



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

AGENDA ITEM 32

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

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

1. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, either I am mistaken or else the representatives do not know that meetings start at 3.00 o'clock sharp. At any rate, I wish to congratulate you for putting up with this delay. I will speak despite the fact that there is no quorum and despite the fact that this indicates that some members of the United Nations have little interest in the important question that is on the agenda of the General Assembly today.

2. The General Assembly is seized of the question of *apartheid* at a critical stage in international relations because of serious crises that threaten international peace and security in different parts of the world. These crises have been heightened by international imperialism—I am happy to see the United States represented here—these crises are, as I say, heightened by international imperialism. These crises, which are caused by the threat or use of force, will have consequences for the world. For our part, we have devoted our national, regional and international energies in order to liquidate *apartheid* by peaceful means. There is no doubt that the United States, by contrast, has not renounced the threat or use of force in international relations, and today more than ever that policy is aimed at safeguarding imperialist interests. This threat or use of force aims at aborting what has been achieved, particularly the progress that has been made in the struggle to dismantle the *apartheid* system by peaceful means.

3. The mandate of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has a basic assumption—namely, the elimination of racial discrimination by peaceful means. But this assumption has been shaken because of two reasons: first, the failure of the Security Council to take any comprehensive mandatory action that would lead to the elimination of *apartheid* by peaceful means; and secondly, the support of a super-Power—the United States—given to *apartheid* by every possible means because *apartheid* is an essential condition for the maintenance of the imperialist interests in the political, economic, financial and strategic spheres.

4. As we are debating the question of *apartheid* in the prevailing international climate, we must remember that our success in eliminating *apartheid* depends mainly on our solidarity in confronting the policies of force pursued by the United States, either directly or through its satellites. In its use of force, the United States depends prin-

cipally on these satellites, foremost of which are South Africa and Israel. As proof of this, one need only mention the interaction of and parallelism between the continued occupation by South Africa, with United States support, of Namibia and of Angolan territory and the continued occupation by Israel of Palestine and southern Lebanon.

5. It must be recalled here that the threats posed by the Pretoria Government to the front-line States are identical to those directed from Washington and Tel Aviv against Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic. All this should be viewed as an integral programme aiming at the extension of imperialist United States hegemony. One of the manifestations of this interaction and parallelism is the strategic alliance between Washington and Pretoria, on the one hand, and Washington and Tel Aviv, on the other. However, the logic of force will not dissuade the Africans or the Arabs from continuing their common struggle against United States hegemony. Rather, it will provide encouragement to us all to increase our solidarity and our co-operation in the common struggle against a common enemy and its supporters, regardless of their size.

6. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22] is replete with proof of the deterioration of the situation not only in South Africa but in the whole of southern Africa.

7. Within South Africa, the racist régime persists in its policy of uprooting and expelling millions of persons from their homeland by force. It is estimated that 3 million persons have been uprooted and expelled in this way—and this is in addition to the imprisonment, detention, torture and assassination engaged in by the racist régime, not even sparing children. Of most concern to us is the fact that the racist régime persists in the establishment of so-called homelands. The aim of all this is to dismember the land and dispossess the indigenous population—the rightful owners—and give the white settlers sole ownership. In its report, the Special Committee describes the bantustans as follows:

“scattered reserves into which African people are forcibly confined on a so-called tribal basis—in an effort to dispossess the African majority and indeed deprive it of citizenship. Already four such ‘independent’ States have been created, purportedly depriving over 8 million Africans of citizenship in South Africa. The régime has announced its intention to create another such structure in KwaNdebele in 1984.” [*Ibid.*, para. 232.]

8. Outside South Africa, the Pretoria régime has been able, because of a military capability provided by certain member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—principally the United States—to commit one act of aggression after another in order to destabilize African countries and to terrorize and intimidate them or subvert them. The report of the Special Committee contains a graphic description of the aggressive capability that South Africa can use against African countries. It states:

“As a result of the military might it has acquired, and assured of protection by certain Western States

from effective international action, it has become a dangerous international outlaw. It has arrogantly claimed the right to invade or subvert any African State committed to support liberation in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations. It has even dared to demand that the neighbouring States deny asylum and humanitarian assistance to refugees from its racist crimes on the threat, or with the use, of military, economic and other actions." [A/38/22, para. 248.]

9. In other words, while the United Nations is unable to impose sanctions against Pretoria, Pretoria itself is imposing various forms of sanctions against certain African States. Thus, as we read in the report:

"It occupied substantial areas of Angola and engaged in open war against that country. In Mozambique, South Africa supported dissident elements and other hostile groups by supplying them with money, weapons and organizational assistance. Against Zimbabwe, South Africa engaged in destabilization at the economic, political and propaganda levels. Its acts of destabilization, aggression and terrorism against Zambia included support and training of dissident groups, violations of Zambia's air and land frontiers, laying of mines and abduction of innocent men and women, as well as raids against the refugee camps. Botswana, which has a long common border with South Africa, was obliged to be host to a large number of refugees. Its air space had been violated and there had been cases of kidnapping of people from its territory. Even countries like the United Republic of Tanzania, which have no common borders with South Africa, were not immune to Pretoria's destabilization activities in the political, economic and propaganda spheres. Leaders and members of the national liberation movements were victims of threats and assassinations." [Ibid., para. 27.]

10. In addition, the racist régime has continued its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia and has continued its war against the Namibian people, in defiance of the United Nations, which has a special responsibility for the fate of that people. All these tragic developments—and there has been an ever-increasing number in the past two years—would not have taken place had it not been for the encouragement and support received by Pretoria from Washington and certain other NATO capitals.

11. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has taken an important step in unveiling the co-operation between the racist régime in southern Africa and the racist base in the Middle East. In addition to the Special Committee's report on recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa [A/38/22/Add.1], there is the Declaration of the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel [A/38/311], held at Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983. The convening of that Conference was in itself an indication of the increasing concern of the United Nations over the close collaboration between the two racist régimes which resort to aggression and violate human rights, at the same time as they displace peoples and deprive them of their right to self-determination, in order to preserve their colonialist and imperialist presence by resorting to State terrorism, international piracy and institutionalized violence. This collaboration has gone so far that the Conference recognized that:

"The nuclear capabilities of both South Africa and Israel . . . pose an enormous danger to peace in Africa, the Middle East and the world" [ibid., para. 7].

“ . . .

"The Conference also draws attention to the extensive collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa in the conventional military field. This collaboration is directed against the oppressed people of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, and against the independent States of Africa and the Arab world." [Ibid., para. 12.]

12. The Conference equated the role of Israel and South Africa at the imperialist and racist level when it declared:

"In this connection, the Conference considers that the so-called policies of 'strategic co-operation' with Israel and 'constructive engagement' with the South African racist régime adopted by the United States of America represent support for the alliance of Israel and South Africa against the aspirations of African States to keep their continent free from nuclear weapons, to complete the process of decolonization and to maintain regional peace and security" [ibid., para. 15].

