



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 32

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

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

1. Mr. dos SANTOS (Mozambique): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to address the General Assembly under your wise, experienced leadership.

2. This council of nations is once again gathered to discuss the abhorrent system of *apartheid* or racial segregation. This misguided policy, which has been declared by the international community of nations a crime against humanity is, without a doubt, the source of colonialism in the area, of brutal oppression, repression and suppression, of sufferings and of widespread tension. World capitalism and imperialism are closely associated with this crime and cannot be absolved of blame for it.

3. It is a vexed problem that arouses an intense feeling of revulsion, repulsiveness and indignation in individuals and nations alike. It is an open, defiant, gross and continued denial and violation of human and democratic rights to, and principles of, liberty, independence, freedom, justice, equality and human dignity. The abhorrent policy and practice of *apartheid* brutalizes the human person and human dignity, maims and kills the minds and souls of men, women and children, irrespective of the colour of their skin. It "animalizes"—if I may be allowed to use that word—the human being.

4. Once the Race Classification Board has made a classification, one's social, political and economic future is pre-ordained. The Board decides whether one is going to be treated as a human being, as an animal or as something in between. If you are white, you are a human being, but if you happen to be black, you are, to some extent, worse off than a dog.

5. The so-called Coloureds, the Indians, other Asians, the Chinese and the Malays are neither one nor the other; they are in between, half human, half animal, but they are not mermaids. Too bad for them, for if they were mermaids they could at least attract sailors.

6. There are also honorary whites: the Japanese. There are others who are on the way to the Classification Board's counter to buy a ticket to this horrible race game. Others are on the racial airliner waiting-list.

7. Whites and blacks share at least one thing in common, they have a colour, but Indians, other Asians, Chinese and Malays are less fortunate, for they are colourless. It is recognized that the so-called Coloureds do possess a colour, albeit an indeterminate one.

8. Promotion and demotion are also possible and are effected through a system called reclassification. Promotion is very rare. Can you imagine the social tragedy that befalls one when an individual, habitually considered as white, is reclassified as Coloured?

9. South Africa must be a uniquely privileged country in this world. There, the blind are never totally blind. They are also able to distinguish colour, at least some colours: white, black, Coloured, Indian, other Asians, Malays, Chinese and so on. When the Boer's heart falters, he immediately becomes blind. The colour bar disappears as if by magic. Neither the bar nor the colour is anywhere to be found. After all, the Kaffir's heart is not black, but red. In the history of heart transplant in *apartheid* South Africa, the receiver is always white and the donor always non-white. The non-whites in South Africa are not so poor after all; they are rich in heart in every sense of the word.

10. Were it not for the untold extreme human suffering that this system entails, the situation would be nothing but a laughing-stock.

11. The *apartheid* system is allowed to thrive 38 years after the inception of the United Nations and 35 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. *Apartheid* is the most odious and heinous massive violation of human rights.

12. Some countries here represented are accomplices to this degrading, inhuman policy and practice.

13. It is now evident that some Western countries' financial involvement in South Africa is far above what was originally estimated. The original estimate for one Western country alone was \$2.6 billion whereas it is really \$14.6 billion. No wonder the South African golden egg must be carefully kept, watched over and defended.

14. Since the 1970s, South Africa has been treated as the outcast and pariah that it is. Lately, however, some respected Western countries are feverishly trying to reverse that trend.

15. Economic, cultural, diplomatic and sports exchanges are on the increase, as is the establishment of new consular posts. It is being suggested that some medium-range missiles are going to find a warm home in *apartheid* South Africa. Although the racist régime refuses to sign the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] nuclear technology continues to pour in.

16. Let us look at the facts. The numbers speak for themselves. In 1960, the military budget of South Africa was 44 million rand. By 1980, it was over 2.1 billion rand. The military and paramilitary force jumped from 78,000 to 494,000 during the same period. This does not include the 180,000 that form the so-called standing operational force. All in all, the *apartheid* régime can count on almost 600,000 men, well trained and properly equipped.

17. Beyond any doubt, South Africa has the largest army in Africa. There is nothing to compare with it in Africa. The *apartheid* régime has a military industry that goes beyond its defence needs, for it now exports weapons, tanks, airplanes and other sophisticated military equipment.

18. Human rights are being sacrificed on the altar of the defence of sea lanes. We are all aware of the fact that it is the cheap labour and mineral wealth of South Africa and Namibia which lie behind the complicated racial web spun by the South African racists and their supporters at home and abroad.

19. The resulting toll in human lives and spirit is staggering. Over 2 million men, women and children have been uprooted from their homes in white-only areas and exiled to overcrowded resettlement camps situated on barren land where malnutrition and disease kill 50 per cent of the children under the age of five. Only 13 per cent of the most barren land is reserved for over 70 per cent of the South African population. Over 200,000 people are arrested each year for violating the pass laws which control the movement of blacks in urban areas. They end up either in prison or pressed into forced labour. Thousands are arrested or deported to camps each year for participating in strikes organized by independent trade unions for decent wages, humane working conditions and the right to live with their families. Thousands of people are shot and killed while resisting arrest, whereas others die in police custody, by hanging, beating or throwing themselves from windows. Hundreds more every year, including school-age children, pregnant women and the elderly, survive their detention but suffer extended or permanent physical and psychological damage as a result of torture.

20. The same fate has befallen the Namibian people. Despite all the efforts of the international community, Namibia remains unfreed, with its people in chains, in bondage.

21. As the peoples, Governments and countries in southern Africa, individually or severally, are engaged in a heroic struggle to rid themselves of the residue of colonialism, as they prepare to take off towards a future of wide horizons and better standards of living, as they strive to overcome backwardness and misery, they find themselves subjected to naked and unprovoked aggression, economic pressure, sabotage and occupation.

22. South Africa's political, economic and military pressure against neighbouring States is on the increase. Part of Angolan territory is under occupation and its population subjected to humiliation. Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are the victims of constant aggression, carried out either directly by racist South Africa or through bandits armed, trained, equipped, financed and supplied by that country. Recently, South Africa resorted to brutal pressure and a blockade against defenceless Lesotho. Refugees from *apartheid* South Africa could not find a safe home in Lesotho. Despite this flagrant violation of international law and practice, very few voices of protest were heard.

23. Small wonder then, that the Security Council has recognized the struggle of the South African people as a just and legitimate one. Security Council resolutions 392 (1976) and 473 (1980), unanimously adopted, recognize and reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

24. The world is all too ready to forget the sufferings and agony of those who are daily brutalized by racist South Africa. In trying to make the world avert its eyes, the Pretoria régime has proffered a more acceptable form of *apartheid*—one which extends token political power to Indians and those of mixed race.

25. *Apartheid* has come to be viewed as too ugly, outmoded, unnecessary and even threatening to the broader and more general economic interests of international

capitalism. Hence the need to whitewash the tomb of *apartheid* to make it appear cleaner; hence the so-called constitutional reforms, which are neither constitutional nor reforms.

26. It is reported that many people were arrested in the period immediately preceding the so-called referendum. With a view to creating a climate favourable to the approval of the project of the so-called constitutional reforms, the Pretoria régime had among other things to resort to spreading rumours reporting that the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] was planning to assassinate the racist Prime Minister, Pieter Botha. ANC has denied ever having considered this kind of action. Pieter Botha made strident appeals to the electorate urging them to cast a positive vote, for a negative vote would be tantamount to siding with the ANC.

27. Only 41 per cent of the 2.7 million white voters voted in favour of the so-called reforms, and only 63 per cent of the registered voters participated in the exercise. Although the result of the referendum was favourable to Botha's proposals, it is significant to note that 37 per cent of the electorate decided to stay away and that 22 per cent voted against, making a total of 59 per cent of the electorate. It is only by counting both the positive and negative votes that Botha can claim 66 per cent of the votes in favour as compared to 34 per cent against. It is worth noting that in the 1960 referendum the turn-out was massive, 91 per cent of the electorate having taken part. In the 1981 parliamentary elections, that participation dropped to 67 per cent. The 41 per cent, representing about 1.1 million voters, made a decision bearing on the future of 30 million South Africans. Of these, 24.7 million are blacks, 2.5 million are of mixed race, or so-called Coloureds, and 850,000 are Asians, all of whom were barred from participating in the vote because of their colour.

28. The so-called Coloureds and Indians, as groups, have soundly, totally and unequivocally rejected their participation in what is clearly designed to buttress the *apartheid* system and pit them against their own interests. Although the *apartheid* régime's intention is to try to convince the world that it has the consent of the so-called Coloureds and Indians, the fact remains that only a few leaders, the sell-outs, have agreed to participate in the farce. The vast majority of the underprivileged sees the so-called constitutional proposals as designed to divide the oppressed so that they can be better ruled. The *apartheid* system, like a cancer patient, cannot be cured by injecting malignant cells into its body. It is doomed to a certain failure and to death.

29. This is what is being hailed by a tiny die-hard minority as a step in the right direction. For them there is no denying that it is a step in the right direction for their bulging pockets. For Namibia and Angola it means continued occupation and aggression, and to all States in southern Africa it is translated into aggression, sabotage, death, destruction and misery.

30. Six military commands are being set up by racist South Africa along Mozambique's border. Many military and air bases are being constructed. As I speak now, large concentrations of South African troops are massed along the common border. But, for the 25.3 million Africans, the so-called Coloureds, Asians and others, the basic tenet of the *apartheid* régime remains the same: raw racism which ensures still more poverty, humiliation, police terror and brutality.

31. The actions of the *apartheid* authorities and their supporters abroad are a clear indication that, despite their protestations of being believers and practitioners of democracy and human rights, the elimination of *apartheid*

will come only through a vigorous and dynamic approach. No other choice is being left open.

32. That *apartheid* can brutalize the mind and soul of South Africa is understandable, but one cannot understand that the whole world can let itself be brutalized. I am sure that that is not happening now, and that it will not happen in the future.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its fourth meeting on 23 September 1983, I now call upon the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

34. Mr. EBRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): For over three decades the United Nations has been discussing the *apartheid* policies of the racist and illegal régime of South Africa. Over the three decades the United Nations has condemned the policies pursued by the illegal minority racist régime and has correctly described *apartheid* as a crime against humanity. Although the United Nations, reflecting the overwhelming view of the international community, has consistently and strongly condemned *apartheid* and has repeatedly called for its total eradication, the South African racists have systematically pursued a policy of entrenching *apartheid*. International appeals to the racists to eradicate this obnoxious system, therefore, have fallen upon deaf ears.

35. On 2 November 1983, the white electorate was asked to vote in a referendum on the constitutional proposals. The so-called constitutional proposals have been described in some circles as "a step in the right direction", thereby implying that the racists are moving away from the obnoxious and universally condemned policy of *apartheid*. However, a close examination of the provisions of the constitutional proposals will show that, far from moving away from *apartheid*, they are in fact designed to entrench and perpetuate it.

36. In order fully to appreciate this, it is important to understand the political philosophy and aims behind the *apartheid* policies pursued by the fascist National Party ever since it gained control of the state apparatus in racist South Africa. The principal aim was to ensure perpetual white domination. Since the racists could not physically eliminate the African majority or simply wish it away, they embarked on a policy of politically eliminating the indigenous Africans, the rightful owners of Azania, which is the historical African name of colonized South Africa. Under this grand design, 87.3 per cent of the country was to be "white South Africa". The remaining 12.7 per cent would be the so-called homelands for the Africans, who made up 73 per cent of the total population of South Africa. It was in these so-called homelands or bantustans that the Africans were required to "exercise their political rights and citizenship". This then was the essence of the *apartheid* policies—to establish a white South Africa and relegate the African majority to the barren, fragmented and economically unviable bantustans. *Apartheid*, therefore, was not simply a set of discriminatory laws but a carefully worked out settler colonial programme to ensure perpetual white domination.

37. With this definition of *apartheid*, let us examine the so-called constitutional proposals. First and foremost, they now constitutionally exclude some 26 million Africans from the new political dispensation. The 26 million Africans cease to be citizens of what the racists call "white South Africa". In this respect, one can categorically state that the so-called constitutional proposals are in keeping with the declared *apartheid* policies of making South Africa a country, politically speaking, for whites only and arbitrarily deprive 73 per cent of the population of even the basic right of citizenship. Can such a move, clearly

designed further to entrench *apartheid*, be called a "step in the right direction"? In the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], it is a step in the right direction, that is, to the right.

38. It has been stated in some circles that the inclusion of so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin is a "departure" from past practice. Is there any truth in this assumption? It will be recalled that, when the 1909 Union of South Africa Act was passed by the British Parliament, the so-called Coloureds in the Cape Province were placed on a common voters roll and this was supposed to be an entrenched clause in the Constitution. The present racist rulers of South Africa used a constitutional trick to throw out this entrenched clause and, after they assumed power in 1948, removed the so-called Coloureds from the common voters roll. Under the new dispensation, even this limited franchise is not being restored to them.

39. Under the new set-up envisaged, the present white Parliament will remain and will be called the House of Assembly. It will retain the 178 seats. The so-called Coloureds will elect, on a separate voters roll, a House of Representatives of 85 members. The people of Asian origin, also voting on a separate roll, will elect a 45-member House of Deputies. The so-called Coloured House of Representatives and the Asian House of Deputies, according to the stipulation in the proposals, can and will only discuss what have been termed "own affairs". Moreover, it is not they who will discuss or decide what constitutes "own affairs" but the State President. It is further stipulated that the House of Representatives of the Coloureds and the House of Deputies of the people of Asian origin can only discuss a topic said to be "own affairs" if it carries a written certificate from the State President declaring the subject to fall within the category of "own affairs". Given these carefully worked out constraints, it becomes clear that the so-called Coloured and Indian Houses will be nothing but constitutional appendages of the powerful and decision-making all-white House of Assembly and the all-powerful State President.

40. In reality, the so-called Coloureds and Asians, lured by the régime to act as constitutional appendages, will be able to discuss nothing more than what they have already been doing in such dummy institutions as the Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council. They will not be able to change any of the laws on which the *apartheid* policies of the white minority régime are based, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, to name just a few. For example, the Population Registration Act classifies all South Africans into whites, so-called Coloureds, people of Asian origin and indigenous Africans, and this classification determines where one will live, the type of education that will be made available to one and what political rights one may or may not enjoy in *apartheid* South Africa. Without the Population Registration Act, it would be impossible to decide who will qualify for what House under the new constitutional proposals.

41. Therefore, can such an arrangement be seriously considered a departure from the declared policy of *apartheid*, or can it be said to be a further entrenchment? The answer is clear: further entrenchment and perpetuation of white domination, because the so-called Coloured House of Representatives and the proposed Asian House of Deputies will be nothing more than constitutional "Colouredstans" and "Asianstans", similar to the bantustans.

42. Under the constitutional proposals, the State President will wield unlimited powers. Moreover he will

always be a white person and always a member of the fascist National Party. This is ensured by the composition of the electoral college, which will then elect the State President. The electoral college will comprise 50 whites, 25 so-called Coloureds and 13 Asians. The 50 whites will not come from the white House of Assembly but from the majority party in that House—the ruling National Party. Since *apartheid* as a policy was specifically designed to keep political power exclusively in the hands of the fascist National Party, under the constitutional proposals political power will continue to remain firmly in the hands of the racists. What then will the change be in *apartheid* South Africa under the constitutional proposals? Only that it will be further entrenched.

43. The PAC warmly welcomed General Assembly resolution 38/11, adopted on 15 November, condemning the constitutional proposals as a fraud and an attempt to hoodwink international public opinion. It constituted a great source of encouragement to all Azanians fighting relentlessly for the right of self-determination and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society. However, we were surprised that some countries abstained in the voting, while declaring their opposition to *apartheid*. Any country genuinely opposed to *apartheid* could only have voted in favour, as the constitutional proposals are a further entrenchment of *apartheid* and not a step away from it. We call upon the international community, and Africa in particular, to take special note of those countries that abstained, as we believe that their action constituted a form of condoning *apartheid*.

