth century, when Spain encountered the aborigines of America, in spite of the abuses and attacks that took place, voices were heard challenging the right of the colonial Powers to conquer and subjugate the indigenous American population and, more important still, the principle of the equality of races was proclaimed as a corollary to the affirmation of the equality of all persons derived from their dignity as human beings.

177. This discussion, which is at the root of the law of peoples, left a deep imprint on Venezuela and on Latin American countries. We can therefore affirm that our legal norms, as regards the equality of races and of all persons, were drawn from the intelligent teachings of Vitoria and Suárez.

178. We feel duty-bound to participate in this debate and to reaffirm Venezuela's position against racism in all its manifestations, especially those constituted by the system and practices of *apartheid*. Venezuela, whose population is a mixture of races and origins instilling in us a remarkable spirit of equality, does not know the phenomenon of racial discrimination. Its legal order guarantees equal treatment for all, and we must recall here that the national Constitution of Venezuela explicitly stipulates that "there can be no discrimination based on race, sex, creed or social status".

179. For all these reasons, Venezuela cannot fail to be appalled at racist practices which have been condemned by the United Nations as a "crime against humanity". Not only has Venezuela voted in support of United Nations resolutions that are aimed at eradicating *apartheid*; but moreover has observed those resolutions strictly by not maintaining diplomatic or consular relations, nor having commercial, cultural, academic, sports, military, or other types of exchanges with the racist régime of South Africa.

180. Since its institutionalization, the *apartheid* régime has been a source of constant tension in southern Africa, thus seriously compromising international peace and security, because this practice not only denies the overwhelming majority of the black population their enjoyment of human rights, but also involves frequent acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and manœuvres aimed at destabilizing Governments and at intervening in the internal affairs of other States, sometimes with the aggravating factor that mercenaries are used, as was the case in Seychelles.

181. We are convinced that common action by all the Members of our Organization is needed in order to achieve change in South Africa's attitude because, as we see it, without appropriate action on the part of certain States that have close relations with its Government, decisions of the General Assembly will fail to be effective, and all the efforts of the majority of countries represented here in this Hall would be futile.

182. The intransigent attitude of the racist Pretoria Government cannot but lead to the imposition of needed sanctions pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and to the commitment faithfully to comply with those sanctions on the part of all Member States. In this connection, we wish to reaffirm our support for the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa of 27 May 1981 which was endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 36/172 B.

183. It is fitting at this time to recall that Venezuela does not sell oil to South Africa, not because of the adoption of the Declaration I have mentioned, but rather in accordance with a practice followed by Venezuela for a long time now and which will be continued as a measure which may make a contribution to the effective enjoyment of the rights and freedoms inherent to the human person in South Africa.

184. The behaviour of the Pretoria Government in recent years, during which it has created sham "independent republics", and its repression and arbitrary trials can no longer be tolerated. It is incumbent upon the international community to take more concrete action to put an end to a situation which is as absurd as it is unacceptable. On behalf of the democratic Government of Venezuela, I appeal to the racist Government of South Africa to comply strictly with resolution 36/172 J, adopted by consensus in the General Assembly, relating to political prisoners in South Africa, and to refrain from executing the prisoners sentenced under repressive laws for acts derived from their just opposition to *apartheid*. We also appeal for the release of Nelson Mandela, who is suffering imprisonment together with other Azanian patriots for having rebelled against racist tyranny. A favourable reaction to this outcry from the entire international community would be no more than the elemental response to be expected from any human being who has a rational mind and feelings.

185. We cannot fail to affirm, in making this appeal, that the legitimate right to oppose an unjust law makes those who rise up against it the genuine defenders of the law while those who try to apply such unjust laws become the defenders of violence in the guise of legality.

186. The Venezuelan delegation wishes also to express its commendation and encouragement of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the work it has been doing since its creation exactly 20 years ago. Those words of appreciation are addressed in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, who is carrying out this commendable work with dedication and a professional spirit and to whom we offer our full support.

