



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

In the absence of the President, Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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. LEGWAILA (Botswana): On 13 July 1983 the South African Broadcasting Corporation broadcast an essay on constitutional development, part of which reads: "Evading reality, building constitutions to ideological constructs, is a prescription for disaster".

2. It is common knowledge that early this month, on 2 November to be exact, a referendum designed precisely to entrench the ideology of apartheid and white domination was held in South Africa in which a new, even more rabidly racist so-called constitutional dispensation was approved by the white minority. The new dispensation, a veritable prescription for disaster, invites Coloured and Indian South Africans into the white man's laager to join the white minority in a futile attempt to evade reality, to seek refuge in the precarious company of a beleaguered minority hell-bent on preserving a racist and inhuman ideology at all costs.

3. The results of the referendum welcomed by a prominent member of the United Nations as marking "a potentially significant date in the modern history of South Africa" [56th meeting, para. 124], have been totally rejected by this Assembly—rightly so, because the results of the referendum are far from being a step in the right direction, the direction of meaningful change in South Africa. On the contrary, the new constitutional dispensation can serve only to exacerbate racial polarization in South Africa, as it entrenches for all time the disfranchisement of the majority population of that unhappy country. By what logic can the enfranchisement of 2.8 million Coloured and 800,000 Indian South Africans, and the continued disfranchisement of 23 million black South Africans, be described as a step in the right direction, "a potentially significant date in the modern history of South Africa"? By what logic can a constitution which so recklessly launches the white minority in South Africa on so dangerous a collision course with the black majority be welcomed as offering the best hope of avoiding disaster and catastrophe in South Africa?

4. The facts are clear and irrefutable. The ultimate objective of the white régime in South Africa is, and always has been, the transformation of two thirds of South Africa into a white man's country, where black

South Africans will be welcome only as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man. The 1936 Land Act was designed for this purpose. Already a few million black South Africans who have been herded into barren bantustans have been deprived of their citizenship of South Africa and forced to become citizens of tribal archipelagos scattered all over the periphery of so-called white South Africa. When all the tribes of the bantustans have been forced to accept tribal independence, 87 per cent of South Africa will become a white man's country, albeit a white man's country surrounded by an angry sea of black humanity. This is the ingenious evil philosophy behind the constitution which the white people of South Africa accepted on 2 November.

5. And yet there are among us a few doubting Thomases who still insist, against all the evidence to the contrary, that the blacks will be taken care of in some future dispensation. It is argued that urban blacks, in particular, who may be found to have no connection with distant tribal enclaves and cannot therefore be expelled to those enclaves, will have to be accommodated somehow. What accommodation? The day after the 2 November referendum the Prime Minister of South Africa made it clear that there was no hidden agenda for working out a constitutional accommodation for blacks. Indeed, throughout the campaign for the referendum the Prime Minister of South Africa and his Ministers went out of their way to assure their Afrikaner nation that there would never be power-sharing between whites and blacks, and that blacks were already exercising their right to self-determination in the bantustans.

6. In other words, so far as the white Government in Pretoria is concerned, blacks have already been taken care of. They have been given homelands, or bantustans, to run as independent sovereign States. Four of these homelands are today "independent" and sovereign republics. It is the Coloureds and the Indians who, in the pecking order of the race classification Act and the 1936 Land Act, have no homeland they can call their own. They therefore must be accommodated within white South Africa, so the reasoning goes, as junior partners, or co-conspirators in a crude conspiracy contrived to delay *sine die* the introduction of majority rule in South Africa.

7. To Coloured and Indian South Africans, we have this to say: South Africa belongs to all South Africans—black, white, Coloured, Indian, Chinese and all others who have over the centuries of South African history made their homes in their country. South Africa is the common heritage of all who live in it. The minority whites have no right to deprive the majority non-whites of the citizenship of their country.

8. Coloured and Indian South Africans would be selling their heritage if they ever accepted a dispensation which clearly circumscribed their right to participate fully and freely, on a basis of equality, in the political life of their country. The new dispensation leaves them in an underprivileged position *vis-à-vis* whites, and to accept the dispensation in the hope of working against apartheid "from within" is an exercise in self-delusion. As we pointed out in our statement on this item at the thirty-

seventh session [66th meeting], the new electoral college constituted under the new dispensation will be composed of 50 whites, 25 Coloureds and 13 Indians to ensure that Coloured and Indian South Africans continue to play the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water. In a white-dominated electoral college, conditions which today prevail in South Africa will remain unchanged.

9. But something terribly traumatic would disfigure the political structure of that strange society if the Coloured and Indian South Africans should allow themselves to be lured into the white man's laager by the promise of a few cabinet posts in a partially recycled, seasonally adjusted *apartheid* régime: the solidarity of purpose that has always characterized the relationship between black, Coloured and Indian South Africans would come to an end. Coloured and Indian South Africans would become part and parcel of an even stranger society—a society composed of minority groupings brought together by a morbid fear of change. They would share the burdens of *apartheid*, co-author its crimes and become part of the enemy camp *vis-à-vis* the majority of the people of South Africa. Surely, we cannot accept that our Coloured and Indian brethren, who have contributed so much to the struggle for justice and freedom in South Africa, their motherland, will so recklessly wish to place their names on the roll of infamy by allowing themselves to participate in a constitutional charade which sets them on a collision course with their own destiny as South Africans.

10. We remain adamant in our view that there will be no hope for the future of South Africa until the white rulers of that country stop deluding themselves into thinking that *apartheid* and racism can be reformed and made acceptable to its victims. There can be no hope for South Africa until, as the *Natal Mercury* observed recently, "a compromise is negotiated with the leadership of all races about a conference table"—a conference table at which the genuine leaders of all the races in South Africa will be present together to work out a non-racial and democratic dispensation acceptable to all the people of South Africa.

11. But while we express our revulsion at the new ugly face of *apartheid* and racism represented by the so-called new constitutional dispensation, we should not lose sight of the havoc the enforcement of the old *apartheid* policies has continued to inflict on the lives of millions of South Africans who are not allowed even to complain peacefully about their sorry plight. They continue to be denied the right to participate in the shaping of their own future in their own country, to seek justice in the courts of law, to live, work and worship where they choose, to love and marry whomever they choose, to enjoy family life in peace, freedom and liberty in a country which in every way is their very own. There is no place for them anywhere in South Africa other than in the cesspools of congested, murderous prisons and in detention without trial, in the maddening solitude of house arrest and in exile far away from their loved ones.

12. Indeed, even in the so-called independent homelands, which are said to be the living symbols of the exercise of self-determination by the discarded millions of black South Africans, it is still a crime for the oppressed even to long for their freedom, let alone to agitate for it. The régimes which rule those make-believe independent tribal enclaves, true to their upbringing, provide no havens of brotherhood and tolerance. Their prisons are overflowing with black political prisoners, victims of the same oppressive political intolerance that prevails in mainland South Africa. There is no return ticket to prison in the "self-ruling" homeland of Venda, not even for men and women of the cloth whose only crime is to speak of

freedom and equality as the common heritage of all the children of God.

13. The Ciskei, an impoverished "independent" wasteland, has also been turned, by the ruling family of Sebe, into hell on earth—so hellish is the place indeed that the Sebe oligarchy has even started incarcerating its own members, in addition to endeavouring, with the fanaticism of a zealot, to obliterate from the face of its feral fiefdom every trace of the authentic liberation movements of South Africa.

14. The situation is not much different in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Because these products of *apartheid* take their hollow independence too seriously, they have concluded that the only way to ensure the permanence of their discredited and treacherous tribal régimes and their continued enjoyment of the perquisites of statehood, however hollow, is to enact the same oppressive legislation that South Africa uses against freedom fighters: like father, like son.

15. Regionally, the brutal enforcement of the *apartheid* policies in both South Africa and Namibia has wrought unspeakable havoc with the lives, economies and general well-being of the countries and people of southern Africa. No country, not a single one in the region, can feel safe in the face of an aggressive régime sworn to employ all the force at its disposal to intimidate its neighbours. The region has become home to a growing assortment of dissident movements spawned by Pretoria, whose vocation it is to destabilize South Africa's neighbours, to intimidate them into abandoning their opposition to *apartheid*.

16. The case of Angola, whose southern sector has virtually become a permanent home for uninvited South African troops and their UNITA¹ surrogates, that of Lesotho, against which the murderous thugs of the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army have been unleashing operations from South Africa, and that of Mozambique, which is being subjected to periodic invasions and to the murderous escapades of dissident thugs—to mention but a few—leave us in no doubt as to the lengths to which South Africa is prepared to go in its military crusade against change in that country. None of us in the region—not a single one—will ever know peace, security or stability as long as we remain opposed to the system of *apartheid*.

17. That is South Africa that I have just described, Alan Paton's beloved country, a beautiful land of endless plains, rolling foothills and imposing mountains, a country endowed with so much in terms of both human and natural resources that it need not also become a country where racism has been elevated to the level of a State religion. There is more than enough wealth in South Africa, produced by the sweat and blood of all the people of South Africa, for the enjoyment of all the people of South Africa. There is enough land—provided it is shared equitably—to accommodate and sustain all the people of South Africa. In other words, white South Africans have no reason whatsoever to invest all their hopes and aspirations in the ideology of *apartheid* and to worship greed in order to live and enjoy a good life in South Africa.

18. In sum, we believe it is the duty of this Assembly, and of the United Nations system as a whole, to ensure that the so-called new constitutional dispensation remains rejected until a truly democratic and just society is brought about in South Africa. Having remained steadfast in our rejection of the bantustans and their nonsensical independence, we would commit a travesty of principle to entertain any thought of ever giving the latest constitutional monstrosity a chance to succeed or fail. What chance? We have to continue to ensure that the

maintenance of the *apartheid* system in South Africa will remain a costly enterprise for the white minority in that country.