44. Throughout the debate on the policies pursued by the racist régime in South Africa much will be said about the constitutional proposals. That is understandable, because the proposals are a current topic of discussion. However, whilst unequivocally condemning the proposals for what they are, we should not forget or ignore by default the real dangers posed by the Fascist racist régime to the overwhelming majority of the population in Azania, the people of the front-line and other neighbouring States and the world at large. Equally, the international community should closely follow the determined and resolute struggle waged by the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania on all fronts, including the armed struggle. It is also imperative that freedom-loving and justice-minded peoples the world over support politically and materially the legitimate struggle of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania.

45. The principal cause of the problem in southern Africa is the discredited and inhuman policy of the *apartheid* régime. Internally, it has led to the dispossession and brutalization of the vast majority of Azanians. Moreover, the racists openly employ brute force to ensure the implementation of their universally discredited policies. For example, on any given day South Africa's prison population is 108,000, more than four times that of Britain, although Britain's total population is almost twice that of racist South Africa. Also, *apartheid* South Africa has one of the highest hanging rates in the world. South Africa has one of the highest numbers of deaths of persons held in police custody, and no racist policeman has been brought to trial in the cases of over 60 deaths of people held in police custody.

46. South Africa's racist police are the most trigger-happy in the world. I shall substantiate that statement with figures revealed recently in the all-white Parliament. From January to June of this year, the South African police shot 425 persons, killing 124 of them. If one analyses this admitted figure, it will be seen that the racist police are responsible for an average of 71 shootings every month, with an average of 21 deaths every month. Those

killings do not include those tortured to death or suspected of being freedom fighters.

47. The figures starkly show the naked use of reactionary violence resorted to by the régime's police. They also reveal the initial source of violence in our country. Here the PAC recalls the first major campaign it launched soon after it was formed in 1959. On 21 March 1960, the PAC launched the nation-wide positive action campaign against the much hated and dehumanizing pass laws. The campaign, given the existing circumstances, was non-violent. Since our people were unarmed and defenceless, it could only be a non-violent campaign. But what was the reaction of the racist régime and its trigger-happy police? At Sharpeville, they shot and killed 69 defenceless and unarmed men, women and children, and wounded or maimed over 180. The legitimate struggle and demands of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people were answered with reactionary violence.

48. The 21 March 1960 positive action campaign against the pass laws, launched by the PAC, ushered in a new phase of struggle, because at Sharpeville died not only 69 of our compatriots but also non-violence as a means of struggle. Our late first President, Comrade Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, said on that day: "Until today we were prepared to die for our freedom, but as of today we must also be prepared to kill for it." Today all historians and political observers agree that the 21 March 1960 PAC-led campaign constitutes a watershed in the annals of the just struggle of the Azanian people.

49. Equally, during the Soweto uprising of 1976, for which members and leaders of the PAC were formally charged and sentenced, the racist trigger-happy police did not hesitate to shoot and kill even primary school children. The first police victim in Soweto, Hector Pieteron, was barely 12 years old.

50. The PAC, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, cited the figures and cases I have mentioned to establish beyond any doubt the cause and source of violence in *apartheid* South Africa, namely, the policies of the régime and its trigger-happy forces of subjugation.

51. The overall aim of the racist régime of South Africa is to subjugate and terrorize not only the overwhelming majority of Azanians but also the States and peoples of southern Africa. Although the United Nations ruled as far back as 1966 that racist South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal, the Namibian people continue to this very day to suffer under the yoke of South Africa's illegal occupation. The racists have systematically frustrated all moves by the United Nations, based on the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), to lead the people of Namibia to genuine independence. This open defiance of international responsibility and opinion cannot and should not be allowed to go unchecked any longer.

52. Equally, the racist régime, having failed to implement or influence an arrangement to its own liking in southern Africa, namely, a constellation of puppet or subservient States along its northern borders, has embarked on a policy of destabilization and terrorism. The Pretoria régime is currently engaged in destabilizing and terrorizing the independent States of Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe either by supporting counter-revolutionary elements in those countries or by carrying out open acts of aggression. The basic aim of the régime's destabilizing and terrorizing policy is to terrorize those independent States and force them into abandoning their international responsibility to give refuge to victims of *apartheid*. The PAC wishes publicly to congratulate the front-line and neighbouring States on

their resolute opposition to the inhuman and degrading policy of *apartheid* and their firm solidarity with the people of Azania and Namibia in their just struggle, despite attacks, sabotage and other forms of harassment.

53. The South African racists often claim that the threat they face comes from across the border or even from beyond. In reality, the threat is from within and not from without, and it is not some internationally-engineered conspiracy, but the inhuman policies of the racist régime itself. However, using the bogus outside-threat theory, the régime, following the PAC-led campaign of 21 March 1960 which culminated in the massacre at Sharpeville, has engaged in militarizing white South Africa. In 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre, the military budget of racist South Africa was \$40 million, and it had a standing army of 21,500 men and a further 56,500 reservists. The figures for 1982 show that the budget had increased to \$1.78 billion and the standing army of racist South Africa had increased to 81,400, with 157,000 reservists. In addition, every white male and female is taught to use weapons and to carry them at all times. In addition to this vast militarization programme, racist South Africa is also engaged in a nuclear programme in collaboration with the Zionists in occupied Palestine, with the Federal Republic of Germany and with the United States. Racist South Africa's nuclear programme poses a very real and grave danger not only to southern Africa but to Africa and to the world at large. The international community can ignore this grave and real threat only at its own peril.

54. The PAC would be failing in its duty if it did not bring to the attention of the General Assembly the fact that the South African racists would not have been able to carry out their military and nuclear programmes without the active support of such Western countries as the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom and the Zionists in occupied Palestine. Today, as a result of the assistance it has received from these countries, South Africa is the tenth largest arms manufacturer in the world. These countries have deliberately circumvented all calls and resolutions concerning military sanctions and have connived with the racists in their attempt to build up an arsenal of sophisticated weapons to be used against the people of Azania and the neighbouring front-line States.

55. The increasing number of repressive laws, the increasing police brutality, the forced establishment of bantustans in fragmented, barren lands, the forced eviction of over 8 million Africans from what the racists call "white South Africa", the continued incarceration of political leaders like Comrade Zeph Mothopeng, Nelson Mandela and Herman Toivo ya Toivo, the ever-growing number of deaths of persons in police detention and the summary execution of freedom fighters have in no way dampened the spirit of the oppressed people or weakened their resolve to fight. On the contrary, the people of Azania are more determined and more united today than they ever were.

56. The PAC was the first to opt for and resort to armed struggle. This was a conscious decision emanating from the concrete realities in our country. However, to wage a successful armed struggle, certain prerequisites are essential. First, the broad masses must be convinced that armed struggle is the only viable path to genuine liberation. The PAC-led campaign of 21 March 1960, which culminated in the massacre at Sharpeville, decisively ushered in this higher form of struggle. After Sharpeville, no one could talk about non-violence as a means of struggle and continue to enjoy popular support in our country. The second prerequisite is the education and mobilization of the broad masses. The Soweto uprising of

1976 demonstrated this aspect. Comrade Zeph Mothopeng, the veteran national leader of the PAC, was sentenced to a prison term of 30 years for "predicting and organizing" the 1976 Soweto uprising. He is currently on Robben Island, together with his 16 co-accused colleagues. The PAC makes no apology for opting for armed struggle, because it is a necessity determined by the objective conditions prevailing in our country.

57. It is true that the principles of the United Nations advocate peaceful means to resolve conflicts; experience, however, has proved otherwise. The peaceful efforts of the United Nations have been repeatedly frustrated, and Namibia is a classical example. In our view, the international community has failed to use against the South African racist régime the one weapon that it could most effectively utilize, namely, mandatory economic sanctions. It has failed to do so because the Western countries which have a vested interest in *apartheid* have consciously frustrated the use of that weapon. Therefore, until the United Nations, acting through the Security Council, imposes mandatory economic sanctions, as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, it must support unconditionally the methods employed by the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, including armed struggle. A self-paralysed body can hardly inspire confidence in a people struggling for legitimate rights, much less dictate a mode of struggle.

58. The people of Azania are currently engaged in a relentless struggle to win their national liberation and establish a non-racial, democratic society. Although the armed struggle, with the full involvement of the people, is the principal method of struggle, struggles on all other fronts have been rapidly developing in recent years. In this regard, allow me to cite some examples. *Apartheid* South Africa is an industrialized State compared with the rest of Africa. The economy of racist South Africa is virtually controlled by seven of the biggest conglomerates—the Anglo American Corporation, Barlow Rand, Rembrandt, Anglovaal, Old Mutual, Santam and Liberty Life. These monopolies fix prices, keep out newcomers and carve up markets among themselves. In addition, there is a large foreign investment in *apartheid* South Africa, with Britain topping the list with 63 per cent of the total foreign investment.

59. United States investment in South Africa has also been increasing, especially under the Reagan Administration. According to the *Washington Post* of 30 July 1983, the level of American investment in *apartheid* South Africa is almost six times larger than the figure usually admitted by the Reagan Administration. The article is based on a secret cable from the United States Consulate in Johannesburg to the American State Department. The article states that the true figure is probably in excess of \$14.6 billion, rather than the usually acknowledged \$2.6 billion quoted by the Administration. The cable to the State Department also revealed that the United States has a 57 per cent share in all foreign holdings in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in gold mines, mining houses and platinum mines. It also revealed that United States banks have loaned more than \$4 billion to racist South Africa.

60. The huge investment is due to the fact that the *apartheid* policies of the régime make possible the maximum exploitation of black labour in racist South Africa—and that constitutes the source of super-profits. Profit returns from racist South Africa are said to be the highest in the world, approximately 13 per cent. This fact exposes the lie that multinational corporations are investing in *apartheid* South Africa to create jobs for blacks. The real purpose is super-profits.

61. *Apartheid* South Africa, being an industrialized State, has a high percentage of the black working class. Formerly, the racists prevented black labour from organizing itself and waging a complementary struggle with the national liberation movements for national liberation and social emancipation. But, with the advent of the PAC, the struggle of the working class has been developing progressively. Today there are more workers unionized than ever before in *apartheid* South Africa. According to the régime itself, in 1978 there were 27 unregistered black trade unions in South Africa. The majority of those black trade unions, besides identifying themselves with the struggle for national liberation, have been waging a principled struggle in the labour field.

62. Statistics released by the racist-controlled Department of Manpower reveal that in 1970 there were 76 work strikes and stoppages in *apartheid* South Africa, involving 4,168 workers. During that period, 4,528 work days were lost. In 1982, there were 394 strikes and work stoppages by black workers—a fivefold increase over 1970. The number of workers involved rose to 141,571—a thirty-threefold increase over 1970; and the number of work days lost was 365,337—an eightyfold increase over 1970. Organized black labour, therefore, is destined to play a key role in the national liberation struggle in Azania.

63. The PAC has been playing a key role in the organization of labour and the labour front. Early this year, two leading trade unionists—Comrade Phillip Dlamini, General Secretary of the biggest municipal workers' trade union in *apartheid* South Africa, which in 1981 carried out a strike of more than 10,000 workers to paralyse the city of Johannesburg, and Comrade Joe Thloloe, President of the Black Media Workers' Union—together with leaders of the biggest youth movement in the country, namely, Azania Youth Unity, were charged with furthering the aims of the banned PAC. Today, both Comrade Thloloe and Comrade Dlamini, together with the other comrades from Azania Youth Unity, are languishing in prison.

64. Recently, the PAC was given a mandate by the oppressed and exploited workers of Azania to represent them in labour forums abroad. This led to the establishment of the Azania Trade Union Co-ordinating Centre by the Central Committee of the PAC.

65. The people of South Africa are united in their opposition to the oppressive and exploitative system. This unity of aim and purpose was tangibly demonstrated on 11 and 12 June of this year, when more than 200 grass-root and mass organizations, as well as professional organizations, convened the historic National Forum in Hammanskraal, near Pretoria. Although primarily called to oppose the constitutional proposals, the participants correctly did not confine themselves to this narrow issue. They unequivocally declared that the struggle was much wider and must be centred around the total destruction of the oppressive and exploitative *apartheid* system. The people of Azania are convinced that there can be no compromise with *apartheid*, that the inhuman system cannot in any way be reformed and, furthermore, that it is an illusion to believe that the racists will abandon *apartheid* of their own free will through some heart transplant. *Apartheid* must be ruthlessly destroyed. Thereafter, the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people, having regained their dignity and freedom, will be able to draw up a democratic, people-oriented constitution and ensure individual human and political rights to all Azanians, irrespective of colour, creed or religion.

66. All Azanians are unanimous in their resolute opposition to the inhuman system, and this is reflected in the popular support enjoyed by the PAC internally, the

successful convening of the National Forum, comprising popular mass-based and grass-root organizations representing workers, youth, students, women, church personalities, sports figures and so on, and the establishment of the United Democratic Front to challenge the so-called constitutional proposals. Moreover, the categorical rejection of the proposals by the so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian origin also testifies to this fact.

67. Whilst united in their opposition to the racist régime in South Africa, they also call on the international community in one united voice to do the following things: first, to condemn unequivocally the racist régime in South Africa and its inhuman *apartheid* policies; secondly, to take concrete and positive action, in consultation with the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], with the express aim of realizing the speedy eradication of *apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations; thirdly, to impose forthwith total economic sanctions against the Pretoria régime in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and they feel that this is long overdue; fourthly, to call on those countries that still retain diplomatic ties with the racists to sever them forthwith; fifthly, to call on multinational corporations to withdraw immediately from *apartheid* South Africa or face the inevitable consequences of having their assets nationalized following liberation; sixthly, to urge the international monetary institutions not to grant any loans or give any credit to the racist régime; seventhly, to condemn military and nuclear collaboration with the South African racists, especially by certain Western Powers and the Zionists in occupied Palestine; eighthly, to call for a total boycott of sports figures and entertainers who play or perform in racist South Africa, including in the so-called bantustans; ninthly, to call upon all Governments genuinely opposed to *apartheid* to stamp clearly their national passport "not valid for the racist Republic of South Africa"; tenthly, to give active political and tangible material support to the material liberation movements recognized by the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations, namely, the PAC and the ANC.

68. Earlier we pointed out that the PAC was the first to opt for and launch the armed struggle. Consequently, six PAC members were the first to be given life imprisonment, in 1963. Today, it is 1983. Comrades Samuel Chibane, Dimake Malepe, Jeff Masemola, Isaac Mthimunye, John Nkosi and Philemon Tefu are the longest-serving life political prisoners on Robben Island. They are now in their twenty-first year of incarceration. The PAC is grateful to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the decision taken to focus attention during 1984 on the plight of the six PAC comrades. We for our part call on the international community, United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and support groups the world over to support this call and campaign, as these six PAC comrades have sacrificed more than half of their lives under Fascist-racist incarceration. The PAC also urges the international community to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the veteran PAC leader, Comrade Zeph Mthopeng, who is now 70 years old and is serving a 30-year term of imprisonment, having been sent to Robben Island for the third time for having inspired and directed the 1976 Soweto uprising. We also call for the release of all other political prisoners, including Comrade Nelson Mandela.

69. In conclusion, the PAC has maintained from its very inception that the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed Azanians are their own liberators. To this principle we are still committed. In this regard, allow me to quote from the opening address of Comrade John Nyati

Pokela, Chairman of the PAC, who served a 13-year term of imprisonment on the infamous Robben Island, which he delivered recently to the Central Committee of the PAC:

“The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is resolutely committed to armed struggle as the principal method of struggle in the overthrow of the racist minority régime. Africans, since the days of the advent of colonialism, have been fighting against the colonizer and against dispossession, exploitation and domination. The last war of resistance by our forefathers was fought in 1906. It was in that war that Bambata correctly left a legacy of his wisdom, namely, to tell us in unmistakable terms that the African people had lost their land on the battlefield and that they could only recover that land on the battlefield. The Pan Africanist Congress was right in picking up this thread after our decisive positive action campaign of 21 March 1960. On that day, we challenged the régime, and our people spontaneously, thereafter, spoke the language of war, of a war of liberation. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has succeeded in transforming the method of struggle from one of passive protest and resistance to one of challenge and armed struggle, with its attendant prerequisites—the mobilization, education and consolidation all the way through of the masses of our people.”