187. In this connection we are pleased to welcome the preparation by the oil-producing and exporting countries of a draft resolution aimed at the application of an oil embargo action against the South African racist régime as a contribution to the struggle for democracy, social justice and freedom in South Africa.

188. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): When my Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed the General Assembly he conveyed to Mr. Imre Hollai congratulations on his unanimous election to the office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

However, as this is my first opportunity of speaking in the Assembly, I should like to congratulate him once again on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of Kenya.

189. I should like also to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sulé of Nigeria, and the members of his Committee for the work done in presenting to the Assembly their well-documented and ably presented report.

190. It is now 20 years since the General Assembly, at its seventeenth session, adopted resolution 1761 (XVII) urging Member States and the Security Council to bring to an end the inhuman system of *apartheid* in South Africa. Since then, numerous resolutions have been passed and yet the racist régime in Pretoria continues to defy them all. The régime has demonstrated a recalcitrant attitude towards the United Nations. Its mentors have encouraged this attitude, through clandestine support to its machinations. After years of condemnation from all corners of the globe, this evil system continues to extend its tentacles of oppression over the black people of South Africa. The question is, how long can our Organization stand by and watch its resolutions being disregarded? How long can our Organization continue to adopt resolutions which are never implemented?

191. As we speak here today, the racists in Pretoria are continuing their brutal repression of the black majority with ever-increasing ferociousness. Their régime continues to deny the black people their social and political rights. Those gallant sons of South Africa who have dared to oppose the system of *apartheid* have been silenced with brutal force. Hundreds languish in the gaols of the white racist régime; others, including old women and schoolchildren, have been murdered in cold blood by the trigger-happy forces of Pretoria. The world cannot forget the Sharpeville massacres, the Soweto murders, the deaths of progressive leaders like Steve Biko and Neil Aggett and the illegal detention of Nelson Mandela and others. We have heard of death sentences passed against other young freedom fighters, sentences which this Assembly recently condemned. The list of acts of repression by this régime grows longer every day and yet, in spite of the world-wide outcry, no appreciable results seem to have been achieved.

192. The regressive activities of Pretoria have not been confined to South Africa itself. The racist régime has sought in every possible way to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia. It has consistently crossed borders and committed acts of aggression against peace-loving countries, notably Angola and Mozambique, but also Zambia, Zimbabwe and Seychelles. Our Organization has condemned those acts of terror against independent and sovereign African States, but the condemnation has fallen on deaf ears. These outrageous actions are in complete violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. My delegation therefore calls upon all Member States and on the entire international community to rededicate themselves to the cause of eradicating *apartheid* in South Africa.

193. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa continues to segregate not only the whites from the blacks,

but even the black workers from their families. Black workers are forced to work and reside hundreds of miles away from their homes. Their women and children are not allowed to accompany them to their place of work. They are forced to live in extreme anguish. The time has come when the black workers of South Africa must be allowed to choose where they and their families should live. Refusal to allow workers to live with their loved ones is a denial of fundamental human rights and contradicts the basic tenets of civilized conduct.

194. In order to hoodwink the international community the racist régime is said to have been making sugar-coated moves to remove petty *apartheid* from public places. This is sheer nonsense and all men of goodwill will reject it. Let us not be fooled by such Fascist manoeuvres. What is at stake is the complete and total eradication of the crime of *apartheid*. We therefore call upon all Member States of the United Nations and indeed the entire international community to declare without any ambiguity that the racist policy practised by the criminal régime in South Africa is a threat to international peace and security under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

195. Although numerous efforts have been made by the entire international community to rectify the situation in South Africa, the clique in Pretoria continues to engage in more and more tricky manoeuvres to defeat those efforts. We have recently seen the Nazi-like activities of that régime, which is trying to band the black populations into so-called independent bantustans, otherwise called "homelands". By so doing South Africa is denying the African population its right to South African citizenship. My delegation rejects these manoeuvres. Whatever schemes it employs, let South Africa know that the valiant and heroic struggle of the majority, the African people, will triumph.