13. The intention of the Vienna Conference was to expose the artificial distinction made between South Africa's criminal nature and Israel's criminal and expansionist nature. It rejected that distinction with regard to its impact on Africa through the collaboration between the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv. It said: "The Conference expresses its serious regret at the opposition of many other Western Powers to any condemnation of the collaboration by Israel with South Africa." [Ibid., para. 16.] The Conference also said that: "all Governments that assist or condone the collaboration between Israel and the racist régime of South Africa are undermining the cause of freedom and peace in Africa" [ibid., para. 17].

14. The General Assembly in 1975 adopted resolution 3379 (XXX) in which it declared that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. That resolution was adopted within the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Despite all the attempts of the United States and Israel, and those of the lackeys of United States imperialism, to improve the reputation of Israel by concealing its racist nature, and despite resistance on the part of Western countries, the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983, stated in its Declaration:

"The Conference condemns any form of co-operation with South Africa, notably the existing and increasing relations between Israel and the racist régime of South Africa, in particular those in the economic and military fields . . . ; the Conference views this co-operation as an act of deliberate choice and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as a defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the efforts of the society of nations to ensure freedom and peace in southern Africa; the Conference also notes with concern the insidious propaganda by Israel against the United Nations and against Governments which are firmly opposed to *apartheid*."¹

15. The Special Committee cited this Declaration in its special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa. The Declaration is an affirmation that the two systems in Pretoria and Tel Aviv are, through their racial institutions, acting against the freedom of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East.

16. The Head of the Zionist entity in his speech on 16 November said that he was grieved to note that a large number of delegations refused to listen to his statement to the Assembly, and he recalled that the countries whose representatives left the Hall

“apply for, and receive, technical and agricultural aid from Israel . . . [and] send students to train in Israel, yet [those delegations] . . . left this Hall for no other reason than fear” [58th meeting, para. 8].

17. These arguments constitute a great affront to those who felt that they were in duty bound to leave the Hall because they refused to listen to the representative of a régime which has distorted history and religion, occupied the land, displaced the inhabitants and killed thousands of people and is still collaborating on a continuous daily basis with Africa’s greatest enemy, namely, the racist régime of Pretoria. Does Mr. Herzog believe that what he calls “assistance” can deceive the eye and silence the conscience?

18. We pay tribute to the courage shown by those delegations which defied not only Israel but also the United States, which provides Israel with all the means of livelihood for itself and for war against others. It was defiance of the United States, because Israel is a foster child of that country. We should remember that every Israeli individual receives annually from the United States assistance to the value of \$1,000, while the income of most of the States represented in this Hall at this moment is not more than \$300 million, and that comes from the hard work of their workers and farmers. And the Israeli representative, the Head of the Zionist racist entity, tells the Africans, the Latins and the Asians that they should not leave the Hall because Israel gives them assistance.

19. Israel does not extend any assistance. There is no doubt that the psychology of Israel’s leaders needs to be studied more deeply.

20. Does Herzog expect congratulations from the countries which are suffering so much at the hands of the United States, Israel and South Africa? How, we ask, can Israel provide assistance to others when Israel itself is dependent on the United States? If Israel owns anything it is what it has plundered from the Arabs. The answer to Herzog can be found in paragraph 17 of the special report of the Special Committee, which states that Israeli military advisers are training a regular force of mercenaries called União Nacional para a Independência de Angola. That means that the Israeli assistance that Herzog was generous enough to provide some countries which are jealous of their dignity is designed to undermine the independence of those States, particularly African States, foremost among them Angola, where Israelis train saboteurs who connive with South Africa. On 21 February 1983, Luanda radio said that Israel and South Africa were undertaking the training of armed bands so that they could infiltrate Angola. It was also reported that Israelis were fighting side by side with the forces of *apartheid* in the north of Namibia and that pilotless reconnaissance aircraft used against Mozambique had been designed or produced in Israel. Of course, what is called “Israeli assistance”—with its objectives—is, regrettably, the same as the assistance that some countries in Central America receive from the United States and Israel.

21. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee concerning the promotion and strengthening of international action to combat *apartheid* by all possible means. My delegation also thanks the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, for his sustained efforts in numerous international and popular organs, in non-governmental organizations and with many Governments to co-ordinate and organize international co-operation so as to eliminate *apartheid*. It would also like to express thanks for the exemplary and objective manner in which Mr. Fafowora directed the work of the International Conference on the Alliance

between South Africa and Israel. We much appreciate his attitude, which is based on principle and reality.

22. The Syrian Arab Republic reaffirms its determination to participate fully in the efforts to ensure the eradication of *apartheid* and the elimination of a system whose existence is an affront to mankind. Our support for international efforts to eradicate *apartheid* is coupled with our full support for the two national liberation movements of South Africa.

23. The international community urgently demands the elimination of the *apartheid* régime by peaceful means, and the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has shown us the right way to achieve that objective—indeed, the only way if we truly want to follow the peaceful way to eradicate *apartheid*. For that we must call on the Security Council, and especially on the United States, to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. If that is not done, the people of South Africa, with whom we are in solidarity, will have to continue the armed struggle against the racist, colonialist structures in South Africa.

24. We must also express our admiration and appreciation of the revolutionary blow struck by the Indian and Coloured people of South Africa when they rejected the so-called constitutional reforms and refused to be partners in the crime of *apartheid*. The General Assembly showed its support for those people when it voted almost unanimously against those distorted “reforms”, the sole aim of which is to deepen institutionalized racial discrimination and broaden its demographic base in order further to frustrate the rights of the black people in their homeland.

25. Mr. HOLØS (Norway): Once again the General Assembly is considering the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa—a system of political, social and economic injustice that denies fundamental human rights to the majority of South Africa’s population.

26. Notwithstanding southern Africa’s changing political scene, South Africa does not seem prepared to discontinue its racist policies aimed at bolstering white minority rule. Despite the hopes and efforts of the world community, South Africa has given no indication that the injustice of its racial system will be altered significantly, and the policy of *apartheid* remains as firmly entrenched as it has been for several decades. A continuation of today’s repressive policies will result only in an increasingly dangerous confrontation in the area. This will in turn have grave consequences in the highly volatile region of southern Africa.

27. Time and again so-called reforms have been introduced by the Government of South Africa. A close examination of these alleged reforms has, however, revealed that the new steps are mainly cosmetic. What passes for reform in South Africa, including the latest constitutional changes adopted by a referendum among the white electorate, does not represent a step away from *apartheid*. More likely than foreshadowing political rights for South Africa’s 22 million blacks, the policies of *apartheid* have gained a longer lease.