19. Mr. MOHD. AMIN (Malaysia): The question of *apartheid* is one of the oldest and most debated issues before the United Nations. Ever since it was first discussed more than three decades ago, the United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions calling on the white minority régime in Pretoria to abandon this despicable system. In addition, Member States have been asked to co-operate by taking appropriate steps, ranging from severance of all forms of contact with South Africa to sanctions and embargoes against that State. The purpose was to bring about the isolation of the white minority régime from the international community and to deny it any support or contacts which could strengthen the régime and its practice of *apartheid*.

20. It is rather unfortunate that despite serious efforts by the United Nations and the international community, the problem of *apartheid* still remains far from any prospect of an expeditious peaceful solution. On the contrary, the illegal white minority régime today continues to adhere stubbornly to its *apartheid* practice with greater impunity and in utter defiance of international public opinion. In fact, in South Africa, the policy of *apartheid* is being further intensified and entrenched through the implementation of various policies, such as racial segregation and bantustanization, the introduction of a so-called new constitutional amendment to create a racially segregated tricameral legislature for white, Coloured, and Indian minorities, while excluding the African majority from participation in Parliament, and instituting other repressive measures aimed at denying the blacks of that country their right to freedom.

21. At this juncture, it appears that all efforts by the United Nations and the international community to eliminate this crime against humanity have been seriously undermined by the deliberate refusal on the part of several countries, which are in a position to pressure South Africa, to take the necessary measures called for by the United Nations. On the contrary, it is a matter of profound regret that these countries are continuing to collaborate with South Africa in the economic, military and nuclear fields. Such collaboration serves to embolden the *apartheid* régime and obstructs all efforts to liquidate the *apartheid* system and all its manifestations. This lack of political will on the part of the countries concerned is indeed a cause for serious concern.

22. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22] has outlined the various acts of repression carried out by the South African régime against the opponents of *apartheid*. The South African régime continues to adopt repressive measures such as the indiscriminate arrest of union leaders, the imposition of banning orders and severe prison sentences on freedom fighters. Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees and prisoners are common acts perpetrated by the South African police. World-wide demands for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners have fallen on deaf ears. We are also familiar with the indiscriminate, arbitrary arrests and imprisonments of several persons for alleged participation in the struggle against *apartheid*. The political imprisonment, since 1963, of Samuel Chibane, Dimake Malepe, Jeff Masemula, Isaac Mthimunya, John Nkosi and Philemon Tefu should not be tolerated by civilized society. It is therefore our sacred duty to pressure and demand the racist Pretoria régime immediately to release these men from their illegal imprisonment.

23. My delegation is also concerned over the reports of breaches of the arms embargo that the international community has solemnly agreed to undertake against South Africa. Such breaches, which result in the flow of new supplies of sophisticated military equipment and transfer of arms technology, would only serve to strengthen and embolden the white minority régime in its repressive policies against the opponents of *apartheid*. Moreover, the situation has become more alarming with reports that South Africa is already in possession of nuclear weapons. Its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States could seriously aggravate the situation in Africa, thereby posing a threat to international peace and security.

24. We are also concerned over the continuing flow of capital and investments for the economic development of South Africa in contravention of United Nations decisions. Such an action would help frustrate the efforts of the international community to pressure South Africa into abandoning its oppressive policy of *apartheid* and segregation based on colour.

25. Malaysia has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid*, ever since the issue was brought to the attention of the international community. Such a policy not only goes against the principle of human equality and dignity, but represents a source of tension and conflict which threatens international peace and security. In denying the black people of South Africa their rights, their dignity and their rightful role in the life of their own country, the policy has engendered serious frustrations and resentments in the overwhelming portion of the population, which is black. At the same time, it has encouraged them, and rightly so, to resort to all means available to them, including armed struggle, in order to free themselves from the shackles of *apartheid*. News of the increasing momentum of anti-*apartheid* movements among workers and students and in general among the black people of South Africa comes as no surprise to the international community.

26. In the light of the repressive attitude of the white minority régime, the anti-*apartheid* movement in South Africa deserves our full support and encouragement. My delegation, for its part, wishes to reaffirm its wholehearted support for the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*. We also wish to pay a warm tribute to all the leaders of the liberation movements in South Africa for their dedication and sacrifice to this worthy cause.

27. Malaysia, true to its stand, was among the earliest to have broken off links and contacts with South Africa. There is a total ban on all trade and a complete prohibition on travel between the two countries. Malaysia is also one of the countries that took the lead in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. We shall continue with our policy of complete boycott of South Africa until the demands of the international community are heeded.

28. The key to the success of the struggle against *apartheid* by the people of South Africa lies in the wholehearted support of the international community for their cause. The world has accepted that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity which must be eliminated. What is lacking is the political will of many Members of our Organization. I wish to take this opportunity to urge those who still collaborate with the racist régime in the economic, military and nuclear fields to manifest their responsibility and obligations by severing all relations with South Africa.

29. The recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in part III of its report provide the

guidelines for the international community to take appropriate action. My delegation extends its full support to these recommendations. We hope they will receive universal support enabling the United Nations to exert pressure on South Africa to end its *apartheid* system. The situation in South Africa has assumed such serious dimensions that we can no longer afford the luxury of procrastination; neither can we delude ourselves into thinking that we can wait for the racist régime by itself to institute voluntarily positive changes in its policies. The time has come for positive action, which in our view could best be achieved through comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and an oil embargo against the *apartheid* régime.

30. Before I conclude, let me on this occasion reaffirm our full support for and commitment to the purposes and objectives of the 1981 Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa.² We express our full solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with the political prisoners, whose just cause and determination have won the sympathy, support and admiration of the international community.

31. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): It is to the credit of the Government of India that it brought the question of *apartheid* before the General Assembly over 25 years ago. It is to the great discredit of the Government of South Africa that its continued pursuit of the policies of *apartheid* necessitates the inclusion of this item in our agenda yet again.

32. The policy of *apartheid* is simply institutionalized racism. As such it is abhorrent, and the Australian Government and people reject it unreservedly. It is morally repugnant and contains the seeds of its own destruction. One of the great fears of our day is that that destruction could be bloody and turbulent. Already we have seen some of this both within South Africa and in that country's attempts to destabilize its neighbours.

33. Last month, the Government of South Africa held a referendum on various proposals for constitutional change. Attempts have been made to depict them as important changes. The proposals are to replace a unicameral system with an arrangement whereby there will be three houses: a house of assembly with 168 white members, a house of representatives with 85 so-called Coloured members and a house of deputies with 45 Indian members. In other words there will be 130 Coloured and Indian members and 16% white members in the Parliament. The mathematics of this are obvious: the whites will maintain their dominance; the black population will remain unenfranchised.

34. Under these so-called constitutional reforms, the pivotal function will rest with the executive position of President. The position of Prime Minister will be abolished. The President will have wide-ranging powers. He will have the authority to appoint and dismiss ministers, to convene and dissolve Parliament, to proclaim martial law, to declare war, to assent to or refuse bills and to send bills back to Parliament for reconsideration. Very importantly, the President will have the authority to determine whether matters are within the category called "own affairs"—that is, peculiar to a particular house and therefore dealt with only by that house—or are "general affairs", in which case they will be dealt with by all of the houses. This means, of course, that in the final result the white national party will continue to have the sole legal power over the destiny of South Africa. The views of the non-white members of the South African community will largely continue to be ignored at the national level.

35. The President will be elected by a college of 50 whites, 25 Coloured people and 13 Indians. Again, the determining power remains in the hands of the whites. The black majority is excluded entirely from the constitutional changes; yet it numbers more than 70 per cent of the South African population. The South African Government goes so far as to deny that the black majority has a role in the government of South Africa.

36. The pretext put up to seek to justify this exclusion is that blacks will have their political role, their authority and their destiny decided by themselves in their own homelands. Putting to one side the economic disadvantages of most, if not all, of these homeland areas, one discovers that some other simple statistics show the brazen unfairness of what is being practised here. There are 20 million blacks in South Africa who, under the homelands arrangement, have only 13 per cent of the total area of land. There are 5 million whites in South Africa who have 87 per cent of the total area of land in South Africa. The constitutional proposals do not represent reform at all. In fact they perpetuate and exacerbate the policy of racial discrimination. The Australian Government rejects these changes as a fundamental denial of human rights in South Africa.

37. The recently elected Australian Labour Government undertook a thorough review of its relations with South Africa. The outcome of that review has been a significant strengthening of the Australian policy of opposing sporting contacts with South Africa. From now on, all individual amateur South African sportsmen and sportswomen domiciled in South Africa will be considered as representatives of South Africa unless there is definite proof to the contrary. As representatives, they will not be allowed entry into Australia. This means that several categories of sportsmen and sportswomen who have previously been eligible to compete in Australia will now be banned from entry.

38. Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Hayden, said that the Government, after carefully reviewing the question of sporting contacts, had also decided that no South African sporting teams would be allowed entry into Australia, Australian sportsmen and sportswomen would be discouraged from competing in South Africa, "third country" contacts in which Australians compete against South Africans in other countries would be opposed, the Government would seek to persuade Australian sports bodies to bring pressure to bear to have South Africa expelled from international sports federations and competitions, and the Australian Government would seek to persuade other Governments to discourage South African participation in sporting competitions in their country.

39. Mr. Hayden said that this recent toughening of the policy on amateurs was because amateur sports contestants competing overseas normally did so either directly or indirectly under the auspices, and at the expense of, their country or national sporting bodies. In these circumstances, they were clearly national representatives.