70. The Chairman of the PAC concluded by reminding the Azanian masses: “Remember, the Azanian people alone are their own liberators.”

71. Mr. NGUYEN THUONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): In the 1980s we appear to be witnessing a new development in the policy of the Pretoria Government, more brutal and more treacherous in its actions, more arrogant and more obstinate than ever in its determination to maintain the inhuman and tyrannical colonialist *apartheid* régime against the African peoples of the Republic of South Africa and Namibia and in its plans for the neo-colonialist reconquest of the independent States of southern Africa. The institutionalized oppression and exploitation—recognized and condemned for years by the world public—have in no way diminished; on the contrary, they have grown in violence in line with the growth in investments from Western Europe and, in particular, from North America in the 1970s, the intensification of the plundering of resources and the spiralling of the huge super-profits of the transnational corporations.

72. The extension of the bantustanization policy, the tightening of the pass law system imposed upon the black population—in particular, the excessively harsh laws concerning what are called migrant workers—and the notorious law against terrorism, under which any opposition attracts excessive penalties, have further increased the brutality and arbitrariness of the régime. At the same time, the régime is increasingly using the classic manoeuvre of divide and rule. The so-called constitutional reforms, which have been justly criticized by the two last speakers and which have been condemned recently by the General Assembly [*resolution 38/11*], and the so-called negotiated settlement, both of which were vaunted in certain Western propaganda, are in fact nothing but diabolical subterfuges designed to divide and undermine the forces opposed to *apartheid*. The failure of these latest constitutional endeavours concerning the voting rights of certain people of mixed race and Indians, which have been rejected by those concerned, demonstrates that these treacherous manoeuvres have been able neither to deceive nor to divide the forces of opposition, which bring together the very large majority of the black and Coloured

population and even many progressive or simply realistic members of the white population in ever more conscious solidarity.

73. Together with the increased tyranny of its domestic policy, the Pretoria régime is increasing the brutality of its occupation of Namibia—a matter to which the General Assembly will have an opportunity to revert. It is also increasing the aggressiveness and arrogance of its armed attacks on neighbouring States, thus practising a systematic policy of international terrorism against independent sovereign States. It continues to occupy a part of the territory of Angola, it continues its aggressive raids against Mozambique and Zambia and it even attacked Botswana, the Kingdom of Lesotho and Zimbabwe, not to mention the unsuccessful raid on the Seychelles. It claims to attack the bases of the national liberation movements, whereas in fact its acts of aggression are blows at refugee camps, civilian centres and economic installations and infrastructures, with the aim of disrupting normal life and sapping the morale of the people. Furthermore, it trains traitors to their countries and organizes them in mercenary gangs to destabilize and overthrow legal Governments in southern Africa. It should be emphasized that the Republic of South Africa has been able to build up the most sophisticated conventional armaments industry in recent years and now possesses the facilities and the ability to manufacture nuclear weapons. It should also be noted that the Republic of South Africa and Israel have greatly strengthened their co-operation in every field of their adventurist, war-mongering policies.

74. How has a Government like South Africa's which has been outlawed by nations been able so insolently to defy the international community for so many years, and how can it now increase its cynicism and aggressiveness with regard to other States and its contempt and arrogance regarding the United Nations? The root of this extremely dangerous situation is to be found in the policy of imperialism, above all American imperialism. In the 1970s, United States transnational corporations superseded the British in many areas and cornered South African resources of uranium, chromium and non-ferrous metals, as well as of gold and diamonds. To these economic interests, which essentially mean super-profits from the plundering of resources and the merciless exploitation of the black workers, we can now add strategic interests, represented by the alliance between the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America and the plan to set up a South Atlantic organization to dominate the African continent and the three great oceans—the Atlantic, the Indian and the Antarctic.

75. It is no mere coincidence that the present occupant of the White House has called the Pretoria régime his traditional friend and strategic ally. In fact, the Republic of South Africa has been given the role of regional policeman in order to defend United States interests in southern Africa and its vicinity.

76. Above and beyond the abundant aid provided by the United States, among other things for the acquisition by the Republic of South Africa and Israel of nuclear weapons, we should stress the similarity of their theories on the admissibility of limited nuclear war, the admissibility of the use of tactical nuclear weapons and the similarity of their slanderous propaganda accusing the liberation movements of terrorism, whereas it is the United States, the Republic of South Africa and Israel which are engaged in systematic State terrorism against States and peoples. Another similarity is the resort by those three countries to the dangerous theory of so-called preventive war in the Middle East, in southern Africa and, recently, in the Caribbean.

77. Today, more than ever, the struggle for the elimination of the policy of *apartheid* is tied to the general struggle to preserve international peace and security. We cannot genuinely oppose *apartheid* without opposing the transnational corporations that make the biggest profits from it and that part of the policies of certain Western countries, headed by the United States, that supports, helps, maintains and protects the Pretoria Government. The most urgent necessity now is to oppose any new manifestations of the warmongering policy of the present United States Administration, practised either directly or through its allies and agents.

78. The position of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam concerning the problem of the struggle against *apartheid* is clear cut and consistent. It has frequently been put forward in international forums. My delegation deeply appreciates the reports submitted this morning by the various committees and in essence supports the measures advocated in them.

79. My delegation wishes to suggest that the activities of the United Nations and those of any Member State that sincerely wishes to make an active contribution to the great cause of the struggle against *apartheid* could benefit from a clear and realistic perception of the current situation.

80. First, *apartheid* constitutes the most serious and massive violation of human rights. At the same time, it constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Moreover, as stated in many United Nations resolutions, it is both a crime against humanity and a crime against peace. Mere words will not suffice; it is absolutely necessary to take energetic action commensurate with the gravity and immediacy of this double crime.

81. The policy of *apartheid* can be neither "reformed" nor "amended". The only possible realistic course is to eliminate it and abolish it from international life. The international community should follow the example of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and condemn the policy of the United States known as "constructive engagement", which merely gives further support to the régime of Pretoria by opposing the sanctions and isolation decided on by the international community. Nor are the so-called selective sanctions advocated separately acceptable, because such sanctions cannot be effective when they are being used by some to gain time to supply the Republic of South Africa and enable it to continue its resistance with impunity. The application by some Western countries of the embargo on weapons demonstrates this, because only a few years after the decision to impose that embargo, after the provision of investments and know-how by some of those countries, the Republic of South Africa has now become the main exporter of conventional weapons in the southern hemisphere.

82. In our modest opinion, the international community's activities would be more effective if it were first recognized that the decisive factor in bringing down the régime of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa is the struggle of the South African people themselves, in close co-operation with the people of Namibia, peoples which are in the main black, but which also include groups of other colours, sincerely devoted to peace, justice, equality and democracy. The international community should increase its material, moral, political, military, economic and diplomatic aid to their authentic legitimate representatives, the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization, and should support the struggle of those peoples through all possible means, not because those peoples have any love of violence, but

because in view of the violent and brutal policy practised by Pretoria, they have no other means of regaining their freedom. The Vietnamese people, together with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and progressive mankind, warmly congratulates the freedom fighters of South Africa on the success they have achieved in the direct action they resumed last year.

83. The international community should express its deep appreciation and encouragement; it should increase its political, military and, above all, economic assistance to the front-line States which have stood losses and made sacrifices to defend their own sovereignty and at the same time to fulfil their duty of solidarity with their brothers in Namibia and Azania and to contribute to the preservation of peace and security in the region.

84. Moreover, the international community should voice its censure not only of Pretoria but also of the countries that are accomplices and protectors of the régime of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* should be strongly and unreservedly condemned by all countries which sincerely wish to excise this cancer, this shame for mankind. A more firm and unanimous stand of Member States would give strong support to the Security Council and enable it to take the necessary measures, in particular comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to isolate the Pretoria régime and to induce it to abandon the policy of *apartheid* and move towards a multiracial, and truly democratic, régime in line with the aims of the ANC throughout its years of existence and activity.

85. While some Western countries are still adopting a negative attitude towards this need for global sanctions, the general public in those countries bears a great responsibility. They must be made aware of all the dangerous consequences of *apartheid*; they must be made to understand that complacent tolerance of the régime of *apartheid* in South Africa will encourage the re-emergence of neo-nazism in their own countries, with all the attendant risks of a war a thousand times more death-dealing and destructive than the last two World Wars; they must be made to realize that any efforts they make against *apartheid* will be in their own vital interests. If the general public in the Western countries becomes aware of this, they will be able to exert useful pressure on their transnational corporations and their respective Governments. As correctly stated in the report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa:

"concerted action by all States and organizations committed to sanctions has not merely a moral value but can have a significant political, economic and material impact. Such action can also exert a positive influence on the attitudes of Governments opposing sanctions and facilitate mandatory action by the United Nations Security Council."

86. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will always give their whole-hearted support to the African people of South Africa, and also to the people of Namibia and Governments of the front-line States, in their just struggle against the régime of *apartheid* in Pretoria. This struggle of the peoples of southern Africa still has great difficulties, privations and complex problems to overcome because it is being waged not only against the régime of Pretoria, but also against the transnational corporations and Governments of some Western imperialistic countries, first and foremost the United States.

87. The trend of our times, however, including the ineluctable process of the liberation of peoples from national and racial oppression, is emerging more every

day as something irreversible. Because of its own experience, the Vietnamese people share the firm conviction of the peoples of southern Africa that the final victory of their just cause is inevitable.

88. In the words of Patrice Lumumba, that great son of Africa and patriot venerated by all our peoples:

“The day will come when history will speak. Africa will write its own history and in both North and South it will be a history of glory and dignity. That day has come and Africa is now writing its history of glory and dignity.”

89. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): I should like at the outset to extend the thanks of my delegation to Mr. Gervais Charles for his lucid introduction this morning of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22]. The report itself provides comprehensive background material on which the Assembly can base its current discussion of the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa.

90. Two days ago, on 15 November, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/11, which was sponsored by all members of the Group of African States and by a number of others, including Sri Lanka. That resolution rejected in no uncertain terms the so-called constitutional proposals South Africa has foisted upon the inhabitants of that country. While the proposals are being advertised by South Africa as a liberalization of its power structure, they in fact serve to concentrate power even more narrowly in the hands of the white minority. Where the proposals purport to achieve a devolution of power onto some sections of the population, they in fact deny basic political rights to the vast majority of the South African population. In short, South Africa enslaves when it claims to set free; it divides when it claims to unite.

91. The perpetuation of *apartheid* as a system of political, economic, social and even religious discrimination is advanced by the South African Government on two broad fronts. First, there is the obvious and unabashed use of physical means: armed force, surveillance, repression of any dissent and deployment of the paraphernalia characteristic of the police state. Next, there is the attempt, sometimes quite subtle, to conceal the raw edge of racism in a mantle of legalistic verbiage, together with the attendant public-relations exercise. The so-called constitutional reforms and the policy of bantustans are examples of this latter approach. While the constitutional reforms were being publicised as a means of power sharing, the bantustan concept, it will be recalled, was touted as the granting of independence to certain groups and areas. The international community formally rejected the bantustan concept, and the vote in the General Assembly two days ago on the subject of the constitutional reforms was the Assembly's answer to this latest manoeuvre of the South African Government.

92. South Africa has also entered upon an elaborate public-relations venture, one element of which are the financial inducements offered to sportsmen to play in South Africa. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* refers to the tour of South Africa surreptitiously organized for some Sri Lankan cricketers. As the report indicates, the Sri Lankan authorities immediately banned the players for accepting this offer and took steps to suspend them for a period of 25 years from national cricket, from management and from participation in any national tournament or game sponsored, recognized or conducted by the Sri Lanka Cricket Board. That ban is one which is in effect for life.

93. There are other ways in which *apartheid* is marketed, including the plea by its apologists that Christian

civilization and the democratic way of life are being preserved by the South African Government against encroachment by totalitarianism and ungodly ideologies. That the Pretoria régime, which holds over 70 per cent of the people of South Africa hostage, bereft of political, economic, social and even basic human rights under a system of institutionalized racism, should talk of democracy and civilization is itself a most eloquent testimony to the régime's callous cynicism.

94. The report of the Special Committee records developments that have taken place in the past year within South Africa, and delegations which have a direct knowledge of such developments will no doubt elaborate on them during this debate. I do not therefore propose to go into details on the increasing tendency towards repression in South Africa.

95. As disturbing as the internal development within the country is the impact that South African policies have on the southern African region. In Namibia, on which we shall debate separately, the South African fiat is enforced through armed force and maintained through its intransigent attitude to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Specious arguments extraneous to the independence plan have been repeatedly proffered to delay if not impede the plan. In the past year, South Africa has also continued to commit acts of aggression against its neighbours, the front-line independent African States. Aside from direct military aggression against those front-line States, the South African Government has been involved in acts of destabilization, including economic sabotage, espionage and political assassination. The expansion of South Africa's military and nuclear capability has also become a genuine threat to peace and stability in South Africa and has opened up the prospect of a wider conflict.

96. All this clearly indicates that what we are confronted with is not merely a repressive racist régime exercising a continuous tyranny over the people of South Africa but a danger that can only be overcome by the concerted efforts of the entire international community.

97. The constitutional changes and the token gestures of such a régime hardly deserve a welcome, let alone encouragement, because the basic motivation behind such gestures is the perpetuation of the system of *apartheid* and racism. No veneer of pseudo-legality can absolve the South African Government of responsibility for the maintenance of what is perhaps the only legitimized system of racial segregation and discrimination existing in the world today.

98. The General Assembly can, unfortunately, exert only moral pressure on the South African Government. If this is done unequivocally and with unanimity, then this debate will not be in vain. Under the Charter of the United Nations, it is the Security Council alone that has the power to enforce. The Assembly has often been admonished for recommending enforcement action against South Africa. The measures which the Special Committee against *Apartheid* considers necessary, not excluding sanctions, must be seriously contemplated, because other options have over the years had little impact on the South African Government.

99. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): For more than three decades now the General Assembly has been discussing the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of Pretoria. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations, all of them vigorously condemning the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and demanding that steps be taken to bring about the isolation of the Pretoria régime. But all these

resolutions have remained a dead letter because of the positions taken by certain Western Powers, particularly the United States.

100. In the meantime, the racist régime of South Africa, completely flouting the resolutions of the international community and the demands of the peoples of the world, has not only continued its odious policy of *apartheid*, which has been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity, but has been further expanding and strengthening it with a view to its perpetuation. The Pretoria régime has stepped up its repression within the country against those who are fighting for liberty and equality, against members of student bodies, religious figures and members of trade unions. Thousands upon thousands of Africans have been arrested on the basis of the degrading pass laws. Despite the demands voiced by the international community, the Pretoria régime has executed some prominent freedom fighters of the South African people, including Jerry Mosololi, Thelle Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung. Thousands of political prisoners languish in South African prisons and camps. Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the South African freedom fighters are still in prison, living under extremely harsh conditions.

101. The policy of violence and repression which is practised by the Pretoria régime within the country is accompanied by aggressive acts of terrorism and subversion towards the other independent African States. The Pretoria régime continues to occupy a considerable portion of the territory of Angola and is openly waging war against that country. South Africa is systematically carrying out and expanding its military, political, economic and ideological acts of destabilization against neighbouring States, against Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Seychelles. South Africa is training, arming, financing and using for its own purposes counter-revolutionary groups, bandits and mercenaries in order to produce destabilization in that area.

102. In order to preserve and strengthen the system of *apartheid* within the country and to continue its aggressive policies outside, the racist régime in South Africa maintains an enormous military machine, the costs for which increase yearly. According to official figures, the South African appropriations for military purposes in 1983/84 were 3,093 million rands, which is 15.9 per cent higher than the appropriations for 1982/83. But, in fact, the costs are greatly in excess of those appropriations because, as the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*ibid.*] indicates, military costs are concealed in other sections of the budget.

103. Of particular danger to the peoples of Africa is South Africa's intensive development of its nuclear potential, with the assistance of certain Western States, particularly Israel. As the Committee's report indicates, South Africa has sufficient material and technology to manufacture at least 10 nuclear devices.