28. Norway has consistently condemned and rejected the policy of *apartheid*. In the communiqué from the meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers held in September this year, the Ministers condemned the *apartheid* policy, with its suppression of the fundamental rights of the majority of South Africa’s population. The Nordic Foreign Ministers reiterated that the South African Government should be subjected to increased and effective pressure from the United Nations as a peaceful means

of achieving the abolition of the *apartheid* policy. They called for the early adoption by the Security Council of binding sanctions against South Africa. Furthermore, the Ministers reaffirmed that the Nordic countries attached vital importance to the strict observance of the United Nations binding arms embargo against South Africa.

29. The Nordic Foreign Ministers, during their meeting in September, also strongly denounced South Africa's acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. They were particularly concerned about Lesotho's situation. South Africa's blockade and the pressure it is exerting to force Lesotho to hand over and expel South African refugees were regarded as clear violations of international law.

30. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the transition to majority rule in South Africa will come about by peaceful means. Norway supports the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council. In our view, binding decisions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are required to ensure that the measures enacted will be generally adhered to by the international community. My Government has declared its readiness to implement such measures taken by the Council.

31. Even though the Security Council has a major responsibility, each and every one of us is obliged to do what we can to bring about a peaceful change in the *apartheid* system of South Africa. Norway, for its part, has therefore, partly alone and partly in concert with the other Nordic countries, enacted a number of measures on a voluntary basis. The measures taken on a Nordic basis include the prohibition or discouragement of contacts with the *apartheid* régime in the field of sport and culture, visa requirements for South African citizens and increased humanitarian support to the victims of *apartheid*. On a unilateral basis, Norway has, *inter alia*, withdrawn State-supported guarantees for Norwegian exports to South Africa; stopped issuing currency licences for Norwegian investments in South Africa; stopped the promotion of Norwegian exports to South Africa; taken measures to ascertain that oil produced on the Norwegian continental shelf is not exported to South Africa; and decided not to co-operate in any way whatsoever with South Africa in the nuclear field.

32. Humanitarian assistance to the refugees from South Africa and to the victims of *apartheid* form an important part of the measures taken by the Norwegian Government, as does assistance to the front-line States to which Norway has provided close and long-standing co-operation in the field of development. We intend to continue this policy and, together with the other Nordic countries, we are continuously discussing what more can be done on our side.

33. A matter of great concern to my Government is the plight of the political prisoners in South Africa. The continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders and the reports of torture and cruel punishment are in clear defiance of repeated appeals made by the United Nations. My Government is also concerned about the death sentences passed upon opponents of *apartheid*. We again request the South African authorities, for humanitarian reasons, to listen to the appeals of the international community and to spare their lives.

34. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Unfortunately, the Assembly's agenda continues to contain the item on the policy of *apartheid*, and today we have to consider the serious domestic and international consequences of this system. The white chauvinists of South Africa and their teachers, led by well-

known fascist theoreticians and politicians, have made inhuman racist theories into official State policy. The aim of the system is unlimited exploitation of the majority non-white population by the white minority. At the same time, *apartheid* ensures conditions favourable to the exploitation of the African work-force and also to the interests of the foreign accomplices of the Pretoria régime and their monopolies, by the use of methods which would be considered illegal by other Governments. In a number of international forums, *apartheid* has with good reason been condemned as the most heinous form of racism and a crime against humanity.

35. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Pretoria régime is being carried out by means of many reprehensible measures: systematic segregation, the programme of bantustanization, and violation of the political and civil rights of the non-white population. These measures have the effect of making 23 million Africans foreigners in their own land. Any non-observance of or resistance to these measures by the people results in cruel punishment. Administrative repression, arbitrary action, violence and murder are used against those who criticize *apartheid* and fight for equality for all, regardless of race, and for democracy. There is a long list of those who have been tortured and condemned for fighting against *apartheid*, subjected by the courts to persecution and imprisonment, in an attempt by the Pretoria régime to give these assassinations the semblance of legality. In just one list, published by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/38/22, annex I, appendix I], appear the names of 60 victims of the justice of the *apartheid* régime in the past year, including the names of three black patriots who were killed on 9 June 1983, in spite of the protests of the international community and the appeals of the United Nations.

36. The black population is also being exploited economically. This is not only a question of their minimum wage being lower than the wages of white workers; the number of unemployed non-whites is steadily increasing and recently rose by 500,000, bringing the current figure to 2 million. In fact, that number does not include the millions of black citizens who have been forcibly resettled in the so-called bantustans.

37. This is the true face of *apartheid*. The Government of Pretoria is doing all it can to maintain the system of *apartheid* in spite of the increasing opposition on the part of the indigenous population, and in spite of the protests of public opinion in other countries. This is the purpose of the so-called constitutional reform, approved by a whites-only vote on 2 November 1983. It is intended to drive a wedge between the oppressed victims of *apartheid*, to include in the repressive apparatus other groups of the population and to make *apartheid* more acceptable to other strata of the population of Western countries. It is an attempt to hoodwink public opinion, including the United Nations—which, rightfully and quite clearly, condemns those measures, with the exception, however, of some Western States Members—and the international community as a whole. Such manoeuvres confirm the correctness of the decisive forms of struggle against the Pretoria régime, including armed struggle.

38. This struggle has become even more inevitable because *apartheid* does not confine itself to acts of oppression and repression in South Africa, but carries out attacks on other States. The Pretoria régime, using naked armed force, is continuing to occupy Namibia illegally and to prevent the Namibian people from exercising its right to self-determination. In the interests of the United States strategy directed against the progressive development of the People's Republic of Angola, it has made inadmissible

and totally illegal demands linking the issue of granting the Namibian people independence with the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban forces in Angola. The executioners in power in South Africa can take credit for the many acts of direct armed aggression and subversive activities which have been carried out against independent African States, in particular against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana. The Pretoria régime continues to occupy illegally a part of Angolan territory and is encouraging and financing anti-government groups and mercenaries and sending groups of terrorists into that country. The broad-scale aggression of the Pretoria régime has led to a situation in which the southern part of Africa has been turned into a dangerous hotbed of international tension.