40. Only individual genuinely professional sportsmen and sportswomen who play sports for a living and do not rely on the support of a national body for their participation in overseas competition will be allowed entry into Australia. This represents one of the most, if not the most, stringent set of guidelines applied by any country in the Western world.

41. The recently elected Australian Government has also declared that it had been concerned that in its policies towards South Africa the previous Australian Government had not been sufficiently active in pursuing measures aimed directly at assisting the non-white citizens of

South Africa, those who feel the full depressing weight of *apartheid*. Australian resources are of course limited, but it is within our capacity to do more towards assisting the victims of *apartheid* and community development. Accordingly, the Australian Government intends to initiate a scholarship programme for disadvantaged South Africans.

42. Another outcome of the Australian Government's policy review is that the Government is prepared to see the establishment in Australia of information offices of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The Government believes that information activities by such offices are legitimate and accord with the operation of a free democratic society. Their primary function would be to disseminate information on *apartheid* and conditions within South Africa and through that activity to counter to some extent the barrage of propaganda put out by the South African Government.

43. I should also point out that there is already an office that operates on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] in Australia.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.

44. Before concluding I should add the voice of the Australian Government to the international demand for the release of South African political prisoners. While my Government does not support armed struggle, it does understand why opponents of *apartheid* have taken that course. We hold the *apartheid* system itself responsible for the escalation of tension, confrontation and violence in South Africa.

45. The Australian Government is unreservedly committed to taking all constructive and practical measures which will contribute to the international effort to eradicate the policy of *apartheid*.

46. Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The intensification by the forces of imperialism and reaction of their deliberate disruption of détente, the spiralling arms race and their policy of declaring whole regions of the earth "spheres of their vital interests", their interference in other people's affairs and their suppression of the national liberation struggle have led to a significant growth in tension and increased military danger which is felt in all continents. Africa is no exception. In Africa this trend has manifested itself in the mounting aggressiveness of the main enemies of the African peoples, namely, the South African *apartheid* régime and its overseas "historic ally", which create a real threat to international peace and security.

47. For many years the United Nations has consistently worked hard to put an end to the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African ruling régime. The Security Council has repeatedly condemned the South African racists, and in resolution 473 (1980) it again emphasized that "the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

48. In the Declaration adopted by the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983,³ emphasis is laid on the fact that *apartheid* as an institutionalized form of racism is a deliberate and totally abhorrent affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The Declaration also says that all those who

contribute to the maintenance of the system of *apartheid* are accomplices in the perpetuation of this crime.

49. This year, apart from the Conference to which I have referred, there have been many other international forums whose purpose was to unmask the crimes of the Pretoria racists and their henchmen and to mobilize the public opinion of countries for an active struggle against the policy of *apartheid*. In this respect we should pay a particular tribute to the work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the chairmanship of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule. The Special Committee's report [A/38/22] testifies to its work.

50. That report and many other documents provide convincing evidence that the *apartheid* régime has not renounced its policy of cruel exploitation, arbitrary behaviour and repression against the overwhelming majority of the country's people. The policy of creating bantustans is continuing. Four such bantustans have already been established, as the result of which more than 8 million Africans have been deprived of South African citizenship.

51. In a special report of the ILO,⁴ we read that the purpose of the racist régime is to turn South Africa into a country without black citizens. This inhuman conspiracy of the racist régime against the indigenous African inhabitants, as correctly pointed out in the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee, "surpasses the enormity of similar Nazi crimes" [*ibid.*, para. 233].

52. The racist régime continues to pursue a policy of repression against all opponents of *apartheid*. Thousands of South African patriots languish in torture chambers. Many of them have been horribly tortured. Executions of the régime's opponents continue.

53. No one can be confused by the cosmetic operations recently undertaken by the racists of Pretoria. What is happening in South Africa has nothing to do with the renunciation of *apartheid*. The so-called reform process—on behalf of which extensive propaganda has been conducted in the West—does not provide for even a formal participation of the African majority in running the affairs of the country. In fact, this is not a repudiation of *apartheid* but an adaptation of it to changed conditions. Thus, it is no coincidence that the process of "reforming" *apartheid* has been leading to heightened repression against the opponents of the régime, on the one hand, and is accompanied by militarization of all aspects of public life and a growth in South Africa's military potential, on the other.

54. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supported General Assembly resolution 38/11, adopted on 15 November, rejecting the "so-called 'constitutional proposals' and all insidious manoeuvres by the racist minority régime of South Africa further to entrench white minority rule and *apartheid*".

55. Notwithstanding the manoeuvres of the racists and their cruel repression, opposition to the *apartheid* régime is intensifying, embracing ever wider segments of the population. In the Special Committee's report, we read of considerable successes "of national mobilization for unity and freedom in South Africa, encompassing trade unions, students and youth, religious bodies, community organizations and all other segments of the population" [*ibid.*, para. 279]. The report has high praise for the ANC, the vanguard of the national liberation movement of South Africa, for its consistent intensification of the armed struggle.

56. The crimes of the racist régime of Pretoria against the people of South Africa are aggravated by its aggressive

actions against sovereign neighbouring African States and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, whose people is still subjected to harsh terror and inhuman exploitation.

57. The Security Council has repeatedly condemned the aggressive acts of the South African racists against the neighbouring countries as a direct threat to international peace and security and has warned that, if they are repeated, the measures provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations may be applied against South Africa. However, notwithstanding all the decisions of the United Nations and the emphatic demands of the international community, the *apartheid* régime continues its acts of armed aggression, as can be seen from the acts of brigandage of the racist warmongers against Angola, Mozambique and other African States.

58. The reasons for the brazen conduct of the Pretoria authorities are well known. The South African racists rely on comprehensive political, military and economic support from the United States and certain other Western countries. The Special Committee's report notes that:

“As a result of the position taken by its Western permanent members, the Security Council has proved powerless to implement its own resolutions calling for an end to *apartheid* and repression, the release of South African political prisoners, the independence of Namibia and the cessation of acts of aggression by the racist régime” [*ibid.*, para. 249].

59. The so-called policy of “constructive engagement” with South Africa, proclaimed by the current American Administration, encourages the racist régime to engage in new acts of aggression and to continue its policy of *apartheid* and constantly to disregard international public opinion.

60. South Africa has virtually been turned into an outpost in the struggle against the national liberation movement on the African continent. The expanding links between Pretoria and the leading Western countries have reached such a stage that now it is possible to talk bluntly of a special permanent and increasingly strong alliance between the ruling circles of South Africa and the main imperialist States and transnational corporations.

61. If we take the military sphere, we see that the Security Council's 1977 arms embargo against South Africa is not being observed. Moreover, we read in the Special Committee's report that:

“The racist régime has, with the assistance and collaboration of certain Western States and Israel, expanded its military establishment. It has been able to obtain an enormous amount of military equipment and technology, to build up its domestic arms industry and to acquire nuclear capability because of the collusion of certain Western Governments and Israel, as well as a number of transnational corporations.” [*Ibid.*, para. 247.]

62. The South African authorities are trying to have placed at their disposal not only the most complex conventional armaments but also weapons of mass destruction. The Institute for Aviation Medicine, in Pretoria, is conducting “top-secret studies” on the manufacturing of a binary chemical weapon. The South African Army already has in its arsenal munitions with indiscriminate effects considered to be inhumane by the majority of States Members of the United Nations. These include napalm, used regularly by the South African Air Force in Angola; Agent Orange, a lethal herbicide which, as is well known, was used extensively by the United States in its war in Viet Nam; incendiary bombs and white phosphorus shells; plastic shrapnel, which cannot be detected in human tissue by normal X-rays. According to

certain data, in a sparsely populated area of northern Transvaal there is a secret experimental base where tests are being carried out on a so-called ethnic weapon: viruses or various chemical elements capable of injuring or causing disease only among persons of black skin. This information is referred to in the December-January 1983 Bulletin of the Committee on South African War Resistance, London.

63. In violation of General Assembly resolutions, Western countries have not only not ended their co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere but are actually expanding it. This is confirmed by the permission granted by the United States State Department in September of this year to seven United States corporations to provide technical and operational services for South African nuclear facilities. As reported by American sources, they include supply of equipment and spare parts, technical assistance by American experts and training of South African personnel.

64. Many facts relating to the close economic and financial co-operation between the West and South Africa and the activities of thousands of Western corporations and their subsidiaries in South Africa have already been cited at this session of the General Assembly. I should like to refer to just one of them. According to the *Washington Post* of 17 October 1983, United States investments in South Africa in 1950 amounted to \$140 million. At present, according to the American press, those capital investments have amounted to \$14.6 billion—in other words, by comparison with 1950 they have increased more than 100 times. Such is the steadily growing United States contribution to the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa.

65. Continuing to defend the Pretoria régime and opposing sanctions against it, Western countries, as emphasized in the Special Committee's report, thereby “undermine the fabric of international law and morality, as well as the authority of the United Nations”.

66. The efforts of the Western Powers to strengthen and give comprehensive support to the racist régime of South Africa are without any doubt part of broader plans by imperialism to recover the positions it has lost in Africa, to deprive the African peoples of the gains they have made in their national liberation struggle and to bind them down with more and more new fetters of neo-colonialist dependence.

67. The time is long overdue for the adoption by the international community of effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa. The Byelorussian SSR therefore fully supports the proposals of the African countries for the application by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Our delegation also supports other measures proposed in the report of the Special Committee aimed at the eradication of *apartheid*, the immediate granting of independence to Namibia and the cessation of South Africa's acts of aggression against its neighbouring States.