104. All this makes abundantly clear what a serious threat the Pretoria régime represents for the independent States of the African continent and for the peace and security, not only of that part of the world, but indeed of the entire world.

105. Under the impact of the ever-growing struggle of the South African people to abolish the system of *apartheid* and to achieve genuine self-determination, and also because of the pressure exerted by the universal condemnation expressed against it, the Pretoria régime has had to resort to various stratagems and "face-lifts" which have actually in no wise altered the substance of *apartheid* but are simply aimed at strengthening and perpetuating it. Such steps include, for example, the granting of

independence to the bantustans, which was really tantamount to mere forced relocation of the Africans into infertile, mountainous and remote parts of the country, depriving them of their right to citizenship in their own country.

106. A continuation of the policy of bantustanization was the so-called constitutional reforms, which were described by the peoples of the world as yet another manoeuvre to sow discord in the ranks of the oppressed peoples of the southern part of Africa on the basis of national and racial origin. It also amounted to depriving 22 million Africans of all civil rights.

107. The Mongolian delegation fully supported resolution 38/11, adopted two days ago, in which the General Assembly rejected the so-called constructive proposals as merely an attempt to secure further domination by the white *apartheid* minority.

108. One may quite legitimately wonder why and in what way the Pretoria racist régime has been able thus with impunity to continue to stifle the desires of the people of the world and to ignore the demands of the international community. The reason can be found in the ongoing co-operation between certain Western Powers, their transnational corporations and the Pretoria régime, in the teeth of decisions adopted by the United Nations. The forces of imperialism, which regard the racist régime of South Africa as a bastion of colonialism and neo-colonialism and as a vital and powerful staging post for their struggles against the national liberation movements of the African peoples on that continent, are giving comprehensive assistance and support to that régime. It is they who continue to block adoption by the United Nations of resolutions which would secure the full isolation of the South African régime. Three Western Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, vetoed the adoption of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime. The present United States Administration maintains particularly warm relations of "constructive co-operation" with its "friend" and "ally", the racist Pretoria régime.

109. The major Western Powers are also anxious to maintain the *apartheid* régime of South Africa because they obtain massive profits by plundering the natural resources and mercilessly exploiting the forced labour of the oppressed people of that part of the world. These States do everything they can to impede the implementation of the United Nations resolutions which say that an end must be put to all relations with the Pretoria régime. Pretoria's main trading partners—the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy and France—continue to maintain trade and commercial and economic relations with South Africa.

110. The Mongolian delegation has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and it fully shares the judgements and conclusions contained in it. We fully support the Committee's recommendation that there is a need to adopt comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to bring about its complete isolation. My delegation also supports the recommendation that comprehensive assistance be given to the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movements and that world public opinion be mobilized in support of United Nations efforts.

111. The Mongolian delegation greatly appreciates what the Special Committee has done, under the chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule. The Committee, whose twentieth anniversary was celebrated in March of this year, is making an appreciable contribution to mobilizing world

public opinion in support of the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and to the efforts of the international community to bring about the abolition of the *apartheid* régime.

112. Because, as a matter of principle, we support the cause of national and social liberation, the Mongolian People's Republic is firmly on the side of those peoples that are struggling in southern Africa against colonialism, imperialism, racism and *apartheid*. The Mongolian People's Republic fully implements all resolutions adopted by the United Nations and maintains no relations whatsoever with the Pretoria régime.

113. In conclusion, my delegation asserts that it will continue to give every support to the efforts of the United Nations to eliminate the odious system of *apartheid* and to support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

114. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations and the world community have made, and are continuing to make, many efforts to overcome and eliminate that most contemptible system of racial discrimination, the policy and practice of *apartheid* in southern Africa. The inhuman system of *apartheid* has been branded and firmly condemned in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies and in the Security Council. Governmental and non-governmental organizations, movements and groups are helping in the fight against *apartheid*. All this indicates that the international community attaches major importance to the task of eliminating *apartheid*.

115. Yet the world still faces further misdeeds and evil acts perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime. Time and again we witness the bloody crimes of the racists.

116. The *apartheid* régime is resorting more and more now to direct armed aggression against neighbouring African States. In recent days alone, the victims of fresh acts of aggression by Pretoria have included Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

117. The criminal policy of *apartheid* and the acts of aggression committed by the South African racists constitute a tangible and serious threat to international peace and security. The racist régime of South Africa is the main destabilizing factor in southern Africa. This has been so for many years, and it will remain so as long as the racist régime continues to exist in South Africa. No cosmetic adjustments can change the essence of the problem.

118. A total of 141 States unambiguously passed their judgement on this matter only a few days ago. The constitutional manipulations have only one purpose—to perpetuate *apartheid*.

119. There can be no grounds for believing that, as the representatives of the United States and certain other countries have tried to persuade us, the constitutional amendments indicate that the racists have somehow realized that there is a need to resolve the problem of the indigenous population of South Africa, and that these are initial steps on the way to altering the system of *apartheid* for the better. *Apartheid* cannot be transformed; *apartheid* must be eliminated. Furthermore, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Botha, has stated publicly—cynically, but publicly—that, as quoted in *The Christian Science Monitor* on 7 November 1983:

“Africans would never be brought into South Africa's political system. They would never receive a chamber of their own . . . and would have to continue to find some political solace in 10 small, rural, impoverished homelands”.

120. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic gave its unreserved support to resolution 38/11, adopted on 15 November.

121. The main cause of the vitality of the South African racist régime, its growing aggressiveness and its continuing occupation of Namibia and part of the territory of Angola undoubtedly can be seen to be rooted in the broad and comprehensive political, diplomatic, economic, military and other assistance and support that it receives from the imperialists—primarily the Americans. This support is given in the face of all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations which have condemned any assistance to South Africa and urged an end to any co-operation with it. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* states unambiguously that:

“The Government of the United States, which bears a great responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and professes total abhorrence of *apartheid*, is regrettably pursuing a policy diametrically opposed to the essential lines of United Nations action against *apartheid*, namely, isolation of the racist régime of South Africa; assistance in the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people and their national liberation movement for freedom; and mobilization of world opinion in support of effective international action for the total eradication of *apartheid*.” [*Ibid.*, para. 260.] Mr. Malinga (Swaziland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. The “constructive co-operation” between the United States and its strategic ally is presented as something that might enable it to apply some pressure in order to change the South African régime. There can, however, hardly be any doubt about the real reasons for the very close co-operation and mutual understanding between South Africa and the United States. The main thing is, of course, that officials in Washington and Pretoria have in common a pathological anti-communism, a hatred for those people who have dared to challenge the domination of imperialism and racism. I think there can be no doubt that had the representatives of South Africa been present in the General Assembly Hall when the vote was taken on the resolution on the Grenada issue, their vote would have been cast with that of the United States and Israel. The American reactionaries regard the racist régime as a bastion of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in Africa and spare no effort to strengthen it.

123. Of equal importance are the vested economic interests of the monopolistic capital of the United States and other Western countries. American companies own 57 per cent of all foreign shares in the gold mines and mining companies in South Africa. South Africa supplies approximately 70 per cent of the platinum needs of Western countries. Of the 500 largest United States corporations, 250 have branches and subsidiaries in South Africa. Their names are published yearly in *Fortune* magazine. The American press has itself acknowledged that official figures as to the amount of United States investments in South Africa are understated by a factor of approximately five and are not \$2.6 billion but rather \$14.6 billion, as has already been mentioned earlier today.

124. The enormous American investments and loans give us some idea why it is possible for the ruling circles in South Africa, despite the economic crisis besetting the country, to spend more money on their armed forces and why Pretoria is in a position to increase its military pressure on neighbouring countries. Major business circles in the United States have vested interests in maintaining the power of the racists, who make it possible for them not only to exploit the natural resources in South Africa but also to have a free hand in plundering the natural wealth of illegally occupied Namibia.

125. Last year, the United States provided South Africa with a loan of approximately \$1 billion, and this occurred at a time when the United States was concerned that the IMF should be encouraged to reduce considerably its loans to those developing countries which are in the greatest need of financing.

126. We should also refer to the very close and constantly growing co-operation between South Africa and Israel, which has been warmly encouraged by the United States. The closeness of the racists and the Zionists is based on the similarity of their ideological doctrines, their policy of domestic chauvinism and foreign aggression.

127. In the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22/Add. I], numerous examples are cited of co-operation between Israel and South Africa in various spheres of activity. Most alarming, perhaps, is the scope of Israeli co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear and military spheres. Approximately 70 per cent of the export of Israeli military technology goes to South Africa. Tel Aviv supplies the racists with firearms, various systems of missiles, aircraft and motorboats, as well as the technology and licences to manufacture those items.

128. Pretoria and Tel Aviv do not exchange only military technology and techniques. Strategists from the *apartheid* régime are now acquiring through the Israelis, "experience" in waging anti-guerrilla warfare and carrying out aggressive operations against neighbouring States. South African pilots bomb Angola from Kfir planes which are manufactured under licence from Israel, and instructors and advisers from Tel Aviv give encouragement to South African troops in Namibia.

129. The partnership is not limited simply to conventional weapons. Israel and South Africa are jointly working on the creation of a nuclear weapon. In the field of uranium supplies, the Israelis share their atomic technology with the racist régime.

130. The co-operation between the racists and the Zionists has caused great alarm throughout the world because, as the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983, quite correctly pointed out, it is aimed at the oppressed people of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, as well as at the independent States of Africa and the Arab world. We fully share the concern that was expressed both at that Conference and in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* with regard to the fact that the Governments of the United States and other Western countries are encouraging the alliance between Israel and South Africa, in violation of United Nations resolutions.

131. All support for the *apartheid* régime must be ended. The international community cannot acquiesce in the existence on our planet of this most abhorrent form of racism. The need for effective steps against South Africa has long been felt. The Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal of the African countries that the Security Council, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and call for strict observance by all States of the sanctions already adopted by the Security Council against the South African régime. It is important to overcome the obstructionist position of a number of imperialist States in this matter. *Apartheid* must be abolished.

132. The Ukrainian SSR is prepared to bend every effort towards the attainment of this goal.

133. Mr. LOEIS (Indonesia): The international campaign against *apartheid*, spearheaded by the Special

Committee since its first meeting 20 years ago, has touched the conscience of all peoples throughout the world. In its tireless work against *apartheid*, the Committee has affirmed the indivisible links between national independence, social justice, racial equality and international peace. The Committee has further striven to make the international struggle against *apartheid* one of the dominant themes in the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a more thorough commitment to the concept of the interdependence of the peoples of the world and our common responsibility for the future of mankind.

134. Indeed, if anything can be viewed as a positive achievement since 1946, when the question of *apartheid* first appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly, it is that acceptance of the principle of racial equality and the global struggle for such equality have been sanctified by the United Nations as a fundamental goal and have thus become impervious to challenge from any quarter. Few issues have engaged our attention so compellingly and for so long as has that of *apartheid*, and this unanimity has found international expression in condemning its practice as morally reprehensible, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

135. Rather than recall the scores of resolutions and other decisions of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, I shall merely cite the fact that last year, at its thirty-seventh session, the Assembly adopted no fewer than 13 resolutions on various aspects of *apartheid*. Those resolutions reflect the total mobilization of all dimensions of international relations to oppose and eradicate the hateful political and social doctrine of *apartheid* by which the racist Pretoria régime seeks to subjugate the majority of South Africa's people. By overwhelming majorities, the United Nations time and again has called for decisive action to help liberate the struggling people of South Africa, because there can be no truce, no compromise and no tolerance of any aspect or manifestation of the dehumanizing policy and practice of *apartheid*.

136. In the face of this determination, the racist régime has further intensified its entrenchment of *apartheid* in all segments of society. Just this month, the racist minority adopted a new so-called constitution that can be described only as signalling a continuation and even an acceleration of the essentials of *apartheid*. The oppressed majority in South Africa has not been deceived by this manoeuvre and has vigorously opposed, with enhanced unity and determination, this new instrument of legalized racism. Thus, it is important that the General Assembly, in resolution 38/11, adopted two days ago, expressed itself in no uncertain terms by totally rejecting and repudiating this latest contrivance of the Pretoria régime.

137. In addition, racist South Africa's reprehensible bantustanization policy is being furthered by the so-called impending independence of KwaNdebele—to take place next year—although most of its population lives outside that so-called homeland. It has been reported that, in the past 20 years, 3.5 million blacks have been physically uprooted and sent to far-away and desolate territories; and now, some 2 million more will be stripped of their citizenship as the rate of resettlement—which may ultimately reach the staggering figure of over 8 million—accelerates.

138. In the face of these new repressive moves, the resistance to the racist régime's policies has continued to intensify. Despite arrests, detentions and torture, political trials, bannings, oppressive legislation and influx controls, the dauntless determination of the people has repeatedly manifested itself, most recently at the biggest protest meeting in South Africa in over 25 years, held just last August, to condemn *apartheid* and the so-called new constitution.

139. The militant struggle against *apartheid* has also escalated. Freedom fighters have carried out new military actions directed at the régime's military establishment. This intensification of the armed struggle is taking place in the face of the execution of freedom fighters and the death of numerous political detainees in police custody, acts of unconscionable brutality which have been condemned by the United Nations and all civilized countries.

140. Furthermore, to counter the spread of resistance, the racist régime has continued to increase its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States, primarily the front-line States, including Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and even Seychelles has faced a crude attempt at military intervention. Those unprovoked acts of aggression and violations of international law have caused extensive death and destruction and pose a serious threat not only to regional stability but to international peace and security as well.

141. I have dwelt on the continued deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa because, in our view, it is that development, taken together with Pretoria's military strikes against States in the region, that places us at a loss even to fathom how certain quarters can continue to insist that maintaining commercial and other relations with the racist régime will somehow facilitate a reversal of *apartheid* and the emancipation of the long-oppressed majority.

142. While there can be various views and opinions on the actions to be taken, it is our considered view and, indeed, that of the vast majority of Member States that overt and covert collaboration—be it military, economic or political in nature—cannot in any way be defended on any grounds.

143. We see no possible rational justification for the argument that political, military and economic relations with Pretoria will influence the racists to abandon *apartheid*. What the last 35 years have clearly demonstrated is in fact the exact opposite: foreign economic interests and misplaced strategic considerations have been manipulated by Pretoria to advance its own regional hegemony and to entrench further the system of *apartheid*. It is high time that the apologists and defenders of Pretoria realize that their continued relations with the racist Pretoria régime cannot but call into question their oft-repeated purported commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*. That can only cause the international community to withhold its trust and co-operation from them, since the will of the vast majority of Member States is being defied with impunity by a few countries, just as Pretoria defies the will of the majority within its own borders.

144. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Indonesia has maintained an unswerving commitment to the struggle against *apartheid* and for Namibian independence. It has been our long-standing conviction that peace, justice and security for the region of southern Africa cannot be achieved without a solution to both burning questions.

145. This year, the international community convened special international conferences on the question of Namibia and on Pretoria's collaboration with Israel, as well as the important meeting of the Group of Experts on the oil embargo, with a view to seeking implementation of the various United Nations decisions. Having participated in those deliberations, we have become more convinced than ever that, of the 13 decisions of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly that I mentioned earlier, the call for all Members to continue activities in implementation of the programme for the International

Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 37/69 C] is one of the important practical efforts that we can collectively strive to realize. For, without real and effective pressure, none of the past resolutions nor those that we shall adopt during this session have any real hope of achieving their full purpose.

146. It is my Government's consistent policy to adhere to the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa.² Until Namibia and the people of South Africa achieve true emancipation and independence and the odious policy of *apartheid* is for ever abolished, Indonesia will not establish any relations with the racist Pretoria régime. In the exercise of their constitutional duty to work for the eradication of colonialism, injustice and inhumanity anywhere in the world, the Government and people of Indonesia have scrupulously observed the mandatory arms embargo and the oil embargo, as well as all voluntary sanctions against and boycotts of South Africa. Within its limited means, my Government has also endeavoured to extend material and financial assistance for the struggle against *apartheid* and the cause of Namibian independence, and will continue to do so.