39. The *apartheid* régime continues to pursue a heinous aggressive policy, in spite of the clearly expressed condemnation by world public opinion and in spite of a number of important resolutions adopted by the United Nations. This is possible only because the major partners of South Africa from a number of Western States have not complied with the decisions adopted. Pretoria continues to be able to rely on their comprehensive political, diplomatic, economic and even, in some cases, military co-operation and support. They are connected with the *apartheid* régime by many ideological, strategic and economic links. The intensity of the activities of the West in the South African economy can be shown, for example, by the data published in the South African newspaper *Die Welt* of 23 September 1983, according to which foreign investments—that is, Western investments—in South Africa last year were 10 times more than 10 years ago, and were increasing by 13 per cent a year. Last year the capital investment of the United States alone, which lends the Pretoria régime most support, was \$US 2 billion. United Nations documents show that, for the period 1978 to the beginning of the 1980s, the number of companies directly investing in economic support for *apartheid* was 1,152. In this connection, it is known that 80 per cent of those companies belong to monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Switzerland. They are responsible for almost half the industrial production of South Africa. A working paper prepared by the Secretariat² clearly shows that Western States are also helping Pretoria to expand its military machine. The document points out that, for example, South Africa produces under licence versions of French and Italian military aircraft, French military transport vehicles, missiles and other equipment. A number of Western States continue to make direct arms shipments to South Africa in spite of the arms embargo proclaimed by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Western States have also helped give South Africa a nuclear potential. Thanks to assistance from the United States, there has been set up in the city of Pelindaba a national nuclear research centre. The United States has not only ensured the provision of all the necessary equipment for the centre, but is also training more than 100 South African nuclear specialists. The reactor now being installed not far from Cape Town will produce 400 kilogrammes of plutonium per year, plutonium which can be used to manufacture nuclear weapons. It is enough for the production of 40-50 nuclear warheads for intermediate-range missiles. South Africa's increased military and nuclear potential is an extremely important factor which is a threat to peace and security not only in southern Africa but in all parts of the world.

40. We are also concerned about the ever-closer collusion between the *apartheid* régime and Israel. In the plans of the United States, both countries are being given a

decisive role as springboards for imperialism and bastions of its strategic interests. The co-operation between Israel and South Africa is being developed intensively, particularly in the military sphere. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22/Add.1] shows clearly that, for example, between 1970 and 1979, South Africa received 35 per cent of Israel's arms exports. Military co-operation of all kinds is being developed, beginning with the exchange of experience and including co-operation in developing armaments and financing armaments programmes. According to recent world press reports, Pretoria and Tel Aviv are working out missile programmes together. Co-operation in the nuclear sphere is also being realized.

41. In its report to this session of the General Assembly, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* rightly noted that diplomatic, political, economic and military co-operation with South Africa by Western States and Israel is undermining the implementation of international measures designed to eliminate *apartheid*. We regard this as the essence of the whole problem. It also implies a means of solving it: complete, scrupulous observance of the decisions of the United Nations and an end to any relations with South Africa, in the spirit of those decisions. But if, in spite of all this, Pretoria continues to refuse to comply with the will of the international community, it will be necessary to force it to do so.

42. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people are indignant about, and condemn, the crimes committed by the *apartheid* régime. We are in full solidarity with those struggling against racial discrimination in South Africa, led by the heroic African National Congress [ANC]. We support the programme adopted by the ANC, designed to eliminate *apartheid* and build a just society without racial discrimination. Czechoslovakia consistently complies with all United Nations resolutions to eliminate *apartheid*, to achieve the earliest possible granting of independence to Namibia and to end South Africa's aggression in southern Africa. We are fully in favour of decisions adopted by the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. We welcome the results of the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and we support any measures, including sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which will force the Pretoria régime to end *apartheid*, colonialism and aggression.

43. *Apartheid*, with all its accompanying manifestations and consequences, is one of the most serious anachronisms of our time. It is one of the worst evils of the present day and a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, States Members of the United Nations must concentrate their efforts on achieving a speedy settlement of the situation in South Africa, in accordance with resolutions already adopted by the Organization. The Czechoslovak delegation will give unconditional support to any measures which might help to achieve the goals mentioned in those resolutions.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its fourth meeting, on 23 September 1983, I call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

45. Mr. MAKATINI (African National Congress): May I from the outset convey the warm greetings of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress and President Oliver Tambo and congratulate you, Sir, on your more than well-deserved election to the eminent office of President of the General Assembly.

46. For the overwhelming majority of the oppressed so-called Coloured people, the people of Asian descent and the African indigenous people, who together constitute 80 per cent of the South African population and who have for decades waged a common fight against a common enemy for a common objective—a non-racial democratic society for all the South African people—the decision taken by the General Assembly on 15 November [resolution 38/11] will go down in history as an exceptionally important landmark.

47. We thank the Group of African States and its Chairman, Mr. Koroma, of Sierra Leone, for the initiative taken. We also pay tribute to all the Member States for the historic position they took in one way or another and salute you, Mr. President, for the leadership you provided.

48. From this principled position and reminder that even at this critical moment the overwhelming majority of mankind is unswervingly behind them in the struggle for the eradication of *apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations, our people have once again drawn strength and courage that will certainly continue to rise with the dangers that lie ahead.

49. It is with a deep sense of elation that through you, Mr. President, and on behalf of the ANC, I seize this opportunity to congratulate our brother, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, on his appointment to his new post as Minister of Information and National Guidance. His devotion to the fight for freedom, justice and peace is such that, while we regret his departure, we are comforted by the knowledge that he leaves us to continue the fight from another important front from where he will not only inform and guide the 80 million anti-*apartheid* Nigerian people in their fight for national development and social progress in Nigeria, but also in their continued and deeper involvement in the fight against *apartheid*.

50. Next year marks the tenth anniversary of racist South Africa's suspension from this body—a decision taken after decades of this régime's defiance of numerous resolutions calling on it to abolish the tyranny of *apartheid* and permit the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in accordance with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

51. As could have been expected, the Pretoria régime's instant reaction to the initiative of the Group of African States in sponsoring draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, adopted on 15 November, is very revealing. By declaring, in a statement made by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs on 15 November [see A/38/605], that the majority of those countries "do not know the meaning of democracy" and "have little knowledge and understanding of the United Nations Charter" and making the preposterous claim that its so-called "new constitution is entirely consistent with the promotion of the central principle of the Charter", the P. W. Botha régime has once again forwarded proof of the fact that it lives in the past and remains as adamantly hostile to the cause of black liberation today as its predecessors were to the emancipation of slavery in 1833—the historic development they condemned as ungodly. Their statement also proves that the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter have a different meaning to them and that there can never be a true meeting of the minds between them and those in this Hall who truly subscribe to the principle of racial equality and non-racial democracy.

52. The facts before us are that the so-called new constitution does not deal with the fundamental issue confronting South Africa, namely, the need to transfer power

from the minority to the entire population regardless of race. What we have witnessed these last few months and weeks has been a glaring example of the pattern of the *apartheid* political process in which whites proposed, whites debated, whites differed, whites consulted and whites decided. However, we refuse to dignify the monstrous subject matter of the racist referendum with the term "new constitution" and a discussion of its provisions. For throughout history new constitutions have embodied the spirit of liberty and a new socio-economic order expressing the hard-won sovereignty of people liberated from bondage, whether such documents have been the products of passive resistance or armed struggle for national independence or social revolution.