196. Kenya is completely opposed to the creation of these so-called homelands and will oppose any moves by any quarters to legitimize them. We stand for one South Africa where all are equal under the law and where all people live in peace and tranquillity with equality of opportunities, irrespective of race, colour, creed or religion.

197. We have on numerous occasions called for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. In spite of all this, the criminal régime continues to flourish. We are disappointed that the resolutions in relation to this question have failed to have effect because they have been flouted by some Members of our Organization. Many Governments, multinational concerns, financial institutions and so forth, have continued to do business as usual with South Africa despite world-wide condemnation. This has given a devil-may-care attitude to South Africa, which knows it has support from Members of this Organization. That support enables it to flout all decisions of our great Organization.

198. We cannot fail to register our outrage and disappointment at the action taken by IMF a few weeks ago. In spite of resolution 37/2 adopted by the Assembly by an overwhelming majority, IMF saw fit to approve a \$1.1 billion loan to South Africa. That is

yet another example of decisions of our Organization being disregarded. It is not, however, the only example of institutions and other organizations, including Governments, continuing to collaborate with the racist régime in the financial, trade, diplomatic, military and nuclear armament fields.

199. Any Government that continues to do business with South Africa must realize not only that it is committing a crime against Africa as a whole, but that it stands condemned by the entire human race. We in Kenya reject collaboration with South Africa, not only in the trade and military fields, but indeed in all fields of co-operation. We reject any cultural and sporting links with the racist entity and we declare our opposition to any country that continues to maintain such links with South Africa.

200. We have seen a few misguided countries which, in spite of world-wide condemnation of sporting links, have gone ahead with such sporting links with the *apartheid* régime. We condemn such actions and call upon their perpetrators to recognize that they have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by continuing such contacts.

201. We are firmly of the view that the South African racist régime must be strongly condemned for its brutal repression and indiscriminate torture and killings of workers, schoolchildren and other opponents of *apartheid* and for the imposition of death sentences on freedom fighters. We further condemn unreservedly the repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States aimed at destabilizing the whole region of southern Africa.

202. We strongly condemn the policy of bantustanization and the increased militarization of the racist régime's arsenals of terror for the sole purpose of further entrenching itself in southern Africa. We deplore the attitude of those Western countries that have collaborated with South Africa despite the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. Sanctions are meant to avoid violence. Those who go against the sanctions are in effect supporters of violence. We stand opposed to those who, while acknowledging and proclaiming *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, act in ways that obstruct its eradication. There cannot be any justification of and/or equivocation on this inhumanity in any circumstances.

203. Many sons and daughters of South Africa are languishing in detention and in the prison camps of the racist *apartheid* régime for no reason at all other than the fact that they are opponents of *apartheid*. We call for and demand their immediate release and the abolition of the racist legislation under which the régime obtains a licence to arrest them.

204. We therefore call upon the entire membership of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council, firmly to uphold and defend the rights and freedoms of all humanity, irrespective of race and social standing, so that the dignity of all in freedom may be realized. For this purpose we call for implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter against the South African *apartheid* régime. Anything short of that will pave the way for continued conflicts and loss of life in southern Africa, the consequences and dimensions of which are awesome to contemplate.

205. Mr. DORR (Ireland): A question is sometimes asked about our debates here: "Why pick on South Africa?" The question is not often asked openly or in debate. But it does seem at time to lie unasked behind some things said here and it does find expression at times outside the Assembly.

206. The United Nations after all is now almost a universal world organization. Governments of all kinds, democracies and dictatorships, civilian and military régimes are represented here. The world's conflicts and quarrels are mirrored here as nowhere else. For many of us, human rights, in the sense of a full recognition in practice of the dignity and worth of each human person, is still an abstract idea or a future aim rather than a present reality.

207. Why then pick on South Africa? Why make of it a special case?

208. The simple answer is that South Africa is a special case. Its Government, representing its white population, has made it so. It alone in all of this Assembly asserts, through the political system which it has constructed and imposed on the majority in South Africa, that all men and women are not equal in dignity and worth as human persons; and that the dignity, the rights and the opportunity for a full human life of every child born in the State which they control completely, depend on the colour of that child's skin.