68. We consider that this session of the General Assembly must decisively condemn the actions of those States which have been co-operating with the racist régime in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other fields and to grant it political and diplomatic protection. It is essential to secure full compliance by all States with the Security Council's embargo on arms deliveries to the racist régime of South Africa, the cessation of all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere, and the adoption by the Council of measures to prevent South Africa from acquiring nuclear weapons.

69. The Byelorussian delegation is prepared to support any measures designed to eliminate the vestiges of racialism, colonialism and *apartheid* from this earth.

70. Mr. ZÁDOR (Hungary): In the light of the recent events in South Africa, the discussion of the agenda item on policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, now before the General Assembly, has a special significance. On 15 November, this Assembly adopted resolution 38/11, rejecting the so-called constitutional proposals of the racist régime of South Africa as yet another attempt to perpetuate the inhuman system of *apartheid*. My delegation joined the overwhelming majority of Member States in voting for that resolution. We believe that the international community should send a strong signal to Pretoria that its manoeuvres will be doomed to failure. The racist minority régime cannot violate international law and the Charter of the United Nations without serious repercussions.

71. According to some sympathizers with the Pretoria régime, the constitutional proposals are a step in the right direction and can be considered as an integral part of an evolutionary process leading to a multiracial society. This argument is totally false because the consequences point in the opposite direction. The manoeuvre by the racist régime is aimed at the total exclusion of 23 million blacks, who make up 72 per cent of the total population, from citizenship in South Africa, and at their deprivation of all political rights. The so-called Coloured people and those of Asian origin would be liable to compulsory military service and could be used against their black brothers-in-arms. By using this tactic, the racist régime intends to weaken the liberation struggle by provoking conflict among the oppressed people. These manoeuvres must be rejected and condemned in the most resolute manner.

72. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* states:

“The situation in South Africa continued to deteriorate in the year under review. The *apartheid* régime further intensified its repression of opponents of *apartheid*. For their part, opponents of that evil system increased their resistance in every possible way, including an escalation of the armed struggle against the régime.” [A/38/22, annex I, para.1.]

73. One of the most brutal manifestations of the oppressive policy of the racist régime was the execution of three freedom fighters, members of the ANC, in spite of many calls for clemency. Torture and ill-treatment have caused the deaths of several political prisoners. A large number of opponents of *apartheid* from different walks of life have been arrested, detained, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

74. On 11 October 1982, an international campaign was launched for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. That campaign has received significant support during the past year. On the initiative of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, a number of organizations and city leaders in my country have also joined the world-wide campaign. We believe that the actions in support of the struggling people of South Africa should continue even more intensively in the future. The international community has a decisive role to play by expressing solidarity with and lending manifold support to the ANC, the leading force of the struggling people of South Africa.

75. During the past year, the racist régime of South Africa has intensified its armed aggression against the front-line States. Last December, Lesotho, a small, defenceless country, fell victim to a brutal raid by the

racist armed forces in which a number of persons, including women and children, were killed; in May 1983, Maputo was bombed by the South African air force, resulting in the killing and wounding of innocent civilians, considerable damage to a factory and the destruction of houses. Representatives of the Government of South Africa tried to justify its aggression as an alleged search for “ANC terrorists” in the neighbouring countries.

76. Angola has been the target of South African armed aggression since it gained independence. In fact, the military forces of South Africa are occupying the southern parts of the territory of Angola, thus posing a constant threat to that independent non-aligned State. The racist régime’s policy of military intervention is part of a wider strategy aimed at the destabilization of the front-line States. This policy of South Africa constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of the region and, in a global sense, it must therefore be treated with the utmost seriousness.

77. My delegation resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of the racist régime against its neighbours. At the same time, we express our appreciation to the front-line States for their constant support for the struggling people of South Africa and for their sacrifices in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa.

78. The racist régime of South Africa would not be able to continue its brutal policy of oppression against the people of South Africa and to carry out acts of armed aggression against the front-line States without the support of its friends. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* since its establishment, my country attaches great importance to efforts to end all collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in diplomatic, political, economic, military and other fields. There is need for concerted action by all States to put pressure on Pretoria in order to terminate the inhuman system of *apartheid*. We reject the contention that *apartheid* can be reformed or improved by evolutionary changes. We believe that the inhuman system of *apartheid* must be eliminated once and for all because the policies and practices of *apartheid* are crimes against humanity.

79. The latest events in South Africa must be taken very seriously because the possibility of a more dangerous conflict situation has increased considerably. This is further accentuated by the intensified co-operation between South Africa and certain Western States in the military and nuclear fields, as is clearly revealed by the documents published by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Hungary, as a member of the Committee, will continue to support all actions by the international community against *apartheid*, which is the most brutal mass violation of human rights and constitutes a threat to world peace and international security. My country gave expression to its firm commitment in this regard at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held from 1 to 12 August 1983 in Geneva. The people and Government of the Hungarian People’s Republic, in supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, are hopeful that a just, non-racial society will soon emerge in that part of the African continent.

80. Before concluding, permit me to express my delegation’s thanks and gratitude to Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for the dedicated leadership with which he guided the work of the Special Committee during his tenure of office. We wish him well in his new, responsible post.

81. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): Many of the great problems faced by the General Assembly recur regularly

on its agenda and seem to defy all efforts to achieve any amelioration or solution. Perhaps the most intractable of all is the policy of institutionalized *apartheid* which is practised by the Government of South Africa. Its implacable face continues to confront us, continues to offend all human decencies, after more than 30 years of unequivocal condemnation by this Organization. It is a face of obduracy and defiance, and we scan it in vain for any sign of understanding or compassion. The policy of *apartheid* remains intact, and millions of human beings continue to live out their life span under its dark shadow.

82. Through all of those years, at session after session of the General Assembly and elsewhere, Irish representatives have reiterated the Irish Government's intense and long-standing feelings of abhorrence for the racial policies of the Government of South Africa and the practices by which those policies are implemented. We will continue to do so for as long as the situation in South Africa remains unchanged, because we believe that the system of *apartheid* constitutes an open, direct and systematic challenge to a concept of man which is basic to our civilization.

83. It is, of course, always deplorable that men should be discriminated against because of their opinions or beliefs. Such discrimination denies to men those liberties which we hold to be their right, liberties which countless numbers throughout the ages have died to uphold. However, where discrimination occurs on grounds of race or colour the offence goes much deeper, in that it offers a calculated affront to the very basis on which man's claim to other rights rests, that is, his claim to share with all of humanity a special and unique status derived from the "dignity and worth of the human person"—a claim so basic that it is affirmed as part of the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. Such discrimination, wherever it occurs, is abhorrent to us. But where it is erected into a philosophy of Government, as it is in South Africa, it offers a grave and sustained threat to those values on which human civilization is built.

84. Speaking some years ago on this issue in another forum, the Prime Minister of my country described *apartheid* in the following terms. "*Apartheid*", he said, "... is something more radically evil than political repression—since it is founded on something immutable. A man can change his politics—he cannot change the colour of his skin. *Apartheid* therefore offers the black man no hope."

85. It means nothing that the Government of South Africa should affirm that the black or Coloured populations there have a higher standard of living or better amenities than peoples in neighbouring countries. This claim, even if true, is irrelevant, for it derives from factors outside the *apartheid* system. Nor does it matter that the South African Government claims that the policy of separate development has been or will be fairly applied, for that is merely a statement about the operation of an indefensible system. We condemn the injustices and inequities of the system as it operates, but above all we condemn unreservedly the premise on which it is based: the insistence on the intrinsic inferiority of certain races and the refusal to concede that all share a common dignity and status as men and common and immutable rights as individual persons.

86. In spite of international condemnation and in spite of the growing alienation of the majority of its own people, the South African Government has sought to entrench racism, and every aspect of the South African State and South African society, political, social and economic, is fundamentally affected. By assigning black tribal groups to designated homelands under the system

of bantustans, the white minority hopes that, without diminution of its own political or economic power, it can thus seem to be solving the problem of political rights for the majority of the people of South Africa. Under this policy, four fifths of the land would be assigned to one fifth of the population, that is, to the ruling minority. The fundamental injustice of this system of separate development is immediately evident and it also results directly in another injustice: the denial to black Africans of rights in their own country, for, once assigned to their own so-called homelands, they would then be regarded as aliens. The fraudulent nature of these proposals has long been perceived by the international community, which sees the bantustans for the shams that they are and refuses to recognize them as independent. Ireland joins in refusing to accord them any legitimacy or recognition.

87. In the economic field, the great discrepancy between the treatment of black and white workers is but an everyday example of discrimination and a clear indication of the indifference of the South African Government to the economic and social well-being of the majority. Black South Africans have contributed greatly by their labour and skills to the development of their country. They have done so in spite of the lack of opportunities for promotion to skilled and managerial positions and the denial to them of wages commensurate with those paid to white employees for similar work. It is abhorrent that they whose labours are the key to the prosperity of South Africa should be the victim of wholesale discrimination as a result of a range of policies instituted by the Government which has reaped such benefits from their toil. In this context, I should like to reiterate my Government's support for the Code of Conduct for subsidiaries of companies doing business in South Africa adopted by the members of the European Community in 1977, as an effort to improve the living and working conditions of black workers and to support the right of all workers to organize freely against exploitation. We would urge the subsidiaries of all companies doing business in South Africa to conform to this Code of Conduct.

88. On 2 November last, a constitutional referendum was held in South Africa. It allowed the white population to decide that non-whites, other than blacks, should be allowed some participation in the institutions of Government. I should like to state here categorically that in the view of the Irish Government the changes effected by the referendum are clearly designed to entrench still further the system of *apartheid* by encouraging the compliance of the so-called Coloured people and people of Asian origin with the exclusion of black people from the political system. It would be delusory to see this so-called reform as a chink of light in the all-surrounding darkness. Ireland deplores it, and we fear for the effects which it may have in further alienating the majority in South Africa.