53. But as the many speakers who have preceded us have stated, the racist régime's so-called constitutional proposals are designed precisely to restructure *apartheid* rule and racial tyranny, impede the emergence of universal suffrage, permanently strip the majority of its birthright to citizenship, foment internal conflict among the oppressed blacks and eliminate the possibility of true constitutional rights and due political process.

54. In this Hall and all over the world, as in the African circles in South Africa, the overwhelming majority has rightly not bothered to seek to understand the régime's rationale for excluding the indigenous African people in what it boastfully describes in its 15 November statement as "the central principle of the Charter which proclaims the right of all peoples to self-determination". A few months ago, in response to this question, the régime's Minister of Constitutional Affairs said that "the Africans are not adequately developed to comprehend the complex democratic process", thereby reminding us of Afrikaner Professor de Kiewiet's description of his kinsmen's beliefs that "their superiority was born of race and faith, a quality divinely given which could not be transmitted or acquired by them"—meaning the blacks. Yes, this is the rationale for forcibly removing millions of African people from their urban and rural dwelling-places and herding them to the barren, poverty-stricken "homelands" and having them stripped of South African citizenship while the qualification for naturalization for white immigrants is reduced from five to two years, all in the bid to make South Africa a white man's country in which the blacks can only remain as migrant and temporary sojourners for the exclusive purpose of ministering to the needs of the whites.

55. And again, as a number of speakers have stressed, this becomes a step in the right direction only to those who share the late racist Prime Minister J. G. Strijdom's argument that "if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans, and if the non-Europeans are given representation and the vote and the non-Europeans are developed on the same basis as the Europeans, how can the Europeans remain *baas*? . . . Our view is that in every sphere, the Europeans must retain the right to rule the country." This position of the 1950s we find later renewed and reiterated by racist Prime Minister B. J. Vorster when, speaking at a meeting in Durban on 13 March 1970, he said: "South African nationhood is for whites only". This argument is now being earnestly followed up by P. W. Botha, who has been honest enough to tell the world that his friends in Washington are wrong in suggesting that he has a hidden agenda that might lead to some so-called power-sharing involving the Africans and has repeatedly gone further to restate his firm opposition to one man, one vote in South Africa.

56. The other question that remains is what has brought about the change in the declared position of placing the so-called Coloureds under *apartheid* and repatriating the

people of Asian descent, as was always officially stated by Botha's predecessors, the self-confessed Nazi disciples and architects of *apartheid*, whose policies Botha continues to implement, albeit in a camouflaged form.

57. It is the progress made by the ANC in the unification of all the patriotic forces comprising the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian descent under its leadership and on the basis of the Freedom Charter, adopted on 26 June 1955,³ which declares:

"That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

" . . .

"That only a democratic State, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief".

This document remains to this day the incontestable vehicle for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society.

58. Finding the classic method of divide and rule no longer effective in the face of the truly non-racial strategy that extends to involving white democrats who identify with the black people and accept the leadership of the ANC, the régime has resorted to these heinous moves to split this fighting alliance.

59. It is the menacing problem of the shortage of white military manpower resulting from its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the occupation of parts of Angola, and the low-keyed but widespread war situation in South Africa itself, as well as the repeated and intended future Beirut and Grenada types of invasions of independent African countries. It is precisely for this reason that the Pretoria régime intends to co-opt the so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian descent in order to make them liable for compulsory military conscription, as P. W. Botha wasted no time in admitting in a statement made immediately after the racist referendum. Botha's assertion that it will not be long before the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian descent are conscripted into the oppressive *apartheid* army can be taken to mean that the régime intends to deploy them for internal repression and external aggression against African States.

60. The Pretoria régime's future plan is to bring the racially constituted and racially segregated Parliament into association with the bantustans in the form of a so-called constellation of States, for which new titles are being touted, such as Confederation or Consociation. At the same time, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues and the aggression against and destabilization of independent African States are being stepped up so that these too can be cowed into becoming client States of *apartheid* bantustans beyond the borders.

61. The pretext given that the ANC has bases there has no validity whatsoever. In fact, the statement by the régime's own Chief of the Defence Force, Magnus Malan, when campaigning for the extension of the draft age from 35 to 65 years for whites and for the so-called winning of the hearts and minds of the blacks, makes this point when he says, "the ANC is not waging a border war but area psychological warfare". Our bases are amongst the people of South Africa in the urban and rural areas and throughout the length and breadth of our country, which we are determined to liberate. It was from these bases that our armed combatants struck twice at the Koeberg nuclear-power station, 1,000 miles from any border; it was from these bases that we hit Voortrekkerhoogte, the

régime's military headquarters on the outskirts of Pretoria; and it is from there that we are hitting hard targets all over the country, such as police stations, oil-from-coal plants, electric power stations, and the régime's Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria. In any event, the régime's big-lie technique aimed at justifying barbaric acts such as the Lesotho invasion and the massacre of defenceless men, women and children, is exposed by its own act of twice invading Seychelles, where the ANC does not even have an office, refugees, students or children.

62. After committing one flagrant act of aggression after another against independent African States, the régime has the effrontery to propose a so-called non-aggression pact with them. Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia—to mention but a few—not one of these States has sent a single soldier to fire a single shot in South African territory. Yet, Pretoria is constantly sending its assassination squads, commandos, war planes and submarines to murder ANC leaders, commit massacres, and violate the airspace of its neighbours, thereby exacting a terrible price in blood.

63. No people in the world long for peace more than the oppressed people of South Africa, who have always lived under the tyrannical rule of violence, and no organization has worked more patiently for a peaceful solution than the ANC. But the massacres to which our people have been subjected, the refusal to let them participate in any democratic process, the tribal fragmentation of our motherland into bantustans whose tribal armies are to be set against the liberation efforts, the forced removal and denationalization of millions of black people, the daily hangings of our people, reaching a level of 129 in 1980 alone, the continued imprisonment of our leaders such as Nelson Mandela, the prohibition of public meetings, the muzzling of activists and leaders at present exiled or under house arrest in remote areas, the frantic war preparations and full-scale militarization, the gigantic campaign to isolate the ANC through massive dissemination of forged printed matter purporting to be by ANC and espousing intentions to kill men, women and children and strengthen the ruthless apparatus of the police state—all this has taught us one thing, namely, the *apartheid* régime and its policies are the obstacle to peace, security and stability in southern Africa and to liberty, justice, peace and prosperity in South Africa itself. As resolution 38/11, adopted by the Assembly on 15 November, declared, "only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

64. By itself, the Pretoria régime, whose policy of *apartheid* stands universally condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security, could not afford to defy the international community by escalating this crime, to commit endless breaches of the peace against independent African countries, to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, to occupy part of Angola, to wage an undeclared war of economic and armed aggression to destabilize and topple independent African countries, to legislate, to arrogate to itself the right to intervene in all African countries and publicly to pressure, intimidate and blackmail African countries to evict the ANC and enter into so-called anti-terrorist agreements with it.