147. We have arrived at a critical juncture at which the intensification of the struggle for liberation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia is being met with increasing brutality and oppression. These circumstances have created a situation in which the escalation of regional tensions and hostilities could at any time erupt into uncontrollable upheaval and violence engulfing all of southern Africa, with incalculable consequences for international peace and security. We are therefore duty-bound to call again upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibility and to exercise its authority under the Charter of the United Nations to avert a conflagration of unprecedented proportions. It should do so by making it clear to South Africa that, as it persists in its insolent defiance of the demand of the overwhelming majority of mankind, the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter can no longer be delayed. We share in the collective sense of foreboding that the opportunity for peaceful change and rational behaviour is fast disappearing and may soon be lost for ever.

148. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Once again the problem of *apartheid* is on the Assembly's agenda. Most regrettably, however, many of the speakers here do not appear to address the issue of its true causes, underlying factors and consequences. Indeed, the entire item is being once again cynically manipulated—as has become the custom—by those delegations which seek thereby to advance their political interests at the expense of the genuine struggle against this form of racism. Thus the victims of bigotry are forgotten and the genuine revulsion against racism is mocked.

149. The Jewish people has been on the receiving end of intolerance and bigotry for a period of time that stretches from the early days of the history of man. Unfortunately, such persecution and hatred is not just a historical phenomenon relegated to the past; it is current and still very much with us. Whether owing to official policy in some countries or to the social environment in others, Jews in different parts of the world suffer from the effects of intolerance and bigotry. Indeed, such manifestations of racism are directed even against Israel itself, as evidenced in the policies and ideologies of many States and as reflected also in their attitude in this Hall.

150. Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an

extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings.

151. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22] is the latest in a long, tendentious series. Like its predecessors, this year's report too mendaciously asserts the existence of an "alliance" between Israel and South Africa. However, before proceeding to expose the gross distortions of that concoction, it is worth taking a closer look at Israel's detractors responsible for the slanderous allegations against my country.

152. Most regrettably, many of the countries represented here today, although pretending to be among the most outspoken critics of racism, have cynically exploited that issue to serve their own nefarious partisan objectives, which have nothing whatsoever to do with the eradication of racism. On the contrary, these pretentious critics represent régimes which themselves have come to exemplify the worst evils of discrimination, intolerance and oppression. We must never lose sight of the fact that many, if not most, of the States which orchestrate and lead the verbal offensive against Israel, while ostensibly addressing the problem of *apartheid*, have ruthlessly trampled under foot their own minorities and have enslaved their peoples under cruel dictatorships. Widespread imprisonment without trial, disappearances of alleged political opponents, degradation and torture, summary executions and wholesale butchery have become their hallmarks.

153. Among the countries represented on the Special Committee against *Apartheid* we note, for example, Syria. The brutal policies of Syria's ruling Alawite minority have claimed thousands of victims and last year culminated in the horrifying massacre of between 10,000 and 25,000 people and the annihilation of whole families at Hama, the orphaning of an estimated 20,000 of that town's children and the widespread devastation of the town's historic quarter. The savage character of the Syrian régime was also pointed out this week in a special report of Amnesty International, which not only described the atrocities committed by Syrian forces at Hama but also cited overwhelming evidence showing that over the years thousands of people had been harassed, arbitrarily arrested, horribly tortured and even summarily executed by Syrian security forces.

154. Algeria, another member of the Special Committee, is noted for its oppression of the Native Berbers, who are denied the right to separate cultural expression.

155. The Eastern bloc States and some others as well have persisted in denying their citizens the most basic freedoms and have thus violated various international treaties to which they are signatories—indeed have violated the Charter of the United Nations itself.

156. Outside the Special Committee, but very outspoken nevertheless, are such countries as Libya and Iraq. The fanaticism and extremely oppressive character of Libya's régime have become notorious. Indeed, the hysteria which marks the religious intolerance of Libya's dictator has recently reached a higher pitch as Colonel Qaddafi has increasingly taken to openly inciting his people against the adherents of other faiths, particularly Christians—as, for example, in his speech of 1 September 1983 on the anniversary of his *coup*. Iraq, too, has become infamous for its own brand of bloody suppression of human liberties and the cruel persecution of its Kurdish and Assyrian minorities.

157. In conducting their cynical campaign against Israel in the context of *apartheid*, Arab States and their allies conveniently manoeuvre attention away from their own

central rôle in the history of racism against black Africans. For centuries, the slave trade in Africa was dominated by Arab traders and in certain Arab countries today slavery still exists.

158. Arab brutalization of black Africans was recalled in the 17 February 1973 issue of Ghana's *Weekly Spectator*, which wrote that during Ghana's struggle for independence, Arab merchants "constituted themselves into a volunteer force and with batons cudgelled down freedom fighters in the streets of Accra in open daylight".

159. Qaddafi's calls for a jihad—a holy war—against Christianity in Africa led the black African Archbishop of Abidjan to raise the question in the Milan newspaper *Avvenire* of 19 June 1974 of whether this might mean a return to the days when 80,000 Africans a year were enslaved by the "Arab colonialists". Arab economic domination led Joseph Nyerere, the brother of Tanzania's President, to write in the *Zambia Daily Mail* of 21 June 1974 that: "Arabs, our former slave-masters, are not prepared to abandon the rider-and-horse relationship. We have not forgotten that they used to drive us like herds of cattle and sell us as slaves."

160. Most regrettably, the apparatus of the United Nations has been harnessed to the campaign to defame Israel. Not only has the Special Committee against *Apartheid* been at the forefront of this campaign with its annual mendacious report alleging that Israel has been "collaborating" with South Africa. It had recently organized an "International Conference" in Vienna between 11 and 13 July 1983 for the purpose of perpetuating that falsehood. By its involvement in this unsavoury exercise, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* gave official United Nations backing to a partisan conference. Thus, the United Nations once again squandered and misused international funds to finance a nefarious partisan venture rather than worthy projects that would have been in true keeping with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

161. Another ominous development has been manifested in the related activities of the Centre against *Apartheid*. Forces extraneous to the United Nations system have turned the Centre against *Apartheid* into a tool to serve their own interests which, more often than not, have nothing in common with the purposes of the United Nations. Indeed, one of the most blatant examples of such partisanship was evident in the role fulfilled by the Centre against *Apartheid* in connection with the so-called Conference held in Vienna last July. The initiative for that gathering came from organizations outside the United Nations system. I do not need to elaborate on the character and orientation of the three well-known Soviet-front organizations which sponsored the Conference—the organizations known as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the Organization of African Trade Union Unity and the World Peace Council. Obviously, they sought to manipulate the Centre against *Apartheid* and the said Conference for their own political objectives, which have no bearing whatsoever on the genuine struggle against *apartheid*.

162. The democratic nations would be deluding themselves and making a very serious mistake if they were to assume that the position adopted by the Centre against *Apartheid* and the Vienna Conference constitutes solely an attack upon Israel's reputation and legitimacy. While the reputation of a Member State of the United Nations is certainly a matter that should not be taken lightly, what is at stake here transcends that question; there are present here also many other ramifications involving other arenas as well.

163. These ramifications must be of vital concern to all the democratic nations in the United Nations. In any event, we must not become silent partners to the constant undermining and discreditation by the Centre against *Apartheid* of the United Nations system in general and of the Secretariat in particular.

164. The specious and scurrilous allegations regarding "close collaboration" between Israel and South Africa constitute part of a cynically manipulative disinformation campaign to discredit Israel. Facts are either twisted or exaggerated and, to the extent that they are deemed inconvenient, they are simply ignored. As in the past, the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22/Add. I] is based primarily on unsubstantiated newspaper reports and unfounded rumours. To add to the absurdity, the alleged evidence for this and other reports has often included previous United Nations resolutions, which themselves were based on pure speculation. Such circular logic is certainly a perversion of logic itself, and the evidence adduced would have been thrown out by any objective forum.

165. All available data show that imports and exports between Israel and South Africa account for less than one half of 1 per cent of South Africa's total trade. The Special Committee chooses to term this "close collaboration". How would it call the remaining 99.6 per cent? International sources such as the IMF have been unable to provide figures for South African trade in gold, diamonds and oil. One cannot but wonder to what extent Arab and East European States surreptitiously conduct such trade with South Africa. There have been various indications that the level of such trade with certain Arab and East European States is not insignificant. Yet the United Nations machinery—particularly the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*—has made no attempt whatsoever to unmask these trading partners and reveal the extent of this exchange. Clearly, by singling out Israel, some States intend to divert attention away from themselves.

166. Regarding the false and unsubstantiated allegations that Israel supposedly maintains special ties with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields, those who make them apparently believe that by repeating these lies often enough, they will be accepted as fact. Having perused the Charter of the United Nations, we could not find any provision that would indicate that the propagation of myth is one of the functions of the Organization. Yet, that is precisely what the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other United Nations forums have been doing by basing their position and "findings" on totally unreliable sources. Indeed, reports of experts on this matter have been virtually ignored, including the Secretary-General's report, which, in referring to certain anti-Israel rumours, dismissed them as unsubstantiated speculation.³

167. For the sake of accuracy, I wish to reaffirm my Government's undertakings of 7 December 1977,⁴ 3 April 1978,⁵ and 23 June 1980 in a letter to the Security Council Committee established under resolution 421 (1977). Israel's position was stated in a note verbale to that Committee, dated 14 September 1979, namely that my Government:

"will comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or related material of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."⁶

Predictably, the Special Committee in its reports and the General Assembly in its resolutions have seen fit to ignore this position.

168. Israel's enemies have proved time and again that they will stop at no stratagem and will abide no restraint in their relentless attempts to sully Israel's reputation in the international community. These States and their brutal régimes care precious little for the issue of *apartheid* and human rights. Human rights, after all, is a concept totally alien to their general outlook and practices. Rather than deal sincerely with manifestations of racism and racial discrimination throughout the world, the enemies of my country and of freedom everywhere have repeatedly distorted and exploited the issue on the Assembly's agenda, thereby disrupting the international consensus which is an essential pre-condition for eradicating intolerance and racial prejudice. The cynical policies of those who exploit the *apartheid* issue for their own ends belittle the injustices suffered by those subjected to the scourge of racism and play upon the misery of the victims of bigotry. Indeed, the countries arrayed against us view the victims of *apartheid* as mere pawns to be used in the pursuit of other objectives.

169. It is, indeed, disheartening that the effort needed to eradicate racism is thus diverted to vitriolic attacks upon my country and that the scarce funds of the United Nations are squandered in the financing of that vituperative hate campaign. Moreover, the attempt to paint Israel as a proponent of racism is a vile manoeuvre worthy only of contempt. We urge all those who sincerely aspire to rid our world once and for all of the evils of racism, intolerance and fanaticism to turn their backs on such cynical and devious policies.

170. Israel's position concerning *apartheid* and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served.

171. Israel's Jewish heritage and the multiracial background of its citizens strengthen our opposition to any policy or system which seeks to humiliate others and deprive them of their basic rights because of race, religion, creed or colour. Those States which sincerely seek to rid our world of racism must address the problem directly. Those who sincerely oppose racism in all its forms must release themselves from the spell cast by the cynics, bigots and opportunists. Only through such an approach can the victims of bigotry expect a better future. Those countries which genuinely stand against racism and racial discrimination will find in Israel an active ally, ever ready—in spirit, thought and deed—to join in the common effort for the eradication of these evils.

172. Mr. TAHINDRO (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Once again we are gathered together here in this Hall to denounce the South African racist régime for its inhuman policy of *apartheid* against the black population of South Africa.

173. As every year, we condemn the crime of *apartheid*, which the United Nations has called a crime against humanity. It is this general feeling of indignation that made possible the adoption by the international community on 30 November 1973 of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], and it was in this same spirit that the International Law Commission stated in article 19 of its draft text on the international responsibility of States that *apartheid*, like aggression, the practice of colonialism, slavery and genocide, was a typical example of an international crime.

174. While in almost the whole world the era of colonialism has been ended after several centuries of repression and injustice, South Africa still lives in the atmosphere of that era and cannot understand why the countries of the North have abandoned that policy.

175. While racism and racist legislation have historically always been part of South African society—in this respect we recall the racist legislation of the Transvaal since the establishment of the Boers in that region and that of the Cape between 1852 and 1910—nevertheless the ordered and methodical organization of racism under the name “*apartheid*”, that is, the institutionalization of racism throughout South African territory, began only in 1948.

176. Many explanations have been given by various authors and historians for the doctrine of *apartheid*, but it is well known that the Hitlerite doctrine of the superior race, with all its political, economic and social consequences, inspired to a great extent the fathers of *apartheid*. They decided that this Nazi doctrine could be applied to all the non-white races of South Africa, just as the original Nazi doctrine was applied to all non-“Aryan” races.

177. Since the supporters of *apartheid* are methodical and obstinate people, they feel that they must justify *apartheid* coherently and in an ordered way, if necessary resorting to sophistry. Thus, they have tried to prove that the Africans—in their terminology, the Bantus—arrived simultaneously with the whites and that, consequently, no African was established in South Africa before the eighteenth century. Therefore they affirm that the wars fought in the nineteenth century by the Boers and the British against the African societies were not predatory colonial wars but wars between rival conquerors for the possession of unowned territory.

178. That is why throughout the years the Africans would be called, in turn, Kaffirs, natives, Bantus, but never Africans, because of the nationalist connotation of that name. For the *apartheid* régime, there are Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu and other nations, but no African nation as such; consequently, according to that régime, it is incorrect to talk about African nationalism.

179. However, several important Portuguese texts dating from the fifteenth century have attested to the existence at the time of organized African societies all along the coast of South Africa. Archeological excavations have even proved, unfortunately for the *apartheid* theoreticians, that a Bantu society had existed in South Africa, with its own social, political and technical characteristics, for a very long time, well before the arrival of the whites. For fuller historical details, members should consult the work of R. R. Inskeep, in volume I of *The Oxford History of South Africa*.⁷

180. Since the argument of historical antecedence and other fallacious arguments are without any valid legal basis, it is clear that, stripped to the bones, *apartheid* is in fact a racist doctrine adopted by the European colonists established in that part of Africa to perpetuate the exploitation of the country's black majority. Four groups contributed to the emergence of that school of thought, namely: the Dutch Reformed Church, which helped give *apartheid* a moral standing; the extreme right-wing secret society, the *Broederbond*, established in 1918, which provided a doctrinal basis for the policy of the National Party of South Africa; the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations, founded in 1929, which claims to be the defender of Boer culture; and, lastly, Christian National Education, which laid the bases of education in the South African society.

181. This exploitation of the black majority was to be carried out through discriminatory legislation covering every area of daily life, in the political and economic spheres, as well as in the fields of education, health, culture, housing and sport. Thus, since 1948 one *apartheid* law after another has been enacted—banning the simple right to freedom of movement, prohibiting interracial marriage and imposing residential segregation, racial classification and the segregation of public facilities, transport and schools. And of course, other laws, some of them among the most repressive in the world, have been adopted over the years to prevent any circumvention of the racist order established by the white minority.

182. *Apartheid*, denounced by the United Nations for more than 30 years because of the immense suffering it causes the populations of South Africa, is still with us. Despite universal condemnation, the *apartheid* régime continues to maintain itself and to pose a threat to the States of the region through its direct or indirect acts of aggression.

183. If, as the January 1981 issue of the review *International Affairs* states, South Africa provides 40 per cent of the industrial production of the African continent, 75 per cent of the steel and cast iron produced in Africa, 80 per cent of the coal extracted in Africa and 20 per cent of the commercial trade of the whole of Africa, and, moreover, if it occupies twelfth place in the capitalist world in the volume of industrial production, that is due not only to the shameless exploitation of the black majority but to the fruitful collaboration with the majority of developed market-economy countries from which the country benefits.

184. As Mr. Robert Hughes, Chairman of the United Kingdom Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, wrote in the March 1983 *Notes and Documents* of the Centre against *Apartheid*, transnational corporations play a dominant role in the economy of South Africa. In the same context, Mr. Makanov, writing in the January 1981 issue of *International Affairs* noted that the South African economy is controlled for the most part by foreign capital: 1,650 firms from Western and other countries are operating in the land of *apartheid*, attracted by the world's highest profits, the result of the pitiless exploitation of African workers.