89. In our view, the victims and opponents of *apartheid* within South Africa have shown great patience in the face of extraordinary provocation. They have been consistently prevented from working for constructive changes in the system by peaceful means. Efforts to reason and to persuade have been met by brutal repression. If now they should turn towards violent means, they would do so from a sense of growing hopelessness. My Government could not condone such violence, but we cannot deny understanding the sense of bitter frustration from which it might spring. We have a deep sympathy for those in South Africa who are victims of repression because of their colour or their stated political beliefs. The political prisoners in South African gaols bear living witness to the ideals of democracy and justice, which are

incompatible with the policies of the South African Government.

90. Ireland has no diplomatic relations with South Africa, and successive Irish Governments have taken measures to ensure that no official encouragement is given to economic relations with that country. Irish Governments have also emphasized their support for the principle of non-discrimination in sporting and cultural areas and have contributed regularly and on an increasing scale to the various funds set up under the auspices of the United Nations to help those who are disadvantaged under the system of *apartheid*.

91. It is our belief, however, that protestations by individual States and unilateral actions by them are not likely to be very effective in persuading those who hold power in South Africa to face reality. I wish, therefore, to confirm once again that my Government is among those which would favour action undertaken in an organized way, in proper form, and by the international community as a whole, to bring steady pressure to bear on white South Africa to change its disastrous policies. At the same time, we believe that we must impose on ourselves a discipline and a self-restraint to match the depth of our concern for the welfare of the black majority of South Africa. We must deny ourselves the easy luxury of advocating courses of action which would relieve our own righteous indignation, without offering any real prospect of success. My Government would therefore favour the imposition by the Security Council of a series of graduated sanctions against South Africa, sanctions carefully chosen and to be fully implemented by all. Specifically, we feel that the existing arms embargo should be strengthened and more carefully monitored, that a mandatory oil embargo should be formally imposed and that loans to, and new investments in, South Africa should be banned.

92. We must, presumably, recognize that it is idle to expect spectacular or rapid change in South Africa. We must hope, however, that, at the very least, the Government of South Africa, in its considered appraisal of its own interests, will not continue to remain obdurately indifferent to the weight of world opinion. It is never too late for reason and moderation to prevail, and the broad world community would not be slow to support any genuine and consistent movement along the high path towards reconciliation between black and white. Such reconciliation is still possible and can operate, as in other nations, to form a true national identity, so that South Africa can emerge from its present isolation and play its true and rightful role in international affairs. The construction of a multiracial society is not an easy task, but the longer it is postponed, the more difficult it becomes and the greater the likelihood of violence. In the shadow of dominant racial theories, the only sentiments that can thrive are fear and hate.

93. We ask the white people of South Africa, and their Government in particular, in their own interest and in the interest of our common humanity, to reflect, before it is too late, that they may be wrong and to realize what may be the fearful consequences of their error.

Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Vice-President, resumed the Chair.

94. Mr. VANLIEROP (Vanuatu): Henry David Thoreau was a great American writer, philosopher, naturalist and humanist. During the campaign to end the institution of slavery in his country, he was imprisoned for refusing to pay taxes to a Government which at that time supported and upheld slavery as legal. His friend, countryman and fellow writer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, being a man of

compassion, came to visit Mr. Thoreau in jail. When he saw his friend behind bars, Mr. Emerson asked, "Henry David, what are you doing in there?" Mr. Thoreau looked out at his friend and asked in reply, "Ralph Waldo, what are you doing out there?" Today, the same questions are appropriate as we once again debate the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

95. For almost as long as there has been a United Nations, this abhorrent doctrine has been a topic of discussion on this body's agenda. Long before the formation of this Organization, and long before the creation of the war-time alliance which led to its formation, *apartheid* was a topic of much discussion and considerable opposition within South Africa itself.

96. There is not a single nation in the world, with the obvious exception of the Republic of South Africa, which has not condemned in word, if not in deed, the odious doctrine of *apartheid*. Every nation in the world, with the obvious exception of the Republic of South Africa, has verbalized a commitment to eradicate the practice of *apartheid* from the human experience. Today, no rational, civilized human being would publicly defend *apartheid* and its perverse legacy of hatred, pestilence and destruction. Yet, somehow, this illness persists.

97. Despite a seemingly endless progression of resolutions, appeals, condemnations, petitions and protests, the *apartheid* régime is still there. Perhaps its foundation is not quite as strong as it once was, but, paradoxically, its military strength and economic power are, in a sense, greater than ever. Fortunately, the opponents of *apartheid* are also stronger than ever.

98. Admittedly, those who oppose *apartheid* do not confront South Africa by itself. Those who oppose any evil seldom confront only the direct practitioners of that evil. There are usually others who indirectly benefit from the evil being practised, and there are still others who simply acquiesce, with studied indifference, in the sufferings and strivings of their fellow human beings.

99. Today, as always, there are voices being raised telling us to be patient. Things will change, they say. Yet, those same voices are not themselves patient when considering the actions of those they perceive to be their foes. Furthermore, those same voices never seem to recall just how patient the people of South Africa have already been. How many more generations must be born as slaves in their own country before those voices acknowledge that every slave has not only a right but a duty to rebel?

100. Speaking of an earlier slave society, Henry David Thoreau wrote: "As for adopting the ways which the State has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways." He could easily have been referring to South Africa today. He said: "There are thousands who are in opinion opposed to slavery . . . who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to (it) . . ." Again, it is as if he is with us today, pointing an accusatory finger at those who choose to rationalize their own inactivity in the face of the need for participants rather than spectators if we are ever going to eradicate *apartheid*.

101. Few other items on our agenda have been so scrutinized, discussed and voted upon as this one. All of us are by now painfully familiar with the statistics, the arguments and ultimately the positions which most of us will take on the wording of the various resolutions. Somehow, that all seems somewhat abstract and removed from the reality of an African child in South Africa who is compelled to live in a dusty, barren and remote corner of his or her country; who wears torn and tattered clothes and no shoes; whose parents, because of Draconian laws,

are not permitted to live together, let alone wherever they might choose or be able to afford.

102. Some will say that this is the plight of most children born to poor parents in the developing world. In a sense, this may perhaps be true; living conditions are, in fact, harsh in most developing countries, but not by choice. However, in South Africa, the legal system mandates a permanent state of harshness and inequality. Furthermore, as we all know, South Africa is not a developing country. It is an enormously wealthy society in which a minority of its citizens have decided to bar the producers of most of the wealth from enjoying any of its fruits.

103. South Africa's worst crime, and we believe the one which sets it apart from every other contemporary State which calls itself civilized, is the fact that black children in that land are not even permitted to dream the dream of children everywhere else—the dream of a better life, the dream of the future.

104. No matter what we may think of other societies, their values and their social systems, the fact remains that South Africa is the only country which, by word and deed, denies to children the right to hope for a better life simply because of the colour of their skin. How patient would the voices which counsel patience when dealing with South Africa be if we were talking about their children? How concerned would they be with the words or tone of a resolution if they were the slaves and others were the masters?

105. It is relatively easy for us to sit here in these chambers and to say that this word or that phrase in a resolution goes too far. However, we have asked in the past, and we ask again, how can the words of a resolution be equated with the acts of terror committed every day and permanently institutionalized by the South African régime? Is it the drafters of the resolutions who have gone too far, or is it the *apartheid* régime and its supporters who have gone too far?

106. Thoreau told us, and rightly so, that: "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison". Today, in South Africa, Nelson Mandela and thousands of his compatriots are in the prisons of South Africa. In fact, for millions of human beings, black, brown, yellow and white, who cherish freedom and democracy, the Republic of South Africa is nothing but a gigantic prison.

107. We, the members of the international community, have before us the same choice we have always had in dealing with South Africa. Do we work to help South Africa's people tear down the walls of that prison, or do we work to market and enjoy the fruits of the slave labour held in captivity by the Pretoria régime?

108. Let no one introduce any extraneous issues. Let no one attempt to obfuscate the matter before us now. Either we stand for truth, justice and equality in South Africa right now, or we must expunge those words from our vocabularies.

109. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): When the Prime Minister of New Zealand spoke in the general debate on 4 October he noted that: "The essential character of the *apartheid* system remains intact, in spite of the strongest condemnation by the international community". [18th meeting, para. 269.] Far from moving to dismantle the system, the South African Government is in the process of modifying the country's constitution in such a way as to further entrench racial discrimination. Once again, South Africa is deliberately flouting the expressed views of the whole international community.

110. New Zealand is totally opposed to *apartheid*. There are many countries around the world with oppressive and authoritarian governments which show little respect for the rights of their citizens and tread on their personal freedoms. But only South Africa has also legalized racial discrimination and made it the basis of a whole social order. In South Africa, a person is judged, and his place in society is determined, not by his character or by his personal worth, but simply by his race. This legalized racial discrimination is not just contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; it flouts the standards common to all the great human traditions.

111. *Apartheid* is contrary to the principles and traditions by which New Zealanders actually live. Ours is a multiracial society: many New Zealanders have come in recent times from Polynesia, from Asia and from Europe to join those of Polynesian and European origin who were born in the country. We New Zealanders are committed to building a partnership—a society in which all groups live together in a spirit of mutual respect. Racial equality is fundamental to this task. New Zealand's laws do more than just prohibit racial discrimination: they actively seek to promote racial harmony.