65. While we call on all Member States to join in paying a glowing tribute to the independent countries of southern Africa for the sacrifice they are daily making in resisting

these pressures, we strongly condemn those Western countries, especially the United States and Israel, that are continuing their economic, military and nuclear collaboration with the Pretoria régime.

66. The position taken by the Reagan Administration in embracing the Pretoria régime, whose policy of *apartheid* is not just the offshoot of fascism but is based on Fascist legislative measures, such as the one imposing exclusive citizenship and others which are but photocopies of Nazi laws, calls for strong condemnation. Almost 100 years ago, the Berlin Conference carved our beloved continent into colonial and personal belongings; but it is no exaggeration to say that since the Second World War the most calamitous development, which today poses the most serious threat to the African continent, is the Pretoria-Washington axis publicly announced by President Reagan shortly after he took office.

67. A lot has happened since then. Matola in Mozambique was attacked, and then came the attack on and occupation of parts of Angola; the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] in Angola; the continued occupation of Namibia; the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola; the assassination of ANC leaders and activists; the loan by the IMF to help the régime subsidize its wars of repression and aggression; the secret visits and discussions between Pentagon officials and the régime's high-ranking military intelligence officers; the visit to South Africa by the head of the CIA; the extremely negative voting pattern on the anti-*apartheid* resolutions before the General Assembly and the vetoes in the Security Council; statements offering to reward the African countries that befriend South Africa and threatening to punish and even topple those that assist the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]; the holding of hearings in South Africa and Washington allegedly to investigate the ANC-SWAPO relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic; the granting of permission to seven United States-based transnational corporations to provide \$50 million worth of technical and maintenance service to racist South Africa's nuclear plants. The list is long and includes a series of violations of the arms embargo, the branding of the liberation movements as terrorist and the subjecting of SWAPO and ANC to harassment on the question of visas, as well as demands to inspect our books and files.

68. On its part, the Pretoria régime has been encouraged towards increased intransigence and repression in Namibia and South Africa itself and even more brazen belligerence and aggression beyond its borders, to the point of publicly invoking the Monroe Doctrine.

69. Current developments in the United States and around the world continue to vindicate the position of the ANC that, once informed of the criminality of *apartheid*, the broad masses of the people come out in support of, and exert pressure on their Governments to join in, the international fight for the eradication of this inhuman system. We take this opportunity to commend the athletes and artists who have turned down lucrative fees and refused to play or perform in racist South Africa. We commend the Governments, the anti-*apartheid* and solidarity groups, the civic organizations and the national and international organizations as well as individual men and women whose efforts in support of the struggle against *apartheid* in general and to strengthen the campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners have taken the following forms: the establishment of close bilateral

relations with and the opening of offices of the ANC, the granting of financial and material support to and the provision of scholarships for anti-*apartheid* student refugees; the honouring of the South African political prisoners through the naming of public places after them; and the conferring of honorary degrees on and the granting of freedom of capital and other cities to Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

70. The recently announced position taken by the Government of Australia in favour of a sports and cultural boycott and its invitation to the ANC and SWAPO to open offices in Melbourne are the latest of the ever-increasing examples of positive positions taken by some Western countries—positions we welcome as the beginning of the process that should lead to the total isolation of the Pretoria régime and full support for the international fight waged against *apartheid* by all the countries of the world, regardless of their racial, political, religious and ideological affiliations.

71. In expressing our appreciation to the Government of Australia, we wish to extend our gratitude again to all the countries—especially African, non-aligned, Scandinavian and socialist—that, in differing degrees, have always lent and continue to lend active support to the ANC and whose efforts in the mass political mobilization and armed struggle led to the decision taken by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi last March, commending the ANC as the vanguard of the national liberation movement in South Africa.

72. Despite the much-vaunted military might and the repressive and oppressive character of the now desperate *apartheid* régime, which continues to enjoy the full collaboration of the Reagan Administration and the Governments of other Western countries, especially Israel, we are confident that victory over the minority racist rule in South Africa is inevitable. We have no illusions, however. We know that the struggle will be long and bloody. There is growing international support; yet it is still grossly inadequate. The long-awaited imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime, in particular, would immensely help to shorten the duration of this struggle and reduce the loss of human life.

73. We appeal to all Member States to include in the agendas of their bilateral relations with the three Western members of the Security Council the need for them to abandon their protection of racist South Africa through the abuse of the veto power—an act that makes them accomplices in all the crimes committed by the Pretoria régime against the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, southern Africa and, indeed, the world.

74. We wish to declare solemnly from this rostrum that the ANC, for its part, will relentlessly pursue this struggle until final victory. In doing so, we pay a tribute to the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, are waging a heroic struggle which, for some years now, has had a direct positive effect on our struggle. Now that we have embarked on the intensification of this, our common struggle against the common enemy and for a common objective, we are confident that victory is certain.

75. Mr. VLĂSCLEANU (Romania): The institutionalized system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and the practices of *apartheid* have been constantly denounced and rejected by the United Nations as an outrage against human conscience, dignity and civilization. There has been unanimous recognition of the fact that, by its policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime of South Africa is flagrantly violating the basic principles

of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaim the full equality of men without any discrimination as to their race, colour or creed. It has also been clearly stated that such policies blatantly infringe upon the very foundations of freedom, dignity, justice, international law and peace.

Mr. Bhatt (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

76. The United Nations assessed the harmful consequences of the *apartheid* policies and the dangerous threat they represent to the healthy development of the human race and rightly declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity. As far back as 1963, the Security Council assessed the situation in South Africa as representing a grave threat to international peace and security and called for firm action to put an end to the system of racism, domination and oppression, exploitation and humiliation of the great majority of the people of South Africa, thus supporting the just struggle of the oppressed South African people for their emancipation and national dignity.

77. The repeated condemnations of the policy of *apartheid*, the measures adopted and the appeals for a constructive dialogue to settle the racial conflict launched by the United Nations and by the African countries through the well-known Lusaka Manifesto⁴ have all been arrogantly rejected by the racist régime of South Africa. The measures so far taken, separately or collectively by Member States, have not yet changed the situation in South Africa.

78. Both the present debate and the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* have clearly indicated that the racist régime has intensified its brutal repression of the large majority of the South African population and its aggressive actions against neighbouring independent African countries, and that the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa in general have become more dangerous and explosive, greatly threatening stability in the region and international peace and security.

79. Even now during our debates we are witnessing the continuation of the strengthening of *apartheid* and the enforcement of racial supremacy and oppression, carried out behind a smoke-screen through cosmetic arrangements such as the so-called constitutional proposals or reforms, recently rejected and condemned unanimously by the General Assembly. Such diversionist measures, intended to undermine the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa, do not bring any real changes in the real nature of *apartheid*. In reality, such measures, as part of the *apartheid* policy, are meant to counter the resistance of the people and of the opponents of *apartheid*, and of those who are fighting for a democratic society that would secure fundamental rights and freedoms for the entire South African people, without distinction as to race, colour or belief.