185. As Professor Bernhard Graefrath of the German Democratic Republic rightly pointed out in an article entitled “The Crime of *Apartheid*: Responsibilities and Reparations,” which was published in the *Review of Contemporary Law* in 1981, the struggle to eradicate the shameful régime of *apartheid* cannot be isolated from the general struggle for the liberation of peoples still victims of pillage. Thus, the problem of *apartheid* is not merely the denial of individual human rights, as the Western countries often tend to see it, but, even more serious, a violation of the collective right of an entire people to self-determination.

186. While the white minority, whatever its political affiliation, has chosen *apartheid* as the basis of its policy in order to perpetuate its economic and political privileges, the majority of the population, namely, the black population, is still unable to express its preferences in the political, economic and social areas.

187. Like many other delegations, we believe that the problem of South Africa is less a question of human rights than a question of decolonization. In these circumstances, it is difficult to have much faith in the so-called constitutional reform, which certain Western countries have described as a step in the right direction.

188. Contrary to what those countries think, South Africa's so-called constitutional reform is not a relaxing of the system of *apartheid*; it is, rather, a logical step towards the finalization of the *apartheid* doctrine. Although, according to the schizophrenic ravings of Mr. Verwoerd and the theoreticians of *apartheid*, the African reservations, known as bantustans, that occupy 13 per cent of the total area of South Africa are supposedly the true homelands of the Africans and thus, *ipso facto*, the Africans should ultimately lose their South African citizenship and exercise their civil and political rights in those homelands, no provision has been made for "Indianistans" or "Colouredestans" for the Indian and Coloured populations of South Africa. For Dr. Verwoerd and his friends, there was no doubt that such populations should have the opportunity to control their own administration and their own affairs through appropriate machinery, while at the same time remaining subordinate to the white Parliament and under the control of the white minority. This is what the so-called constitutional reform sanctions, without any weakening of the fundamental structures of *apartheid*, namely, separate development accompanied by the shameful exploitation of the non-white majority.

189. We are therefore pleased by the recent unequivocal condemnation by the United Nations of this new South African farce.

190. In order to ensure that South Africa abandons its policy of *apartheid*, certain measures must be taken, in particular those set forth in the 1977 Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*³ and the 1981 Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa,² as well as other measures advocated in the many relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, while unreversed support must be given to national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia.

191. As regards Governments, support should be manifested by the breaking off of diplomatic and consular relations; the cessation of collaboration in the military and nuclear fields; an embargo on petroleum products; the cessation of any form of economic collaboration; the withdrawal of the facilities granted South African airlines and maritime companies; a ban on emigration and tourism to South Africa, and the ending of all cultural and sports collaboration. Moreover, Governments should undertake to give assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement and to the front-line States.

192. Similarly, all Governments should condemn the assassination of the leaders and active members of the ANC, as well as the acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States and Lesotho by South Africa. All Governments should also reject the so-called non-aggression pact of the racist régime, which simultaneously threatens to resort to force against African countries that support the ANC. The accession of all States to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* is highly desirable.

193. With regard to intergovernmental organizations and other specialized agencies, we feel that they should prevent the South African racist régime from participating in their work. They should refuse all assistance to the racist régime and should assist the national liberation movements of the oppressed people of South Africa.

194. The IMF should refuse any new credit to the racist régime.

195. Lastly, trade unions, churches, anti-*apartheid* movements, movements of solidarity and other non-governmental organizations, as well as individuals, should

contribute to the international campaign against *apartheid* by keeping the world public informed and making it more aware of the crimes of *apartheid*.

196. For our part, we should like to express our sincere appreciation to the front-line States and neighbouring States for their daily sacrifices and for their refusal to abandon their traditional position of moral, diplomatic and political support for the ANC in its struggle to establish a democratic, non-racial society in South Africa.

197. We also express to the South African people our total support for their strong resistance to the *apartheid* régime, under the leadership of its vanguard movement, the ANC.

198. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): More than 30 years have elapsed since the General Assembly first considered the racist policy of the South African authorities. The Assembly has adopted many resolutions calling for an end to the racist rule of the South African authorities. However, there has not been the slightest change in the position of the South African authorities. On the contrary, they have become even more stubborn in pursuing this policy and even more ruthless in cracking down on the South African people.

199. The South African authorities have long devised several hundred decrees of racial discrimination. Relying on bayonets and jails, they have deprived more than 20 million black people of virtually all their freedoms and democratic rights. They have pushed on with their plan of bantustanization so as to confine the black people in the barren "black homelands". According to the press communiqué released recently by the secretariat of the OAU, more than 10 million Africans have been driven to the bantustan areas. The 10 planned bantustans, when set up, will only account for 12.7 per cent of the land of the whole country, while the remaining 87.3 per cent, with cities, mines, railways and so on, will be declared "white South Africa". In this area, the native Africans, who are the lawful masters of South Africa, are arbitrarily classified as aliens and denied the right of free entry and departure. The system of *apartheid* is evident in the political, economic, cultural, educational and social spheres. The South African authorities are even more ruthless in persecuting those freedom fighters and leaders who oppose this barbarous system. Nationalist leaders and freedom fighters such as Nelson Mandela have been unreasonably subjected to long terms of imprisonment. Last June, flying in the face of strong opposition from the international community, the South African authorities flagrantly executed three freedom fighters of the ANC and committed new crimes against the South African people.

200. In order to hoodwink the people of South Africa and the world at large, the South African authorities manipulated a so-called referendum not long ago, in which only white people could participate. They adopted a "new constitution" which permits the Coloureds and the Indians to "share power". The General Assembly has just adopted a resolution exposing and rejecting this sinister scheme [resolution 38/11].

201. The South African authorities have been so arrogant because they have the support and connivance of a certain great Power. In order to maintain their vested interests in southern Africa, certain forces in the West have provided the South African authorities with economic assistance and military equipment in total disregard of the wishes of the people of the world. In so doing they have inflated the South African racist régime's arrogance and exacerbated the tension in the area.

202. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The South African people have carried on an unremitting struggle against *apartheid*, which has been developing vigorously both in scope and in intensity. The just struggle of the black people for human rights and racial equality has won the sympathy and support of more and more white people. Meanwhile, there has been a steady growth of the struggle in various forms, including the armed struggle being waged by the ANC and the PAC.

203. Since independence, the people of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe have made steady progress in the consolidation and development of their respective countries and have thus strengthened their position in the struggle against the South African racist régime. The African countries, in particular the front-line States, have made unswerving efforts at tremendous national sacrifice to support the just struggles of the people of South Africa and Namibia. Their dauntless courage has won them praise from the people of the world.

204. The just struggle of the South African people has all along received wide support and sympathy from the international community. Following the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos in 1977, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was held in Paris in 1981, and the Asian Regional Conference on Action against *Apartheid* was held in Manila in 1982. At the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983, a Declaration and Programme of Action were adopted.⁹ The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, headed by Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, has done much work in mobilizing world opinion to support the just struggle of the South African people and adopted the Programme of Action against *Apartheid* [A/38/539] on 25 October last. The Chinese delegation expresses its appreciation of this and will continue its full co-operation with the Special Committee.

205. The Chinese Government and people have consistently and resolutely supported the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia for democratic rights and national liberation. They strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African authorities, their illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of subversion and invasion against neighbouring countries, and have demanded that the South African authorities release the freedom fighters who have been subjected to unwarranted long-term imprisonment. The Chinese Government adheres to its stand of having no relations of any kind with the South African authorities. We are of the view that the various relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly should be implemented in good faith. We are in favour of the imposition of comprehensive and compulsory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We are convinced that the just struggle of the South African people against *apartheid* is bound to triumph in the end.

206. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The question of the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the South African régime has been under discussion in the United Nations since 1946. In spite of the numerous resolutions demanding an end to *apartheid* adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies—indeed, in spite of the revulsion of the international community as a whole—the Pretoria régime has remained impervious, and stubbornly persists in the perpetuation of this evil system.

207. The so-called constitutional proposals recently introduced by the Pretoria régime are but the latest in a series of manoeuvres designed to entrench *apartheid*

rather than abandon it. Their clear objective is the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the majority of the South African people. The Assembly, therefore, acted wisely when, on 15 November, in resolution 38/11, it overwhelmingly rejected the so-called constitutional proposals and solemnly declared that only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, could lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa.

208. That, indeed, is the position of the oppressed people. Their rejection of the so-called constitutional proposals has been loud and clear. Nothing expresses the strength of their feeling on the matter better than the formation of the United Democratic Front, precisely in order to oppose the so-called constitutional proposals and expose them for what they really are. I need not stress that we in the front-line States are at one with the oppressed people on this matter. At their summit meeting held at Lusaka on 12 November of this year, our Heads of State or Government dismissed the so-called constitutional proposals as sham changes in South Africa, and noted that these were acts of a desperate régime which would fool no one.

209. It is to be hoped that those who have hailed the so-called constitutional reforms in South Africa will soon come to the same conclusion. The cause of meaningful and real change in South Africa can be advanced only by an honest and frank assessment of events in that country by all genuine opponents of *apartheid*. To project the so-called constitutional proposals as a step in the right direction is to do further injustice to the victims of *apartheid*.

210. The evil policy of *apartheid* practised by the minority, racist régime of Pretoria has rightly been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. *Apartheid* is an open, deliberate and continued gross violation of basic human rights and the democratic principles of justice, freedom, equality, respect for the human person and majority rule. The minority racist régime in Pretoria practises *apartheid* in order to deny, for ever, the non-white citizens of South Africa, who constitute more than 80 per cent of the population of that country, their fundamental freedom and human rights, purely on the basis of the pigmentation of their skin.

211. Thus, the majority of the people of South Africa are innocent victims of *apartheid*, which is maintained, and can only be maintained, by massive repression and violence. Large-scale arrests, detentions and bannings, as well as the brutal torture and killings of political detainees, are common occurrences in *apartheid* South Africa.

212. Justice, freedom, equality and human dignity are values of life dear to mankind. When oppressed people struggle for justice, for their dignity and liberty, they do so to uphold these values and preserve them for mankind as a whole. This is precisely what the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa are struggling for. It is against this background that we in Zambia support the liberation struggle in South Africa. Under the prevailing circumstances, the oppressed people of South Africa have been left with no alternative but to fight for their birth-right to regain their freedom, justice and human dignity.

213. In response to that challenge, the minority racist régime has intensified its suppression, in the vain hope that it will subdue the oppressed masses. However, there can be no turning back the forward march of history in South Africa. *Apartheid* will certainly be dismantled,

and freedom will certainly be secured in South Africa. Unless the international community is prepared to promote peaceful change, the cherished goal of the oppressed masses will be achieved through violence and armed struggle, which, as evidenced by the recent spate of bombings in the land of *apartheid*, have already begun in earnest.

214. South Africa's continued stranglehold on Namibia and its destabilization of neighbouring independent African States are also geared towards the defence and entrenchment of the abhorrent policy and practice of *apartheid*. While extraneous issues are being introduced to frustrate the efforts of the international community for the independence of Namibia, southern Africa has witnessed continuing and increasing aggressive activities—perpetrated by the South African régime and by bandits recruited, trained, financed and armed by the *apartheid* régime—against neighbouring States, resulting in the loss of human life and the destruction of transport and economic infrastructures in those States. To this day, South African troops are illegally occupying part of Angola, while Mozambique and Lesotho, in particular, have been, and continue to be, subjected to severe economic and military pressures by the South African régime.

215. South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization notwithstanding, the front-line and other independent States in the region remain strongly committed to the total eradication of *apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa. For its part, Zambia will continue to render support and all possible assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa under their national liberation movement.

216. Zambia deplores the ambivalent posture of some Members of the United Nations which are friends and allies of South Africa. These Member States profess abhorrence of *apartheid* while, at the same time, they pursue policies that are supportive of a régime whose policies are deeply rooted in that very diabolical system. Moreover, we are also aware that the viability of the South African racist régime, its growing military power and aggressiveness are derived from the political, diplomatic, economic and military assistance the régime receives from these Member States.

217. It is because of this that we call upon all these countries which have leverage on the minority racist régime, either through economic, military or other ties, to come out boldly and unequivocally and use their influence to persuade the Pretoria régime to cease all acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbours and, above all, to abandon the evil system of *apartheid*.

218. We also appeal to the international community to give all possible material and humanitarian assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, who are innocent victims of the *apartheid* régime.

219. Finally, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to commend the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the important work they are doing in the cause of freedom and justice in South Africa. The Special Committee is certainly a vital ally of the oppressed people of South Africa and as such deserves the full support and encouragement of the international community in its work.

220. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): At the thirty-seventh session in this same forum, during the awarding of prizes by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, one of the laureates, the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, stated that:

“*apartheid* was not . . . a matter of South African political practice, a matter of purely local and internal

concern, but an issue of world-wide significance and as much a challenge to the future of mankind as the Nazi ideology that had brought about the Second World War and as potentially dangerous” [56th meeting, para. 53].

221. This comment tends to be confirmed for, over the past year, the situation in southern Africa resulting from the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime has continued to deteriorate and thus constitutes a serious threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

222. In fact, in South Africa itself repression against those opposing *apartheid* has intensified while the racist régime has increased its arsenal of repressive laws. Arbitrary arrests and detentions have become more and more frequent; political detainees subjected to ill-treatment and torture have died and their persecutors have got off scot-free. The political leaders of the ANC, such as Nelson Mandela and his comrades, are languishing and wasting away in prisons despite the appeals and the steps taken by the international community for their release.

223. Moreover, defying the appeals of the international community for clemency, the Pretoria régime last June executed three freedom fighters of the ANC: Jerry Mosololi, Thelle Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung. These barbarous executions aroused general indignation and were condemned by many Governments, including my own, and by national and international organizations.

224. But this repression has come up against ever-stronger opposition, increasingly stubborn and better organized resistance, creating an ever-broadening front involving all levels of society—workers, churches, students and community and municipal organizations, not to mention the armed struggle being carried out by freedom fighters.

225. Given this stubborn resistance and in order to trick international opinion, the racist régime of Pretoria pretended to propose “constitutional amendments”, offering the Coloureds and persons of Asian origin limited representation in Parliament, proposals that were voted on by a part of the white electorate on 2 November. But in fact these constitutional amendments had three objectives: first, to shatter the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa and to foment conflict and dissension among them; secondly, to permit the enrolment of Coloureds and persons of Asian origin into the armed forces of the *apartheid* régime in order to use them to repress the black population and to carry out aggression against neighbouring African States; and thirdly, to deprive the indigenous African majority of all fundamental rights, including the right to citizenship.

226. In short, these constitutional changes will only further strengthen the *apartheid* régime and sanction the transformation of South Africa into a country “reserved for whites”, while the African population will be relegated purely and simply to so-called independent bantustans, of which a new one, KwaNdebele, will be declared in 1984. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* notes the tragic living conditions of the inhabitants of these bantustans or “homelands”.

227. The vote on 15 November by the General Assembly on this question [*resolution 38/11*] shows that nearly all Members of the United Nations reject these constitutional changes.

228. Outside the country, the Pretoria régime is constantly strengthening its grip on Namibia, whose independence it continues to link illegally, and in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It continues to step up acts of aggression and destabilization

against neighbouring African States, in particular the front-line States.

229. We still recall the aggression against Lesotho on 9 December 1982, during which more than 40 people, all civilians, were massacred; the bombing of civilian targets in the suburbs of Maputo, in Mozambique, in May 1983, which resulted in a number of victims, and military raids into other States, not to mention acts of destabilization such as economic sabotage, espionage, assassinations of political leaders of the ANC and direct support for groups of insurgents such as UNITA¹⁰ in Angola and of the so-called National Resistance Movement in Mozambique.

230. In pursuing this infamous policy, the Pretoria régime has strengthened its military capacity and its armaments industry. To this end, it has benefited from the support and co-operation of certain Western countries, in particular the United States, and their financial and multinational companies, together with certain international financial institutions.

231. The *apartheid* régime has arrogantly dared to defy the international community because it has felt strong with the unconditional support that those countries were giving it. The successive vetoes cast by certain permanent members of the Security Council each time that body wished to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa have shown that very clearly.