209. Of course this means an almost total lack of basic rights for the majority who are black. They have no vote; they have no representation in Parliament; and they have never had any voice in determining the system under which all must now live. The white minority of about 17 per cent controls the whole society through a rigid and oppressive system which is intended to ensure its own permanent dominance.

210. But it is not so much the resulting lack of human rights—serious though that is—but the underlying concept that has made this Organization for many years now direct its attention so forcefully to *apartheid*.

211. Whatever our own failings, we know, instinctively as it were, that the United Nations, which grew out of a terrible war where racial theories motivated one side, simply cannot now accept in silence the policies of a State where the organizing principle is racial discrimination enforced by a ruling minority on a majority more than five times as great. If the United Nations did not stand against this then it would to a great extent have lost its sense and meaning. But, it may be said, this is rhetorical and possibly unfair.

212. I do not know whether white South Africans listen any longer to what we say here; or what they say about it if they do. But I should like to anticipate the answers which white South Africa might make to this.

213. First, I imagine, would be the argument that *apartheid* is simply apart-ness. It means separation only and not discrimination. When it has been completed in practice, like will thenceforth live with like and there will be no unfairness.

214. Secondly, it would be said that the present dominance by whites is due to their history and their achievements. South Africa's whites, the argument would go, arrived in the land before or at the same time

as other races who now live there; and it is largely the white population who have built the South Africa of today. That achievement, it would be said, must not now be endangered or destroyed through racial integration.

215. Third would be the argument that there has indeed been some change. Of course, patience and time will be needed since old beliefs die hard. But discrimination is now being eased and, given a fair chance, it might be said, reform would come if there is no interference from outside.

216. The fourth argument is more muted and is not always put directly to a general audience such as this. It is that South Africa—white South Africa, of course, is what is meant—is a strong bastion of Western values, or alternatively of Western Christian values, in a world where those values are endangered. It therefore deserves support from those who wish to see those values upheld. This argument sometimes takes a more realistic line. Instead of Christian values one speaks of the strategic importance of South Africa or of the need to ensure the supply of its important minerals. The assumption is that all of this would be endangered by major change. Accordingly, white South Africa's policies, distasteful as they are, may have to be accepted, and at most it might be said that there should be merely gentle pressure for gradual change.

217. Let us look briefly at each of these four arguments.

218. First, there is the argument that *apartheid* means separation only. This may indeed be proclaimed as an aim, but it is patently not true in practice. According to the theory—or perhaps we had better call it an ideology—there are to be 11 homelands for Africans. By virtue of a formula that can only be described as fantasy, the actual black population of South Africa today, without their consent, are made citizens of these homelands which many of them have never seen. Thus, at a stroke of a pen, they become foreigners in South Africa itself, where they and their people may have lived all their lives and where they must in practice continue to live. Nothing has changed in reality. Nothing need ever change. What changes is the description of that reality. Discrimination against black South Africans disappears overnight—simply because more and more of the black South Africans who actually make the country work can now be described as foreigners in the country where they live. The theory is that they are temporarily outside their new homelands, the only place where they would be entitled to full rights.

219. The fantasy involved is wonderfully simple and complete—worthy perhaps of Jonathan Swift. Of course it is hard to see how anyone who knows the reality can take it seriously. But it does provide the necessary conceptual framework for some to accept what would otherwise be unacceptable.

220. It remains, of course, just that—a fantasy. The reality is very different. White South Africa effectively depends on black South African labour as it has done for a long time. Despite the theory of the homelands this has not changed.

221. Today 80 per cent of the work-force actually at work in South Africa is black. Furthermore, the black population is growing much faster than the white

and the ratio of black workers and black consumers to white is also growing.