80. The *apartheid* policies that brought about extreme tension and conflict in South Africa have been expanded beyond its border. They have found external expression in the ever more dangerous and expansionist drive of the racist régime all over the southern part of the African continent against the people of southern Africa. It is a notorious fact that South Africa has constantly refused seriously to observe the inalienable rights of the Namibian people and has extended its *apartheid* regulations to Namibia, brutally repressing the struggle for national liberation and strengthening its régime of military occupation of that Territory, which is the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Through its obstructive position and by creating obstacles to efforts aimed at implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) regarding Namibia's accession to independence, South Africa is

trying to gain time in order to resort to an internal neo-colonialist solution that would secure the maintenance of its hegemony over that Territory, which is rich in natural resources and is of strategic importance. The particularly dangerous drive against international peace and security pursued by the South African racists has been further aggravated by its aggressive acts against neighbouring African States, by military air raids against Lesotho and Mozambique and, especially, by acts of war against independent and sovereign Angola, and by the military occupation of a part of Angolan territory, all of which represent grave breaches of international peace and security.

81. The arrogant attitude of the South African régime, its consistent defiance of the will of Member States and of relevant United Nations resolutions and its breaches of the rules of international conduct would not be possible had the South African racists not benefited from the co-operation and support of certain countries, mainly in the economic and military fields, contrary to United Nations appeals. It would not have been possible if the proposals for adoption of compulsory sanctions against South Africa had not been blocked by abuse of the veto power in the Security Council.

82. The Romanian delegation considers that, in the present circumstances of extreme international tensions, there is an ever more urgent need to go beyond the unity of the will of Member States in condemning the policy of *apartheid* and its harmful international consequences and to achieve unity of action in order to avert the extremely grave situation created in South Africa and all over southern Africa, to eradicate the policy of *apartheid* and to put an end to the aggressive actions and acts of war perpetrated by the South African racist régime against neighbouring independent African countries. This new approach would naturally require a concrete and determined expression of United Nations responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and the just cause of peoples all over southern Africa. This should encompass also the participation of those countries whose co-operation with the South African régime is taken by the racist régime as an incentive to perpetuate its policy of *apartheid*, colonial domination and expansion.

83. It is obvious that, by its attempt to obstruct the struggle of the great majority of the people of the Republic of South Africa against *apartheid* and racial discrimination and the struggle of the Namibian people against the illegal occupation of their country and by its acts of aggression and war against independent African countries, the racist régime has transformed southern Africa into a hotbed of grave tension and conflict and of destabilization of the countries in the area and all over Africa, thus endangering the cause of peace and security in the region and in the international arena.

84. In the view of our delegation, it is time to understand that recourse to the policy of force, acts of aggression, expansionist drive and armed intervention will not make possible a settlement of the problems in that area; nor will it make a reality of the wish for a peaceful and serene life expressed by the peoples of the region. The only realistic course dictated by political logic, mankind's conscience and the interests of peace is to repeal the rules of *apartheid* and end the illegal occupation of Namibia and the aggressive acts against independent African countries, and to follow this with the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation between all countries in the region.

85. In the spirit of its policy of militant solidarity with peoples which rise up against foreign domination and for independence and freedom, Romania and the Romanian

people have always resolutely condemned colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, the racist policy of *apartheid* fostered by the régime in Pretoria, the illegal occupation of Namibia, and the acts of aggression against independent African countries.

86. Our country fully supports the struggle of the peoples of Africa against the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and to strengthen their national independence, to ensure the immediate accession of Namibia to independence, to eradicate the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination of the régime in Pretoria, and to secure the right of the majority population of South Africa to freedom, equality and socio-economic progress. Romania actively supports the liberation movement in South Africa and the other national liberation movements in southern Africa in their struggle to eradicate racial and *apartheid* policies and for the cause of freedom and progress, as well as the struggle of all African countries to strengthen their economic and political independence.

87. This policy of support has been reaffirmed at numerous summit meetings with Heads of African States and national liberation movements, as well as during the recent visit made by the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, to a number of African countries. Taking place as it did at a time when attempts are being made to perpetuate the colonial domination of Namibia, when the régime in Pretoria is trying to destabilize the young independent African countries and when the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination is becoming more brazen, the visit to Africa was an opportunity to reaffirm strongly Romania's full solidarity with the struggle against the policy of *apartheid*, the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for its freedom and national dignity, the struggle for independence of the Namibian people and the struggle for respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line and all other African States.

88. We are convinced that the struggle of the majority population of the Republic of South Africa to achieve its ideals of freedom and social justice will be crowned with success. As President Nicolae Ceaușescu recently stressed:

"The future undoubtedly belongs to a world in which inequality and oppression will be completely eradicated, and in which peoples will develop freely, according to their own wishes. We strongly believe and are convinced that such a world will finally be realized, but that requires further struggle and the sustained activity of all human beings, all peoples, yearning for freedom and independence."

In this spirit, we should like to stress once again the importance and urgency of redoubling United Nations efforts in support of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and all the peoples of southern Africa to eliminate the hotbed of tension in that region and to ensure international peace and security.

89. We believe that abolition of the policies of *apartheid* and the creation of conditions enabling the peoples in the southern part of the African continent to participate freely in shaping their own future represent the major imperatives of international life and that this must be duly reflected in the adoption of effective measures and action by the General Assembly at this session.

90. Mr. AMR (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Year after year since its seventh session, the General Assembly has been seized of the question of the inhuman policy of *apartheid* of the racist Government of South Africa. Despite all these debates and despite the rejection of that policy by all the States of the world, regardless

of their ideology, to this day mankind still suffers from this infamous stigma, which weighs heavily on the conscience of all.

91. There still exists in this world of ours, as we approach the end of the twentieth century, a régime which classifies its population according to a single criterion—the colour of the skin. Accordingly, it grants to some groups all the rights that at the same time it denies to the majority. This is all the more ruthless in that those enjoying the rights are the colonizing minority while those denied them are the majority who own the land.

92. Recently, the racist régime in Pretoria devised what it termed "constitutional changes" designed to grant to the so-called Coloured persons and those of Asian origin limited participation in South African parliamentary life.