112. The South Africans say that things are changing in their country, that some of the restrictions on social contact between people of different races are now being relaxed. Any such relaxation is, of course, to be welcomed and encouraged. But there is no sign so far that the South African Government is ready to abandon the system of *apartheid* or to give Africans a share in government and a say in their own future. Its policy is still one of what it calls separate development. And that still means forcing black South Africans into overcrowded and largely impoverished homelands, making them foreigners in the land of their birth and compelling them to work in white areas as migrant labourers with few legal safeguards to protect them against the depredations and the degradations of the *apartheid* system.

113. Indeed, legislation now proposed would put additional constraints on their freedom of movement, on their choice of employment and on their right to decide where to live; and in the enforcement of these rules Africans would be subjected to further and indefensible humiliation. *Apartheid* thus still means that most of the people in South Africa will continue to be denied their basic rights and freedoms simply because of the colour of their skin.

114. The South African Government's constitutional proposals will change none of this. They will not result in the political representation of Africans or in the sharing of power. There is no sign that the rulers of South Africa are yet prepared to concede any of the basic principles of *apartheid* or to take the decisions that might make peaceful evolution possible. They remain committed to the retention of power and privilege in their own hands, even at the cost of massive suppression of the rights of the black majority. The *apartheid* system can be maintained only by force, and the strength of the military machine built up by the South African Government bears witness to that fact.

115. New Zealanders, like people in other countries, have been dismayed by the recent rise in the level of violence in and around South Africa. They are shocked by bomb explosions that kill innocent civilians in the cities of South Africa. They are no less shocked by raids into neighbouring countries in which even larger numbers are killed. Complaints to the United Nations have shown that in recent years South African security forces have time and again made such attacks across their borders. Although they are said to have been directed at the bases of national

liberation movements, the effect and the objective of these raids have been to destabilize adjoining States. These military operations have in some cases been supplemented by punitive economic measures and by the promotion of internal resistance to neighbouring Governments. All of these actions violate international law as well as the canons of civilized behaviour. They are also futile for, however South Africa may justify its actions, in the end the real problem is the South African system itself. There is no military answer to that problem. Violence will not solve it, only exacerbate it. The problem can only be resolved by policies that follow a very different course from that to which South Africa still seems to be committed.

116. New Zealand has demonstrated its opposition to *apartheid* in various practical ways. It has rejected the idea of establishing diplomatic representation in South Africa. It rejected from the outset the idea of recognizing any of the so-called bantustans. Our Government has scrupulously enforced the arms embargo against South Africa, which New Zealand observed long before it became mandatory. There is now no New Zealand investment in South Africa. Our trade with that country is negligible. We have made clear our willingness to carry out any economic sanctions that may be imposed on South Africa by the Security Council. Sporting contacts are actively discouraged by the Government in accordance with the terms of the Gleanegles statement on *apartheid* in sport. New Zealand has long supported international efforts to secure the release of political prisoners in South Africa, and we have contributed to funds providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*.

117. To sum up, New Zealand regards *apartheid* as an unjust and inhuman system, and we want to see it ended. Our position has been, and continues to be, demonstrated in various practical ways. We are willing to co-operate with others in working out how to end the system in a way that will permit the growth of a multiracial society based on equality, non-discrimination and mutual respect.

118. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The repugnant policy of *apartheid*, which is rejected by all religions and is contrary to all ethical principles and laws because it is based on a doctrine of racial superiority, inherent hatred and the dehumanization of man from a narrow, racist perspective and seriously violates basic human rights, has been made the corner-stone of all the economic and political legislation of the Pretoria régime. It continues to be the philosophical basis of the social conduct of the white minority in South Africa; that minority eagerly pursues this policy because it is the basis of the advantageous political and social position that ensures for these settlers all the privileges they enjoy through the suppression, exploitation, oppression, coercion, starvation and alienation inside the country of the black African majority which the indigenous population of South Africa constitutes.

119. The bases of *apartheid* were laid down before the establishment of South Africa in 1910 and have become more complex with every passing day. The implementation of this policy began with the enactment in 1911, by the British occupation authorities, of the Colour Bar Act. That law prohibited blacks, Asians and persons of mixed origin, called Coloureds, from doing certain jobs. In 1913, the agrarian law relating to the indigenous population gave the most fertile lands to the whites. And from the time the African National Party came to power in 1914 to the present day, the policy of *apartheid* has been given practical form in countless unjust and arbitrary laws. Everything that makes life worth living, every field

of endeavour, has been closed off to the indigenous population, which in the end is doomed to live in bantustans—bantustans that at best are not much better than gaols or animal pens. That is the real position of the blacks as compared to that of the privileged white minority.

120. That white minority has arrogantly defied international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. This arrogant defiance has gone so far as a declaration that the 23 million Africans who are the rightful owners of the country belong not to South Africa but to the bantustans, which are situated in arid lands constituting 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa.

121. This racial defiance reached its zenith when the Pretoria régime decided to ignore the international community's condemnations of the policy of *apartheid*, a policy that is in complete contradiction with article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

122. The long-term objective of the implementation of this policy of *apartheid*—implementation that is being gradually achieved despite condemnation by world public opinion and the United Nations and non-recognition of these puppet States as independent States—is to uproot the indigenous population from South Africa.

123. Proof of this is contained in an article by Mr. C. P. Mudler, South Africa's Minister for Bantustan Administration, in the July-August 1983 issue of *Africa Report*. In that article, he states that all the blacks of South Africa will finally be absorbed into a new independent State. There can be no doubt that this means that the objective of this repugnant policy is to turn South Africa into a white State, after removing all the indigenous people from it and placing them in homelands which lack the very minimum essentials for the economic life of any State. The indigenous population will therefore have no way of escaping from dependence on Pretoria; in other words, they will be absolutely dependent on a State that deals with them from the vantage point of superiority, contempt and diktat. Those are only some of the elements of this policy of racial discrimination.

124. With increased black opposition, under the leadership of the ANC and PAC, more brutal measures have been taken in order to stamp out this opposition. The Government has imposed a ban on the opponents of *apartheid* and given them a choice: either to be silent or to be put in prison or even assassinated—and assassination is not an unusual occurrence.

125. In the many resolutions that it has adopted annually since 1960, following the Sharpeville massacre, the General Assembly has condemned the policy of *apartheid* and has resolutely supported those who oppose this inhuman, illegal policy. In 1970 the General Assembly recognized that the struggle against *apartheid* should be carried out by all possible means. Since 1962, it has been calling for diplomatic and economic ostracism of South Africa. It has adopted resolutions calling on Member States to cease their economic relations with South Africa and to refrain from extending credit to or investing in that country. But these resolutions have gone unheeded by the Western States that co-operate with the Pretoria régime. Those States have gone so far as to prevent the Security Council from adopting comprehensive sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

126. In the past few years, there has been no other proof of this negative position as a result of the adoption by the United States of a new policy, called "constructive engagement". That policy consists in rejecting political confrontation with the Pretoria régime; instead, it encourages that régime by co-operating with it and providing various kinds of economic assistance to it.

127. What has been the result of this "constructive engagement"? South Africa has tightened its grip on the excluded black majority, numbering 23 million, by means of a referendum on a new Constitution. That Constitution gives the 2.7 million Coloured persons and persons of mixed race and the 8 million persons of Indian origin the right to vote in separate representative assemblies controlled by the white Parliament while the black majority has been totally disregarded. The racist design is to uproot that black majority altogether from the white and Coloured communities and to isolate it in homelands.

128. Since the Pretoria régime's aims are in contravention of the Charter and international law, my delegation supports the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22, sect. III], which are designed to eradicate *apartheid*. We support in particular the recommendation in which the international community is urged to fulfil its obligation to implement the measures it has already adopted in order to secure the eradication of the system of *apartheid* and to enable the people of South Africa to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination. We also support the request to the Security Council to meet in order to consider the measures necessary to implement its resolution 418 (1977) relating to an arms embargo against South Africa and to consider the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

129. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): There is hardly any other issue debated in the United Nations on which the international community has achieved a greater degree of unanimity than the condemnation and rejection of the inhuman system of *apartheid*. There is virtual unanimity on the definition of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and a serious threat to world peace and security. Yet it continues to exist, and as long as it exists we must fight it, oppose it, stigmatize it and mobilize general international support for its victims.

130. The fact that *apartheid* continues to exist in spite of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the world shows that the international community is facing a grave problem which does not lend itself to easy or quick solutions. Entrenched as an official ideology and the politics and practice of the ruling class in South Africa, it has grown into a monstrous mechanism of terror and oppression. In fact, experience has shown that *apartheid* is not an isolated phenomenon but a link in the chain of an elaborate system of subjugation aimed at maintaining relationships based on dependence, exploitation and domination in southern Africa, as in some other parts of the world. It draws its strength and resilience not only from the ability to maintain a reign of terror over the majority of the population but also from an intricate web of support from those countries that maintain economic relations with the racist South African régime.

131. Terror, however, remains the main method of securing the continuation of *apartheid*. Arrests, torture, persecution and all other forms of degradation of the human person continue on an ever-greater scale. This only leads to the strengthening of the people's resistance to terror. The liberation struggle grows stronger with each passing day. The actions of South African patriots have

demonstrated a growing capacity and efficiency, and those actions are becoming more and more successful. As in so many instances in the past, the people of South Africa resorted to armed struggle when it proved impossible to win freedom by peaceful means.

132. Instead of drawing the correct lesson and recognizing the absolute necessity of changing the system of *apartheid* into a system that would safeguard the interests of all and not only parts of the population, the racist régime is attempting to crush the resistance of the people and to preserve the interests of the ruling minority. It is stepping up its acts of repression, assassination of freedom fighters and aggression against neighbouring countries. Ignoring all international calls for clemency, in June of this year the *apartheid* régime executed three freedom fighters of the ANC. The appeal for clemency made by this Assembly last year, as well as appeals by Heads of State and other personalities, were in vain.