222. One must add of course that even if the homelands concept made sense it would still be grossly unfair. The homelands for the most part are fragments scattered on the map with little regard to history, geography or common sense. They are poor and the area to be set aside for them is about 14 per cent of the total land area of South Africa. This is to be home—at least, in theory—for the 70 per cent of the population which is black while the remaining 86 per cent of the land will—it seems—be reserved for the 16 per cent of the population which is white.

223. In the face of all this, it seems no more than a minor discrepancy in the fantasy to point out that two other racial groups—the so-called Coloured and the Indians—seem to fit nowhere into the scheme since they have no homeland to which, in theory, they could be assigned and that, further, the differences between Afrikaner and English speakers within the white population are probably greater than those between many of the black African groups which have been assigned to different homelands as separate ethnic groups.

224. All of this makes nonsense of the contention that *apartheid* means nothing more than a simple separation of races and that no discrimination is involved.

225. But there is a second argument, addressed to the history and the achievement of white South Africa. Integration now, it is said, would destroy all that white South Africa has built over three centuries.

226. The myth of an empty land settled by whites in the seventeenth century has been discredited by studies of earlier millenniums, although it is still a potent argument for those who wish to believe it. But in any case, to speak of South Africa today as the achievement of its white population only is grossly to distort its real history. I quote from the report of an independent American study commission last year: "South Africa's economy has grown dramatically over the course of this century. ... To a large extent, this steady growth rate was achieved by the use of cheap black labour."

227. In reality, South Africa was built by all its people, so the argument is simply not true. But a more fundamental answer, of course, is that it is totally irrelevant. Does it matter who arrived first or in what century, or what was the skin colour of those who helped to build up the country in the past? None of that can possibly be an argument for maintaining rigid racial divisions today and for allowing permanent domination by one racial group over others which greatly outnumber it. History is in any case a dangerous basis on which to claim rights in a divided society. If it is a matter of pride to one section, it may equally provide material for burning resentment to another.

228. In South Africa today there can only be one answer to those who argue for the right of one racial group to maintain permanent dominance over the others. It is that while distinct cultural traditions should of course be preserved, as in any plural society, South Africa—its wealth, its resources and its great potential—today belongs to all who live there. If one racial group, and a minority at that, denies this and

seeks to monopolize power and to impose its racial theories on a rapidly growing majority, it will ultimately find itself paying the price of its own folly. All of South Africa's people will suffer; all will lose; and the disastrous effects may spread far beyond South Africa itself.

229. There is, however, a third argument. We are told that there is slow but steady change and that it must be given a chance. It is difficult to judge that adequately from outside. But the onus of proof is very great and there is certainly no very clear evidence of substantial change in South Africa.

230. On the contrary, so far as one can see, the argument is between extreme hardliners and those who appear moderate only by comparison, between those who want to rationalize somewhat the intricate network of laws and regulations which constitutes the structure of the *apartheid* system and those who still want to retain that system in its full irrationality. One might perhaps better speak of adaptation rather than of change, because the aim seems to be to ensure the survival of the old policy in new circumstances. There is certainly very little reason to believe that at its present pace, change is even remotely likely to be sufficient to head off increasing confrontation or to achieve a minimum of elementary rights for all.

231. The fourth argument is that South Africa—and again, of course, this means white South Africa—will ultimately have to be supported as a defender of Western values by those who hold to those values or, alternatively, that it is essential to what are called "Western interests". This argument is usually addressed to a more restricted audience than this, but muted as it may be, this argument is still a dangerous one.

232. It should surely be obvious to anyone who wants to maintain Western interests that a minority population, dependent for its position on the systematic repression of a majority in its own country, is a very unstable support on which to lean. As to Western values, whatever they may be—and they sometimes seem rather diffuse even to those who hold them—it must be made absolutely clear that the racialism of white South Africa cannot be a part of them. On the contrary, the system which white South Africa has imposed on the majority of the people in that country is in direct contradiction to everything in these values which ought to be preserved. If ever the effort to preserve these values came to depend for essential support on a white South Africa pursuing its present policies, then it would already be a lost cause.