232. That feeling of "impunity" displayed by the Pretoria régime has been further strengthened by the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement", which has encouraged it further to carry out even more brutal repression within the country and more impudent acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

233. This "constructive engagement" is reminiscent of the Reagan Administration's "strategic co-operation" with Israel in the Middle East, co-operation which has encouraged Israel to commit with impunity acts of aggression against its Arab neighbours. Moreover, through these two policies the Reagan Administration has encouraged the strengthening of multifaceted co-operation between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, particularly in the military and nuclear areas.

234. As for the attitude of the other obstructionist member of the Security Council, my delegation would just like to recall the following statement of Archbishop Huddleston made here last year:

"One of the chief reasons why we are still so urgently in need of an effective, all-out sanctions policy against South Africa is that the West, and more particularly the Powers with the use of the veto in the Security Council, have so perfectly mastered the art of double-talk. Great Britain, my own country, has led the world in this form of hypocrisy. For years it has declared its abhorrence of *apartheid*. For years it has used its veto to prevent any effective action against it. 'Sanctions do not work.' Yet, when it is a matter of a war in the South Atlantic, the first act of the British Government is to call upon its allies, sometimes very reluctant allies—the United States, the European Economic Community, the British Commonwealth—to impose immediate and comprehensive sanctions against Argentina." [Ibid., para. 65.]

235. It is generally accepted that the policy of *apartheid* and the economic system of South Africa, based on the exploitation of the black majority by the white minority, go hand in hand. Consequently, to combat *apartheid* economic assistance to that régime must be ended. Thus those who oppose sanctions against South Africa must examine their consciences anew and choose between, on the one hand, maintaining *apartheid*, that is, injustice,

exploitation, massive violation of human rights and the threat to international peace and security, and, on the other hand, its elimination, that is, a non-racial society living in justice, freedom and real democracy in South Africa.

236. For its part, the Lao people, which has suffered long from colonial oppression and imperialist aggression and finally freed itself at the cost of heavy sacrifices, has always supported and will continue to support the struggles of peoples under colonial and racist domination, particularly those of the South African people.

237. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): The policies and practices of South Africa, which together make up the system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, are a primary concern of the United Nations today, as they were in 1949 when they were first condemned by the Organization. These infamous policies are based on the treatment of the majority of the population of South Africa in an inhumane way based on the differences of the colour and race of the people. They thereby constitute an affront to the conscience and values of mankind. They have been condemned as a crime against humanity. All those deplorable policies are in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They constitute an incredibly arbitrary system of segregation, repression and banishment of millions of the black citizens of South Africa. They have led to the deprivation of that innocent population's most elementary rights and freedoms.

238. We do not think that anybody can deny the validity of these facts. As a matter of fact, we do not think that even South Africa denies the truth of these observations. How can they be denied? These facts stare at us in pictures, in reports, in laws and regulations, in overt measures and practices, and in statistics.

239. The international community of nations, spurred by the existence of this very disturbing situation in South Africa, over the years has spared no effort to try to convince South Africa of the absolute wrongness of its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and to influence it somehow to change its distorted conceptions and evil practices. Unfortunately, the time is past when South Africa should have realized that, whatever its pretexts and rationalizations may be, it cannot and should not continue on this wrong path of total disregard for and defiance of world public opinion. I have not yet even gone into the related problems of South Africa's illegal policies regarding Namibia with all their ramifications for peace and security.

240. Despite the international community's intense efforts, pronouncements, resolutions, decisions and wide range of measures, South Africa has not appeared to heed in any way this burst of outrage. Of course, it would have been naive to expect South Africa to retract or modify its well-known racial policies. But perhaps we might have expected a bit of restraint—at least a freezing of these contemptible policies. What we witness, however, is quite discouraging and signifies a worsening of the situation.

241. If we look at a few recent examples, the South African régime has embarked upon what is referred to as "constitutional reforms". We cannot find any reformative aspect about those proposals—which, incidentally, were denounced by the General Assembly just a few days ago. How can they be considered as reforms, within the normal meaning of the word, if the sole criterion on which they rest is nothing but the colour and race of some segments of the South African population?

242. We cannot explain these measures in any other way than that they constitute yet another South African

method of dividing the population of South Africa on a racial basis. They appear to be nothing but an innovative method of bantustanization in the legal rather than the geographical sense. We do not believe that any measure which divides the people of South Africa on racial lines into bantustans can be accepted by the international community as valid, let alone reformative. This policy is squarely in violation of the basic articles of the Charter of the United Nations.

243. This is an illegal and invalid method of depriving a large part of black South Africans of their fundamental and inalienable rights and freedoms and banishing them to, in fact imprisoning them in, fragmented areas of land obviously deemed worthless by the white South Africans. The immense hardships suffered by the people relegated to these open-air prisons are well known and widely documented. These people are experiencing major economic and social difficulties. Their fate is a cause of major concern to the rest of the world. This South African policy has been rejected by the international community. One may wonder whether this strong reaction has had any effect on South Africa and whether it may compel South Africa to review its attitude. The answer again is that South Africa has not taken any notice of the outcry in the world. We have learnt that next year South Africa will set up a new artificial entity in the form of a bantustan.

244. It is possible to cite numerous other examples showing that South Africa is totally disregarding the great concern of the international community in this respect. All the signs indicate that, on the contrary, South Africa is increasing the harshness of its repressive legislation in South Africa and its oppression of the black population of South Africa. The distressing situation of political prisoners, symbolized in the continuing imprisonment of Nelson Mandela in his advanced years, is a cause of deep concern to all of us.

245. Furthermore, the South African régime has found it necessary to increase its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring African States. This is a result of its clear desire to subjugate, coerce, overthrow the Government if necessary and invade the countries of southern Africa, in order to perpetuate its policies of racial discrimination, as well as to establish hegemony in that area. These aggressive acts are also linked to South Africa's intention to prolong as much as possible its illegal occupation and exploitation of Namibia and to deny the inherent right of the Namibian people to independence, freedom and sovereignty in their own land.

246. In this context, South Africa is continuing to build up its military forces. There are indications that it has ambitions in the nuclear-arms field. South Africa has embarked upon military incursions into Lesotho and Mozambique. It is engaging in destabilizing activities in these and other adjacent African States. It is applying economic and political pressures on Botswana. The southern part of Angola is under occupation, and military forays are being launched at a steady rate. These acts of violence are undoubtedly damaging peace and security in southern Africa and also threatening international peace and security. They demand the firm response and reaction of the international community.

247. Examining what has been done in this field during the past year, we would first of all like to commend the activities of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in particular within the framework of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.¹¹ The various conferences and seminars organized within that programme have contributed tremendously to the encouragement of public action against *apartheid*. The

important decisions taken at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983,¹² also deserve mention. These and other activities designed to mobilize public opinion and encourage public support for United Nations resolutions have yielded impressive results and should be continued.

248. In view of the stubborn resistance being displayed by South Africa, it becomes clear that ways and means of transforming this high state of public awareness and desire for effective action into practical measures within the parameters of the Charter of the United Nations must be considered.

249. In this connection, the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977) has constituted an important step. However, reports of the Committee established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977) indicate that there are shortcomings in the implementation of resolution 418 (1977). We have welcomed the efforts made to ensure strict observance of the arms embargo and would like to note in this connection Security Council resolution 473 (1980). Again, in the light of the indifference displayed by South Africa to these efforts, the necessity to ensure that South Africa feels the full pressure of the international community becomes all the more clear. It is evident that in these circumstances only decisive, mandatory sanctions as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations could produce such an effect.

250. Effective sanctions require determined participation by all Members, as the alternative to the application of peaceful measures envisaged in the Charter is the escalation of the violence and conflict in southern Africa. That is why the oppressed people of South Africa have at this moment no alternative but to continue their struggle for independence, a struggle which deserves our full sympathy and support.

251. Another way in which the international community can be of immense assistance to the struggling people in southern Africa is by increasing its assistance to various funds, especially the one set up for the large number of refugees in this region.

252. While we reiterate that the efforts of the international community should be redoubled, I would like to express the firm commitment of the Turkish Government to all measures designed to bring to an end the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Turkey does not maintain 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.

253. 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 achieved 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.

254. Mr. SUBBA (Nepal): The General Assembly has repeatedly declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and security. Nepal has consistently raised its voice against the hateful policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa and has

also always condemned the abhorrent system of *apartheid* as an insult to the civilized world. Despite world-wide condemnation, the *apartheid* régime nevertheless continues to act in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the basic tenets of international law. The racist policy not only has caused sufferings to the black majority of South Africa and Namibia, but is a violation of the basic principles of the United Nations, since it creates an atmosphere of tension in the whole region.

255. This general pattern of defiance by the Pretoria régime is most evident in the unprovoked attacks launched by the racist Government against neighbouring sovereign States. These attacks constitute a vicious trend of aggression that can only aggravate the current situation in southern Africa. South Africa's actions are obviously aimed at destabilizing neighbouring countries, and this in essence constitutes a grave violation of the general norms of international behaviour.

256. In defiance of international public opinion, the rulers of South Africa have escalated their inhuman policy of shameless exploitation of the black majority. The racist régime has increasingly repressed opponents of *apartheid*. It has expanded its web of repressive legislation by muzzling the press, cracking down massively on trade unions, and sentencing and murdering opponents of its nefarious policies. It has repeatedly committed atrocities against innocent women and schoolchildren. It has forcibly removed black people from white-designated areas—and that in the country of the blacks. Political detainees have been tortured to death or removed to hospitals for psychiatric treatment. A recent example in this regard is the execution on 9 June 1983 of three members of the ANC, namely, Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, in spite of numerous appeals for clemency by the Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the Secretary-General and numerous Governments.

257. The Pretoria régime seems to be unaware of or to shut its eyes to the fact that this is the twentieth century, and that the nineteenth century, when imperialism was at its height, belongs to the past and should be buried in the pages of history since its practices have no place in real life today. Africa has awakened, as the people of the former colonies have awakened all over Africa and Asia.

258. The racist minority régime has proposed certain so-called constitutional reforms which really aim at further depriving the majority of the people of South Africa of their political rights and perpetuating the domination by its racist apparatus over the blacks of South Africa. The *apartheid* régime has been resorting to cruel and inhuman policies in furtherance of its selfish, short-term interests at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the country's population.

259. The recent so-called constitutional reforms endorsed by a fraudulent referendum on 2 November 1983 by the exclusively white electorate in South Africa are further attempts by the Pretoria régime to entrench *apartheid* and deprive the indigenous African majority of all fundamental rights, including the right of citizenship, and to transform South Africa into a country for whites only. Nepal believes that the implementation of these constitutional proposals will further aggravate the already explosive situation prevailing inside *apartheid* South Africa. We were therefore recently one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 15 November as resolution 38/11, rejecting the so-called constitutional proposals of South Africa and all insidious manoeuvres by the racist

minority régime to entrench white minority rule. We believe that those constitutional proposals are contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that enforcement of such constitutional proposals will only aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in the region as a whole.

260. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for effective and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, with an effective monitoring system. We fully endorse those recommendations as the most appropriate, effective and peaceful measures by which the international community can bring the *apartheid* system to an end. We believe that mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter are the only means of forcing South Africa to desist from its policy of brutal oppression. We once again join the international community in urging the Security Council to take effective measures under Chapter VII. My delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate its resolute support for the full implementation of the resolutions on *apartheid* of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, as well as those of the Commission on Human Rights.

261. My delegation also attaches great importance to the outcome of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983. The Declaration and the Programme of Action for a new decade adopted by the Conference⁹ are of great significance. They have laid a solid and effective basis upon which the international community can fortify and mobilize all its forces in concerted action towards the total elimination of *apartheid*.

262. In conclusion, my delegation highly commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its relentless campaign to win international support and assistance for the struggle of the South African people. Nepal will, as ever, extend its firm support to the people of southern Africa in their struggle to free themselves from the oppressive *apartheid* régime.

263. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): When an entire people are suppressed, when their basic human and legitimate rights are denied, every effort, armed or otherwise, to throw off the yoke of indignity, inequality and suppression becomes fully justified. No people, least of all in their own homeland, can be expected to tolerate inhuman treatment such as that being meted out by the South African régime. That régime continues to attempt to silence the voices of freedom and incarcerate South African freedom fighters. Nelson Mandela, that brave and heroic symbol of national freedom, continues to languish in prison. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has also brought to the notice of the international community six other political prisoners gaoled since 1963, and many others. My delegation joins in the appeal made by the Special Committee's Chairman to all Governments and organizations to demand that all these political prisoners be released immediately.

264. The policy of *apartheid* in South Africa has taken yet another diabolical turn. The recent so-called constitutional proposals which purport to give a measure of political power to the so-called Coloureds and persons of Asian origin is no doubt an attempt to weaken the fight against *apartheid*. It is a move to split the ranks of an opposition that constantly grows stronger and gains ground in its struggle. It is a move to attempt to thwart or delay an historical process that is inevitable. The Pretoria régime has, however, not been able to pull the wool over the eyes of the international community. Instead, its moves have only helped to highlight once more the sinister policies designed to deprive the indigenous population of South Africa of their legitimate rights as sons of its soil.

265. My delegation was happy at the instantaneous and overwhelming response of the General Assembly when it adopted resolution 38/11, rejecting the so-called constitutional proposals by 141 votes to none with only 7 abstentions. This clearly demonstrates the strong moral revulsion with which the international community views the policy of *apartheid*. The Chairman of the Group of African States, when introducing the draft resolution that was subsequently adopted on 15 November, noted that: "*Apartheid* cannot be reformed. It must be eradicated." [56th meeting, para. 5.] This must be followed by recognizing the right of the over 20 million ethnic inhabitants who form 73 per cent of South Africa's population to play their legitimate role as full citizens of South Africa.

266. Several Western countries have continued to develop relations with the South African régime as a result of pressures generated by their business interests. It is essential and vital that these countries extend their co-operation to impose appropriate sanctions on South Africa. This morning [60th meeting], the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* made an impassioned plea to all those who have relations with South Africa to give greater priority to the larger interests of the world community. Their co-operation would undoubtedly hasten the dismantling of the *apartheid* régime. My delegation hopes that the countries concerned will review their respective positions and will provide full support in our common struggle to eradicate this crime against humanity.

267. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Resolution 38/11, adopted by a very large majority of the General Assembly on 15 November, concerning the very recent and serious evolution of *apartheid* towards a definitive stratification of South African society, is very significant on many counts.

268. You will recall that the Assembly stated that it was deeply concerned by the so-called constitutional proposals approved on 2 November 1983 by an exclusively white South African electorate, thus dangerously widening the gap between the different components of the South African people.

269. You will also recall that the Assembly, in its wisdom, rejected the so-called constitutional proposals and refused to accord any validity to the farce of the selective referendum organized for the adoption of those proposals by a minority electorate.

270. The Assembly clearly expressed the feelings felt by all the peoples of the world towards this openly Fascist and racist policy.

271. Although our country certainly is shocked by this escalation towards further intolerance in South Africa, we are not surprised. This new iniquitous law fits well into the logic of an *apartheid* régime which refuses even to imagine that the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa should have full political, economic and other rights.

272. We are, however, surprised by those who, against all reason, wish to provide South Africa with an alibi, claiming to see in its new policy some kind of positive evolution, although it is even more systematically segregationist than before.

273. It goes without saying that such a complacent attitude is an insult to the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. The new so-called constitutional proposals, which deprive the black majority of all fundamental rights, including the right of citizenship, are viciously designed to foster antagonism between that overwhelming majority and other groups identified as Coloured or Asian.

274. *Apartheid* does not even attempt to hide its Fascist policy. The so-called constitutional proposals are the

climax of a process that has been going on for over 30 years and has been conscientiously and regularly described by the committees entrusted by the United Nations with the task of studying *apartheid* and denouncing all its aberrations.

275. We have in hand the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22]. We wish to express our appreciation to all those who have participated in drafting this very important and instructive document, which covers practically all the manifestations of racial segregation in, and describes the various acts of complicity associated with, South Africa. We also wish to congratulate the Chairman of the Special Committee, our brother Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, as well as the Acting Chairman, Mr. Bhatt, of Nepal, and the other members for the industry and devotion they have shown in the drafting of this instructive, detailed and terrifying document.