133. Acts of aggression and terror against neighbouring front-line States, as well as against Lesotho, have become an everyday practice. The Pretoria régime has resorted to recruiting, arming, funding, training and deploying armed groups in its campaign to destabilize and intimidate the front-line States and thus undermine their solidarity with the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The occupied territory of Namibia is used as a launching pad for constant acts of aggression against the front-line States and particularly against Angola, part of whose territory is occupied by South Africa and the bands it is supporting.

134. The least we can say in describing such a policy is that it holds in utter contempt all the norms and principles of international behaviour enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The *apartheid* régime and its policy is the sole obstacle to peace, security and stabilization in southern Africa.

135. Of particular concern is the fact that South Africa has mastered nuclear-weapon technology. The danger of an irresponsible and aggressive régime, such as the South African racist régime, possessing the weapon of mass destruction offers frightening prospects for future developments in southern Africa, and those countries which assist South Africa in the nuclear field may regret it only too late.

136. By continuing with the policy of bantustanization, South African racists are trying to disrupt national unity, prevent the forming of national consciousness and secure a source of cheap labour. They have not, however, been able to hoodwink the world into according those abominable creations the status of independent States, which is what the racists would wish.

137. The latest of the ploys of the *apartheid* régime to prolong its existence has been the so-called constitutional proposals. These insidious manoeuvres, presented as a step in the right direction towards the gradual elimination of *apartheid*, are actually calculated further to entrench minority rule and the system of *apartheid*. Like the bantustans, which have the function, among others, of acting as internal buffer zones, the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian descent would be given the role of buffer classes. Their role as "junior partners" would be to augment the *apartheid* armed forces for internal repression and external aggression. By forcing these strata of the population to fight members of the liberation movements, the racists hope to foment a conflict that would split and weaken the liberation struggle.

138. The overwhelming majority of both the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian descent have already rejected the so-called constitutional proposals. The racists

could not deceive the international community either. Three days ago, the Assembly adopted a resolution [resolution 38/11] that condemned and rejected those manoeuvres.

139. The international community is duty bound to exert renewed efforts to bring the absurdity that the system of *apartheid* represents to an end. What is needed is strict implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon Member States to boycott and isolate South Africa. These resolutions urge the cessation of all co-operation with the racist régime in the political, military, technological, economic and cultural fields and in the field of sports. Yet they are either openly ignored or circumvented by a number of countries which maintain close relations with South Africa, primarily in the economic field. Some of them co-operate with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields too. Those countries bear the moral and political responsibility, intentionally or unintentionally, for enabling the racist régime to pursue its repulsive policy. They should realize that they are supporting a system that is totally and absolutely incompatible with the principles upon which international relations rest and should abandon the short-sighted policies of quick profits and East-West rhetoric in the interests of justice and of securing peace and stability in southern Africa.

140. The front-line States and the neighbouring countries should be commended for their sacrifices and their refusal to abandon their support of the liberation struggle in South Africa, and they should be supported in the hardships they have to endure.

141. The non-aligned countries have always emphasized the urgent need to eradicate colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa. This has been a firm position of the non-aligned countries from the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961, to the Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. In the Political Declaration adopted at New Delhi [see A/38/132, annex and Corr.1 and 2] the Heads of State or Government stressed the determination of the non-aligned countries to intensify their joint efforts in support of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for self-determination. They once again condemned the racist régime of Pretoria and its policies, denounced the continued collaboration of certain countries with Pretoria and called for the cessation of all contacts with and all assistance to the South African racist régime. In addition, they called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and condemned the introduction of the so-called constitutional reforms.

142. The New Delhi Conference gave strong support to the struggle being waged by the liberation movements of South Africa—the ANC, whose heroic freedom fighters they congratulated, and the PAC—and urged all non-aligned countries to increase their assistance to enable them further to intensify the struggle.

143. It is almost unnecessary to say that those decisions enjoy Yugoslavia's fullest support. We have always considered that support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa—under the leadership of ANC and PAC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia—is the most effective way to eliminate *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination, given South Africa's attitude. Combined with effective international pressure against South Africa, the liberation struggle will, we are certain, restore freedom, equality and dignity to the peoples of southern Africa.

144. Yugoslavia will always stand ready to support all measures and actions taken by the United Nations to contribute to that goal and will continue to give its full moral, political and material support to fighters against *apartheid* in South Africa.

145. Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan): Only three days ago, in resolution 38/11, the General Assembly solemnly declared that nothing but the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule could lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa.

146. In its so-called constitutional proposals, South Africa has once again shown its contempt for world public opinion and the concept of human dignity which has been characteristic of the racist régime's policies since its inception in 1948. The charade of a referendum enacted on 2 November 1983 by the Pretoria régime was an insidious device to deprive the indigenous African majority of all fundamental rights and to drive a wedge between it and the rest of the non-white population. That action, which was yet another manoeuvre to perpetuate *apartheid*, has rightly been rejected by the international community.

147. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* gives a factual description of the grave atrocities being perpetrated by the racist régime against thousands of innocent persons who have been denied fundamental rights for over three decades. Execution of freedom fighters, arrests, detentions and imprisonment during which many political prisoners have died have been the favourite methods of the minority régime to intimidate the oppressed majority. The count of martyrs runs into the thousands—from the Sharpeville massacre to the barbaric execution of three ANC freedom fighters in June 1983. Nelson Mandela, who epitomizes the noble struggle of the people of South Africa, along with many others, has been languishing in prison in gruesome conditions. In April 1983, thousands of persons held a candle-light vigil in Cape Town demanding his release and the granting of prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters.

148. Alarmed at the unshakable commitment of the freedom fighters to the principles of human dignity, equality and justice, the Pretoria régime has reinforced its repressive rule within and its aggressive posture against neighbouring States. We share the concern expressed by the Special Committee over the ominous escalation of acts of aggression, destabilization and terrorism waged by the South African régime against independent African States since 1975. Apart from direct military incursions into front-line States, the régime has also engaged in acts of economic sabotage, espionage, destruction of bridges, oil pipelines and fuel depots in several neighbouring States. The racist régime has also declared its readiness to provide every type of assistance to any insurgent groups within the front-line States.

149. In blatant disregard of world public opinion and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly addressed to it, the Pretoria régime continues to intensify its odious policies of oppression, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. As part of its "total strategy", the illegal régime of South Africa has continued to strengthen its military build-up by intensifying its indigenous production and importation of arms and military equipment. South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear-weapon capability has added a dangerous dimension to the already aggravated situation and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

150. It is no secret that the arrogance of the racist régime is being sustained by the support and succour of

those who profit from the system of plunder and exploitation in South Africa. To quote from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the racist régime:

“could not have survived but for the fact that certain Western and other Powers and vested interests have blocked effective international action and assisted it in all serious crises, especially since the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960” [A/38/22, para. 272].

The Special Committee's report brings out the alarming dimension of the role of certain external Powers in South Africa's economic and military build-up which has contributed to the survival of the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. The Committee's special report [A/38/22/Add.1] also exposes the continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and the *apartheid* régime, which is a matter of great concern to all of us and underscores the need for firm action by the international community in order to check the alliance between Zionism and *apartheid*.

151. South Africa's policies of *apartheid* continue to appear on the agenda of the General Assembly year after year. Those policies represent an open challenge to the world community and call for an intensification of the international struggle against racism and racial discrimination. The continued defiance of the Pretoria régime and other vested interests of the calls to the international community over the last three decades has seriously eroded the credibility of this Organization. The Special Committee has rightly pointed out that the United Nations, as a custodian of the supremacy of law, justice and human dignity, should review the implementation of all its resolutions on *apartheid*, identify the causes of non-implementation and consider measures to secure universal respect for its decisions. The international community should reaffirm its commitment to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and take concerted action to reassert the effectiveness of the Organization.

152. Pakistan has traditionally identified itself with and lent its moral and material support to the cause of all peoples struggling against any kind of oppression, alien domination or discrimination. Our steadfast support for the courageous people of South Africa in their struggle to eradicate the odious *apartheid* problem emanates from the eternal precepts of our faith, which uphold the equality, freedom and dignity of all peoples irrespective of race, colour or creed.

153. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be totally destroyed. This is a task that can be accomplished only by a collective and determined effort on the part of the international community. We express our complete solidarity with the Special Committee's recommendation that the international community should urgently adopt a strategy for decisive action to secure peace and freedom in the region.

154. To this end, the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter would be imperative. Meanwhile, the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, imposed under Security Council resolution 418 (1977), should be strictly enforced. Accordingly, the Pakistan delegation fully endorses the recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report to the General Assembly. We are confident that the struggle of the valiant people of South Africa for equality and human dignity will soon be crowned with success.

155. Mr. SPAHO (Albania): The time that has elapsed since the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly provides many facts which are clear evidence of the

stubborn continuation of the hateful policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* by the racist South African régime.

156. The Fascists of Pretoria, while trampling underfoot the most elementary principles and norms of international law and failing to heed United Nations decisions and resolutions, have continued more savagely their policy of imprisonment, torture, terror and execution of the Azanian and Namibian patriots who are bravely fighting to put an end to oppression and exploitation and to win the right to be treated as human beings and to live free in their own land.

157. The representatives of many countries have brought new evidence and arguments before the General Assembly, as well as before the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held from 1 to 12 August of this year in Geneva, showing how far the South African Government has gone in exercising violence and terror against the Azanian and Namibian people. The criminal acts of this obnoxious régime have aroused and continue to arouse the indignation of international public opinion and, in the first place, that of the African peoples, who have always resolutely demanded and continue to demand that an end be put once and for all to the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa.