233. This, it seems to me, is one of the main reasons why a country like mine must speak out here year after year against *apartheid*, however little our words may seem to us to achieve. We simply cannot afford to have it thought that the claim by white South Africa that it stands for or represents our values has any validity.

234. On the contrary, I must say again—as I said last year, and the year before, and as so many others before me have said year after year: Ireland considers that the policies of organized racial discrimination pursued by white South Africa under the name of *apartheid* are wrong; they are dangerous and they cause immense human suffering; furthermore, they

directly contradict the fundamental values which we hold, as well as the aspirations and principles of this Organization and its Charter.

235. So much we can say and repeat. And it is necessary to continue to speak out strongly against these policies so as to try to bring home to white South Africans the folly and danger of the system they have constructed, with such misplaced zeal for detail.

236. The guiding myth of any people, shaped by their history and tested in adversity, is not something easily shaken. But the Afrikaners, proud as they are of their history and their achievements, can no longer try to argue from that past that they and the rest of white South Africa have some kind of God-given right to dominance over the majority with whom they share a country. Perhaps the steady repetition of a rejection here and elsewhere of the whole *apartheid* system by virtually the whole international community will do something at last to bring this home to them.

237. But is there anything else we can do?

238. For its part, Ireland would favour action undertaken in an organized way, in proper form and by the international community as a whole, to bring steady pressure to bear on white South Africa to change its disastrous policies.

239. We therefore favour the imposition of a series of graduated sanctions on South Africa. We think such sanctions would have to be imposed by the Security Council, which alone has power to adopt mandatory decisions on behalf of the international community. They should be carefully selected and, once adopted, they should be fully implemented by all those to whom they apply.

240. More specifically, I confirm that Ireland is prepared, through its votes here in the Assembly, to support a call to the Security Council for a tightening of the present arms embargo, the formal imposition of an oil embargo and a ban on new investment in or loans to South Africa.

241. I should say here that Ireland's abstention some weeks ago on a resolution in regard to the proposed IMF loan was due to our view of the respective competences of the two bodies rather than to the merit of the issue itself. We have since then made it clear within IMF—to the extent that it was open to us to do so, since we do not cast a separate vote in that body—that we would not have been prepared to endorse the loan request.

242. At the national level, Ireland does not have diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor do we have trade, economic co-operation or cultural agreements with it. It is the policy of our Government not to seek through official action to promote trade with South Africa. Our Government has also acted firmly to discourage sports links with South Africa. Ireland also contributes regularly to the various United Nations trust funds for southern Africa.

243. But can any action from outside really bring change in South Africa today? It may help, but we simply have to accept that, in the last analysis, how change will come and at what pace will depend on the people of South Africa itself. From outside we can exhort and we can exert pressure. But we cannot finally determine what will happen, when it will happen

or how it will happen. That depends ultimately on South Africans themselves.

244. By that I mean all of the people of South Africa. It is for black South Africans to decide how much more they can or will endure of a repression which stunts their lives and denies opportunities to their children; and it is they too who have to consider what actions would best advance their hope of achieving at last the fundamental human dignity so long denied to them in their own country.

245. It is for white South Africa to decide how it will face the growing militancy of those who have already endured so much. Will it respond quickly to the increasingly insistent demand for change? Or will it meet militant action only with repression as it has done so far?

246. It is not easy to be optimistic. A political system which has kept Nelson Mandela in prison for nearly 20 years; which has done so much to stifle or radicalize those who have sought change by peaceful means; and which imposes death sentences so freely, may eventually have to face the inevitable consequences of its own folly.

247. There is certainly now no easy way to achieve change in South Africa. Any course will have its difficulties and problems. What does seem certain is that change will come. But those who control the political structures of South Africa today may still have it in their power to determine whether the change which is inevitable will come by relatively peaceful means or at the end of a long-drawn-out, dangerous and possibly bloody process which will cause immense suffering for all and create wider dangers extending well beyond South Africa itself. They may—they just may—still have a choice. There just may still be time.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

NOTE

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.*