276. We have also carefully read the special report of the Committee [A/38/22/Add. I], which deals with recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa. This report, which lays special stress on military and, we would emphasize, nuclear co-operation, as well as economic and other co-operation between the two racist régimes, does not, however, cover the increasingly close alliance between Israel and South Africa, which is dealt with at length in the main report.

277. The special report states quite correctly that, as the Special Committee has pointed out since 1976:

"The virtual alliance between South Africa and Israel . . . is part of an effort by the *apartheid* régime to build an alliance of unpopular régimes defiant of world public opinion as a second line of defence for *apartheid*." [Ibid., para. 36.]

278. The United Nations, which was created in 1945 as a legitimate reaction of a world terrified by the outrageous extortions and racist genocides of a Fascist régime, cannot—obviously—find any area whatsoever for compromise with another régime, the *apartheid* régime, that today is its heir.

279. Under normal circumstances and in a rational world, South Africa would have been unable to pursue a régime of systematic racial segregation, the latest—but probably not the last—manifestation of which are the so-called constitutional proposals.

280. Under normal circumstances and in a rational world, South Africa would not have been able to persist in its defiance of the international community by confiscating Namibia, by permanently occupying a part of Angola and by carrying out acts of aggression against other front-line countries.

281. Today, South Africa is a threat to the entire continent because of the means of acquiring nuclear weapons it has been given. Vast sums are being invested in South Africa, and a ceaseless flood of armaments and technology enables it, with the support of the principal Western Powers, to pursue a policy of terror in southern Africa and to pose a serious threat to peace throughout the whole of our continent.

282. *Apartheid* will certainly not disappear through so-called improvements in a policy which, on the contrary, is aimed essentially at strengthening and perfecting that philosophy of institutionalized racial segregation.

283. *Apartheid* will only disappear if South Africa is ostracized by the nations of the world until it agrees to espouse the only solution that respects fundamental human rights, namely, an egalitarian, multiracial and democratic society in an undivided country that will belong to all its sons on the basis of "one man, one vote".

284. Today, South Africa will not abandon its policy of continuing aggression in southern Africa unless there is a total economic, cultural and technological embargo against it and a halt to the generous supplies of weapons and strategic materials made available to it. The sanctions requested in successive reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its sub-committees are not an excessive price to pay for the liberation of all South Africans, without distinction as to race, ethnic origin or religion, for the happy outcome to the courageous struggle that people is waging under the leadership of the ANC and for the establishment of peace and security in southern Africa in order that all the peoples of the region may devote themselves to the difficult task of combating underdevelopment and the negative inheritance of colonization.

285. I cannot conclude without expressing our surprise at the arrogant oratory of the representative of the State of Israel this afternoon. I would like to point out that, in his statement on this agenda item, the representative of Israel completely ignored its title, "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa".

286. The representative of Israel attempted to strike a precarious balance, one that we hope will not deceive the Assembly. He tried to gain the Assembly's sympathy by referring to the indescribable suffering endured by the Jewish people over the centuries—and we too condemn that suffering—but that does not constitute an extenuating circumstance. On the contrary, it is tragically ironic to be forced to note that the usurper State of Israel, which is heir to the Jewish tradition and the oppression against the Jews, is now a close collaborator and privileged ally of a régime that perpetuates Nazi traditions and practises a policy of racial discrimination on a hitherto unheard-of scale. It is true that Israel, which is inspired by a similar philosophy and is practising a very similar policy, is perfectly comfortable with the close co-operation it enjoys with that ally.

287. The Israeli representative also attempted—and this is nothing new—to break the Arab-African front. We are not surprised at the legitimate anguish of the Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis at the possibility of co-ordination and solidarity between Africa and the Arab world. That solidarity—which has its basis in contemporary world realities, in the interests of both worlds, African and Arab, and the complementarity of both families, and in the age-old relations between them—is as real as the mutual feelings between the segregationist régimes of Israel and South Africa. It is even more strange that nowhere in his statement—and this is revealing—did the representative of Israel utter any criticism of the *apartheid* régime, the direct heir of nazism and today, paradoxically, allied with zionism. That also does not surprise us. Nor are we surprised at the well-known attempt to change the subject by means of stratagems and a verbal attack that is shameless to say the least. We note this diversionary manoeuvre on the part of the representative of Israel, who completely forgot, in his entire statement, that we were dealing with an agenda item entitled "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa".

288. Mr. BLAIN (Gambia): I should like at the outset to congratulate the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the detailed report before the General Assembly [A/38/22]. This important document attests to the unwavering commitment of the Committee's members to the elimination of the scourge of *apartheid*.

289. In less than one month's time, the United Nations will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Across the world the occasion will be marked by celebrations

commemorating the enormous progress achieved over the past 35 years in securing for all people the enjoyment of those human attributes which have been judged fundamental and inalienable. Ironically, it was also 35 years ago that the then Union of South Africa, under the premiership of Mr. Hendrik Verwoerd, adopted as its official ideology the policy of *apartheid*.

290. In South Africa, therefore, the last three and a half decades have witnessed the establishment and consolidation of a system of institutionalized racial discrimination unparalleled in its scope and perversity. Proclaiming by its very nomenclature its racist and segregationist essence, the system of *apartheid* represents the antithesis of the principles and beliefs upon which the United Nations is founded. It has rightly been condemned as a crime against humanity and an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind.

291. Under the yoke of *apartheid*, some 20 million non-whites are routinely and systematically denied even the most fundamental of human freedoms. Formally excluded from any participation in the political process, the black population is further subjected to a formidable arsenal of repressive legislation to which the hundreds of patriots imprisoned on Robben Island and the many thousands more detained or banned bear testimony. This legislative arsenal has in turn been reinforced by a campaign of indiscriminate physical repression, of which the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto, together with the scores murdered in police custody, remain a grim reminder.

292. At this point, I would like to pay a particular tribute to the memory of the three ANC freedom fighters who were executed by the Pretoria régime last June in cynical disregard of the massive international appeal for clemency. At the same time, I would also like to launch a fresh appeal for the early release of the longest-serving patriots imprisoned on Robben Island. These include the PAC Six, now in their twenty-first year of incarceration, and the 70-year-old Nelson Mandela.

293. Within the oppressive framework of *apartheid*, the social and economic conditions under which the African population is compelled to live are no less inhuman. It has been estimated that in South Africa a black baby dies every 20 minutes. Meanwhile the very fabric of African society is being torn apart by the inhuman system whereby African men are compelled by economic pressures to leave their families in South Africa's barren tribal reserves and migrate for extended periods to the so-called white cities, where employment is available. This has had a predictably devastating effect upon family life.

294. At the same time, the overcrowded and fetid dormitories in which these migrant workers are compelled to reside have proved a fertile breeding ground for a number of serious diseases, such as tuberculosis and cholera, which have attained epidemic proportions over the last two years. Inevitably, the incidence of alcohol and drug abuse is correspondingly high. Obligated by law to accept wages representing only a fraction of the salaries enjoyed by whites, the black community has been seriously affected by the steady increase over recent years in South Africa's cost of living.

295. The response of the African population to these inhuman conditions has been one of courageous defiance, in which all sectors of the community have been galvanized into spontaneous resistance against *apartheid*.

296. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the ANC and the PAC for the pivotal role they play in the struggle against *apartheid*. In this regard, my delegation also wishes to salute the dynamic armed struggle being waged by *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.

297. South Africa's immediate response to this broad-based resistance has been to launch a total and savage onslaught against the enemies of *apartheid* both inside and outside the Republic. This has resulted in repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring African States and has gravely undermined the peace and security of the region. At the same time, however, the racist régime has embarked on a long-term strategy designed to ensure the perpetuation of *apartheid*.

298. It will be recalled that, ever since the political watershed of Soweto in 1976, Pretoria has repeatedly proclaimed its commitment to gradual reform. The period 1977-1979 therefore witnessed a proliferation of national commissions assigned the task of reviewing various aspects of the *apartheid* system and recommending ways and means for their modification. Significantly, however, the intention was never to dismantle the *apartheid* machine, but simply to streamline it by discarding those elements considered unnecessarily provocative while fulfilling no essential purpose.

299. Thus the Wiehahn Commission, reviewing the country's labour regulations, proposed that black trade unions be permitted, reasoning that this measure could, if accompanied by sufficiently stringent registration procedures, deprive those organizations of the enormous advantages guaranteed by their former clandestine nature. Similarly, the Riekert Commission, considering the status of urban blacks, called for the replacement of the country's infamous pass laws. Again, the rationale was that the introduction of new legislation would still permit effective control over the movement of blacks in the so-called white areas, while avoiding the adverse publicity guaranteed by the international notoriety of the pass laws.

300. The measures proposed by the various commissions were therefore largely cosmetic, often disguising the actual consolidation of the system they were ostensibly intended to reform. This notwithstanding, the new dispensations were announced with a fanfare of publicity designed to convince the international community of South Africa's good faith. Under the cover of these cosmetic reforms, Pretoria then embarked on the second phase of its grand strategy. The racist régime now proceeded to implement the policy of bantustanization, designed as a "final solution" to South Africa's unbalanced demographic equation. Under this scheme, the already disenfranchised black population would be stripped of its citizenship and any residential rights and assigned on the basis of ethnicity to the barren tribal homelands, upon which independence would then be forced.

301. At the stroke of a pen, therefore, the country's 20 million Africans would cease to constitute an oppressed majority of 72 per cent, deprived of its political, economic and social rights by a racist minority. Instead, they would become the technical citizens of 10 impoverished but supposedly independent African States, enjoying these rights within their respective countries. The paucity of both natural and mineral resources in these putative States would of course ensure the ready availability of a vast reservoir of manpower for South Africa's industries and mines. And in the area of industrial relations the new migrant aliens might be reasonably expected to display greater docility than their indigenous predecessors.

302. As is well known, this monstrous exercise is now well under way. Since 1976, no less than four puppet republics have been proclaimed, bringing to a total of almost 10 million the number of South Africans who have been declared technical aliens in their own country. My delegation, however, notes with satisfaction that the international community has rightly denied recognition to all four of these puppet entities.

303. It may be appropriate at this juncture to review the genesis of the so-called constitutional reform proposals adopted by South Africa's white electorate barely two weeks ago. These proposals, it may be recalled, were put forward by the so-called Presidential Council—consisting incidentally of 7 whites, 3 Coloureds and 1 Asian—created on the recommendation of the Schlegbusch Commission, which was established in 1978 to review South Africa's Constitution. The very pedigree of these proposals is therefore suspect.

304. In the established tradition of cosmetic reform, the proposals in question are evidently designed to consolidate and perpetuate *apartheid*. In the first place, they include no provision whatsoever for the country's 23 million Africans. More significantly, in the new tricameral Parliament, no more than a token role is envisaged for the Asian and Coloured chambers. They will therefore be unable to repeal even the racist laws by which their own communities are persecuted. Ironically, even as these so-called reforms are being adopted, 10,000 Asian and Coloured families living in Johannesburg have been warned that they face summary eviction under the Group Areas Act. This has had a profoundly radicalizing impact upon the two communities and may well explain the régime's decision not to permit the ostensible beneficiaries of the new constitutional dispensation to participate in the referendum of 2 November.

305. All this notwithstanding, the so-called constitutional reform proposals have been welcomed in certain quarters as evidence of a process of liberalization in South Africa portending the eventual dismantling of *apartheid*. My delegation believes that this enthusiasm is misplaced, and in this connection we welcome the adoption by the Assembly on 15 November of resolution 38/11, for there is a fundamental nexus between the proposed measures and Pretoria's policy of bantustanization.

306. While the new dispensations offer the Asian and Coloured communities some token accommodation, Pretoria's final solution will in effect legislate the current black population out of existence. Thus, when Prime Minister Botha reassures the nervous white electorate that the current proposals involve "no hidden agenda", he is in effect confirming the following: there is no question of extending even a limited franchise to the black population since the 20 million persons involved are intended to exercise the prerogatives of citizenship not inside South Africa but within their respective homeland states. It is this nexus that my delegation considers most objectionable.

307. Our indignation has been further aroused by the current situation in the nominally independent homelands. The protracted drought in the region has had a catastrophic impact upon these bantustans, where even at the best of times approximately 60 per cent of the population is compelled to migrate in search of employment. As a result, high infant mortality and acute malnutrition have become permanent features of the desolate bantustan landscape. However, the burden of these natural scourges is almost negligible by comparison with the violations of human rights in these territories which, even by South Africa's grim standards, are both massive and flagrant.

308. Last July, for example, the residents of the Mdantsane township, in the Ciskei, launched a boycott of the parastatal transport company in protest against impending fare increases. Unbelievably, this peaceful community protest was met with the sweeping range of dictatorial powers assumed by the so-called President Lennox Sebe since the Ciskei assumed nominal independence in 1981. The repressive measures resorted to by the security and

vigilante forces mobilized by Sebe have included the use of firearms, summary arrest, detention without trial, torture and other forms of physical violence against protesters using other forms of transport. No consideration is being given in this repressive campaign to either the age or sex of the boycotters, with the result that both women and schoolchildren have been among its victims. To date, it is estimated that approximately 100 protesters have been killed, while several hundred more have been wounded. At the same time, a large number of persons remain in detention at the local football stadium, which is being used as a concentration camp.

309. One of the more disturbing features of the current reign of terror in the Ciskei has been the systematic repression of trade unions, often conducted in close co-operation with the South African security authorities. On several occasions, trade unionists have been arrested in the Ciskei on the basis of information supplied by the South African police, and subjected to detention and torture. At other times, labour leaders have been arrested by the South African authorities and unceremoniously handed over to the Ciskei police for processing. In addition to balancing South Africa's racial equation, therefore, the ostensibly independent homelands are clearly intended to fulfil the secondary function of repressing the African population on Pretoria's behalf.

310. It is evident that the present debate is taking place at a critical juncture in the history of South Africa. We are in fact witnessing the final manoeuvres of a monstrous strategy designed to entrench and perpetuate the *apartheid* régime. Clearly, the dream of a thousand-year Reich is very much alive in Pretoria. Yet, there is a clear international consensus on the illegality and inadmissibility of the evil of *apartheid*. This consensus has found expression in the successive resolutions adopted by this and other organs of the United Nations, which the racist régime has, however, chosen to ignore.

311. The present circumstances and the unacceptable trend of developments in South Africa evidently require the adoption of more persuasive measures. It is now time for Governments to give practical effect to the words they have piously intoned for the past 38 years. Economic self-interest and political expediency must be sacrificed in the higher interest of humanity, injustice and the other principles to which all the signatories to the Charter of the United Nations have pledged their solemn commitment. For, failure to take effective measures now to eliminate the crime of *apartheid* can only foreshadow the erup-

tion of a future apocalypse from which no one stands to benefit.

312. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

313. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): There appear to be no limits to Zionist hypocrisy and mendacity, as was amply demonstrated by the Zionist spokesman here this afternoon. Scurrilous attacks on the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Centre against *Apartheid*, the Arabs, the East European countries and others are nothing but an attempt to divert attention from the culprit, South Africa, and its crime, *apartheid*.

314. As well as exposing the futile attempt to whitewash the racist, Zionist act of collaboration and solidarity with racist South Africa, my delegation will expose the nature of this collaboration and will refute the specious allegations made by the spokesman of the racist, Zionist entity, in the course of our statement on this item.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20-27 May 1981 (A/CONF.107/8)*, para. 238.

² *Ibid.*, chap. X, sect. A.

³ See *Study on Israeli Nuclear Armament* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.2), para. 13.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1977*, document S/12475.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12475/Add.1.

⁶ S/AC.20/17.

⁷ *The Oxford History of South Africa*, edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, vol. I (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), chap. I.

⁸ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, Lagos, 22-26 August 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and corrigendum), chap. X.

⁹ See *Report of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.XIV.4 and corrigendum), chap. II.

¹⁰ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22A*.

¹² See *Report of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.XIV.4 and corrigendum).