158. Owing to this hateful policy, the population of that country lives in miserable conditions. Every year, tens of thousands of people die of hunger, illness, lack of medical care and so on. The number of unemployed amounts to more than 3 million, while the forced transfer of the black population to the remote and deserted regions continues unabated.

159. The Albanian delegation shares the views and positions expressed by representatives of the African countries before this Assembly and holds that the so-called constitutional proposals adopted in South Africa on 2 November 1983, by an electorate composed entirely of white people, aim at depriving the majority of the indigenous population of South Africa of all their rights, including the right of citizenship, and at turning South Africa into a country reserved for the whites on the basis of the hateful principles of *apartheid*.

160. Along with the further intensification of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* inside the country, the racists of South Africa have also increased their aggressive and subversive acts against neighbouring countries, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho and Mozambique. They try cynically to present their monstrous crimes within and without the country as “anti-terrorist” actions, as “preventive” measures in the interest of the “national security” of South Africa and so on; but whatever label or mask they may use they can never cover their true faces as assassins of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and so on.

161. Had it not been for the help and all-round support of reactionary forces, mainly the United States, which are no less responsible for the great tragedy inflicted upon the Coloured population of South Africa, the Pretoria régime would not be able to stand on its feet and could not continue brutally to follow the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, nor could it keep Namibia occupied and play the role of American imperialism's gendarme in the region of South Africa.

162. Facts show that the relations and the collaboration in all fields between American imperialism and the Pretoria racist régime are being strengthened with every passing day. American imperialists and other imperialist Powers are the main suppliers of arms to South Africa.

Moreover, the investments of capital of American and multinational companies in that country amount to millions of dollars. The all-round political, economic and military aid given to South Africa by American imperialists, Israeli Zionists and other reactionary forces is aimed at enabling that régime to play the role of the "defender" of imperialist rights and interests in Africa. This aid, which is being given at a time when freedom-loving and progressive peoples and countries the world over have denounced and continue strongly to denounce the inhuman Pretoria régime, at a time when they have raised their voices to isolate it, constitutes an open challenge to the international community and to the Charter of the United Nations.

163. All facts and data brought before the General Assembly clearly show to one and all who are the defenders and supporters of South Africa's policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and whom this hateful policy serves.

164. The United States, the Soviet Union, China and other reactionary forces try to make use of the grave situation created in South Africa and in the whole region of southern Africa in order to expand further their influence. The more the rivalry between the super-Powers in South Africa grows, the greater the dangers that threaten the African peoples. That is why the peoples of South Africa and of the whole of the African continent rightly cannot become reconciled to racism, foreign oppression and exploitation and why they are sharpening their vigilance and increasing their efforts resolutely to oppose the imperialist, neo-colonialist, racist and *apartheid* régime.

165. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania once again reiterates that the Albanian people, who have won their freedom, independence and sovereignty by shedding their blood, are resolutely against every form of racial and national discrimination. They strongly condemn the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa and express their firm solidarity and support for the just struggle of the African people to uproot colonialism and racism from the African continent. The Albanian people and Government have supported and will support the struggle of the African freedom-loving peoples and countries to oppose the aggressive, neo-colonialist policy and plundering practices of imperialism. We are fully convinced that the just struggle of the African peoples will prevail. The racist policy of *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime, along with all the imperialist and social-imperialist plots, intrigues and deals are doomed to fail.

166. Mr. TOWO ATANGANA (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Once again we are debating one of the most shocking issues of our century, the establishment and perpetuation in the southern part of the African continent of a unique political system based on the denial of all rights to a nation of over 22 million people. This repugnant and intolerable system has thrived in Africa for more than half a century and is being strengthened before our eyes, in spite of universal condemnation, creating in its victims a growing sense of frustration and rebellion and fuelling a cycle of violence, the results of which cannot be predicted.

167. It is in this context of violence, engendered and fed by the *apartheid* régime, that on 20 May of this year international public opinion learned that a powerful explosion had spread death and destruction at the headquarters of the South African Air Force in Pretoria. This grave warning, issued by the liberation movements after more than 20 years of peaceful struggle, was the centre-piece of actions carried out by the heroic freedom fighters

since the last Assembly session. Their courageous fight, which we follow with great admiration, has developed during this past year on several fronts in spite of the brutal repression of the Fascist forces. Black workers have organized massive and widespread strikes, students have boycotted the segregationist education with increasing vigour, more and more teachers and churchmen have joined to resist *apartheid*.

168. Far from understanding the sense of history in this struggle by a people determined to win back their dignity and freedom, the white minority régime of Pretoria has only become more radicalized and enmired in its policy of domination, exploitation, repression and terror. There have been countless sham trials of South African patriots, arbitrary arrests, disappearances and torture inflicted on detainees, often leading to their death. Last June, ignoring the appeals for clemency made by the international community, including the Security Council, the Pretoria régime hanged three militants of the ANC and were even so barbaric as to refuse to return the bodies to the bereaved families.

169. These desperate efforts by the supporters of *apartheid* to strengthen their system of oppression have recently entered a particularly vicious stage. On 2 November 1983, the racist régime won approval by an exclusively white electorate for so-called constitutional reforms, offering Coloureds and Indians minority representation in a Parliament entirely controlled by whites.

170. We welcome the fact that the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, rejected those alleged reforms and underlined the pernicious nature of this new confidence trick which is designed to give up a few crumbs of power in order the better to retain the bulk of the privileges usurped by the white minority.

171. Is not the true aim of these so-called constitutional proposals to divert the attention of the international community and to weaken the solidarity of the oppressed peoples of South Africa, while increasing the capacity of the forces of repression, which can now count on large numbers of new recruits?

172. Neither the world community nor the oppressed people of South Africa as a whole will be deceived by these sham reforms which only the committed friends and allies of the *apartheid* régime regard as containing any positive element. We must declare as totally unacceptable such fallacious measures, which are just a variation on the policy of bantustanization and whose obvious aim is to create an irreversible situation in which 23 million blacks will become aliens in their own country.

173. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed. It must be completely abolished so that a multiracial society that respects the rights of all and gives everyone equal opportunities for prosperity and happiness can be built in South Africa.

174. That is why we must unreservedly encourage the struggle of the liberation movements, which are taking great risks in order to win a battle that concerns us all, for it is a battle to restore to southern Africa the human dignity which has so shamelessly been flouted.

175. In that quest for freedom and justice, the United Nations, which has made such a powerful contribution to decolonization, must play the essential role accorded it under the Charter in the service of human dignity.

176. We are grateful to the Special Committee for the great efforts it has made in many ways to denounce unceasingly *apartheid* and the misdeeds of that policy. But the vast achievements of that Committee must not make us forget the true impotence of the United Nations to deal with the tragedy affecting 23 million blacks in

South Africa. The Organization has in fact never succeeded in ensuring that its many resolutions lead to practical action capable of forcing the Pretoria régime to put an end to its odious policy of *apartheid* and to its unlawful occupation of Namibia.

177. The main reason for this impotence is obviously the negative attitude of certain Powers who, through their abuse of the veto, have prevented the Security Council from adopting the enforcement measures provided under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure respect for its decisions.

178. My delegation is greatly troubled by the attitude of certain Powers towards *apartheid*. How can we believe the ardent defenders of human rights and fundamental freedoms when we see that those same States which are doing what they can to ensure the triumph of those noble ideals do not hesitate, when it comes to South Africa, to extend the hand of friendship to the *apartheid* régime and thus become the protectors of the only political system in the world based on the denial of all the rights of an entire people?

179. As one representative in the Security Council said a few weeks ago: "the Charter does not require that peoples should bow passively to terror". Does this mean that where interests so require, freedom and human rights need no longer be invoked? This is a strange attitude on which the world conscience may well ponder.

180. The Pretoria régime has no self-doubts. The friendly co-operation extended to it by certain Powers within the framework of a policy called "constructive engagement" seems to be its best assurance of the ability to act with impunity and strengthens it in its arrogance and intransigence. At home, Pretoria persists in its policy of repression, and abroad it persists in its plunder and domination of Namibia, as well as in its aggressions against neighbouring States. Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Lesotho are exposed to countless acts of economic sabotage and destabilization attempts. Part of Angola's territory continues to be occupied by the South African hordes.

181. The growing dangers to which not only the front-line States but the whole of the African region are thus exposed take on a new dimension with South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear capacity. In this regard, we noted with concern the information contained in the Secretary-

General's report about the nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa.

182. All Member States must become more aware of this threat to international peace and security posed by a handful of reactionary racists. The United Nations, its specialized agencies and all Member States must take concerted action urgently to ensure that the aspirations and legitimate rights of the oppressed people of South Africa triumph. In this connection, we must demand that an end be put without delay to the repression, torture and assassinations suffered daily by the blacks of South Africa.

183. We must also demand the release of the militants of the ANC and the PAC, some of whom have been languishing in racist gaols for nearly a quarter of a century. Their release should begin with the most distinguished of them, Nelson Mandela.

184. My delegation unreservedly supports the programme of action proposed by the Special Committee in its report, a programme which is in conformity with the recommendations of a number of international conferences on sanctions against South Africa.

185. The United Republic of Cameroon will continue, with the means at its disposal, to join in the programme, within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, its Liberation Committee and all other relevant bodies.

186. Our solidarity with the liberation movements of southern Africa is spontaneous and complete. Their struggle is our struggle; it is the struggle of Africa; it is the struggle of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

² See *Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20-27 May 1981 (A/CONF.107/8)*, sect. X.A.

³ 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.

⁴ *Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1983).