93. The Egyptian delegation maintains that the changes that the racist régime intends to make, beginning in 1985, represent one of the most serious developments in South Africa in recent times and another link in a chain of efforts by the racist régime to deprive the black majority of its genuine and inalienable rights. What are called "constitutional changes" in South Africa will result only in turning certain members of the population—those classified as Coloured and of Indian origin—into second-class citizens, allowed by the régime to exercise certain rights, in the most limited way, under the supervision and control of the white minority, which will maintain all power and authority. In return, those two categories of persons will be subject to compulsory conscription into the forces of the racist régime, entailing participation in the acts of repression carried out by the régime against the indigenous population and in the campaigns of aggression against neighbouring African States. In the meantime, the black majority, which owns the land, will not have any rights; rather, the racist régime will continue to implement its plans for the creation of 10 independent bantustans, extending over only 12.7 per cent of the total area of South Africa, in which the black population, which numbers 24 million, will be concentrated, while the white minority will live in the rest of the land, covering 87.3 per cent of the total area, which the racist régime intends to turn into what it calls "white Africa", where the true owners of the land will be treated like foreigners.

94. It is clear that the single aim of this latest manoeuvre on the part of the racist régime of South Africa is to tighten its grip and implement the final stage of its racist policies, with a view to reaching what it calls the peaceful solution of the problem of South Africa.

95. Egypt calls on all justice- and freedom-loving States of the world to see the true face of these constitutional changes and not to be hoodwinked by the claims of the racist régime in Pretoria but to announce their complete rejection of these changes and to resist their implementation by all possible means. The General Assembly actually voiced the will of the international community in this connection when it adopted, just a few days ago, resolution 38/11, which categorically condemned those changes.

96. In addition to these new manoeuvres on the part of the racist régime, it persists in the classic methods of repression and oppression which it first used against the black majority in general and those members of that majority who dared to challenge its domination and despotism in particular. The number of black freedom fighters in the racist prisons of the régime is increasing from day to day—and here we wish to recall the names of Nelson Mandela and of Zeph Mothopeng, the 69-year-old black patriotic leader who is imprisoned on Robben Island at present, with other colleagues. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison. According to the judge, he was

accused of having organized the Soweto incidents in June 1976. This fighter and hundreds more are imprisoned in the gaols of the racist régime despite the numerous resolutions of the United Nations calling on that régime to grant amnesty to political prisoners.

97. One cannot but wonder why, despite wide international denunciation, whether at the formal or the popular level, of the racist policies of the Pretoria régime, and despite all resolutions of the United Nations, that régime still finds itself in a situation which allows it to continue its racist policies and persist in its brutal repression of the black majority, even extending its acts of aggression outside its borders to strike at neighbouring African States which are doing their duty in assisting the black fighters.

98. The answer lies in the fact that despite this broad condemnation and the numerous resolutions, there are certain States and transnational corporations that continue to co-operate with the racist régime in economic, military and other fields. That co-operation is the life-blood which provides the racist régime of Pretoria with the vital elements of existence and enables it to continue its invidious policies, in defiance of the will of the international community.

99. From this rostrum we call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime since that is the only way to compel that régime to renounce its racist policies and implement the resolutions of the United Nations, both concerning those policies and in regard to its occupation of Namibia. We call on all the States of the world to observe this boycott and to take such measures as to guarantee that no corporation or subsidiary thereof will deal with the racist régime of Pretoria. We wish to draw attention to the fact that the only alternative is a bloody confrontation, the unforeseen and uncontrollable consequences of which would go beyond southern Africa.

100. With regard to the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime, we cannot fail to recall certain international conferences which were held in this connection, the most important of which were the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on Sanctions against South Africa, held at The Hague on 26 and 27 November 1982; the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and Other Actions against the *Apartheid* Régime, held at Geneva on 10 and 11 June 1983; and the International Conference on Sanctions against *Apartheid* in Sports, held in London from 27 to 29 June 1983. The resolutions adopted by those three conferences were unanimous in underlining the necessity of calling on all States of the world to make every possible effort to formulate and implement a mandatory boycott, in all fields, against the racist régime of South Africa to compel it to renounce its racist policies and implement United Nations resolutions in this respect.

101. The delegation of Egypt has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22 and Add.1]. We wish to express our commendation to Mr. Maitama-Sule, the Chairman of the Committee, and the other members of the Committee for the considerable efforts they have made in order to bring about the imposition of sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa, to provide greater assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa and to mobilize international public opinion in support of the struggle of the freedom fighters, as well as the Committee's efforts to secure the release of the political prisoners in South Africa.

102. My delegation reaffirms Egypt's unswerving position in support of the heroic people of South Africa and

its liberation movements until the repugnant racist policies are abolished and black majority rule is achieved in a truly democratic State.

103. Egypt also wishes to pay tribute to the front-line States and to express its support for the position of principle of the national liberation movements in their struggle to achieve their goal despite the acts of aggression and the pressure to which they are subjected.

104. Let it be clear to everyone that the *apartheid* policy cannot be reformed or ameliorated. The only ethical way to tackle this inhuman policy is to uproot it altogether and thus to rid mankind's conscience of this stigma once and for all. That is the responsibility assumed by this international Organization.

105. Mr. BWAKIRA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): For some 30 years now, the United Nations has been tirelessly considering the policy of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa. During that entire period, the General Assembly and the Security Council have continually adopted resolutions unconditionally condemning the institutionalization of *apartheid* in South Africa. The entire international community has consistently denounced the violation of human rights, the privation, the harassment, the humiliation, the arbitrary imprisonments and summary executions and all the injustices that the black population have constantly suffered in the country of *apartheid*.

106. Since it assumed power in 1948, the fascist National Party has institutionalized and consolidated the system of *apartheid*, thus ensuring in South Africa, a country situated on African land, the supremacy of the white race in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres, in other words, in all human activities, in violation of all the fundamental rights of the African majority.

107. The system of *apartheid*, based on racial segregation, in the second half of the twentieth century, puts all mankind to shame.

108. In spite of the repeated appeals of the United Nations and all peace-loving international organizations, the racist régime of South Africa has continued its inhuman and brutal policy of *apartheid*. Neither the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, nor the Charter of the United Nations, nor the resolutions and other decisions of the organs of the United Nations system have succeeded in deflecting, much less changing, the dehumanizing policy of *apartheid*.

109. This is clear from the report [*ibid.*] submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, presided over by Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, to whom we pay a well-deserved tribute for his dedication to the just cause of the South African people and for the work he has accomplished. We also extend our delegation's warmest congratulations on the occasion of his appointment to the very important post of Minister of Information and National Guidance of Nigeria. The report describes an explosive situation in South Africa. My delegation most sincerely congratulates the Special Committee on its efforts to sensitize international opinion. The international community is aware of the evils of *apartheid*. It is deeply concerned at the serious threat to international peace and security that the odious policy of *apartheid* represents. The policy of *apartheid*, based as it is on the separation and categorization of races and on the domination of one race by another, is an affront to the universal conscience.

110. Subjected to all manner of discriminatory laws, the blacks, who constitute 73 per cent of the population of South Africa, find 12.7 per cent of the land reserved for them, while 87.3 per cent of the land goes to the whites,

who number barely 2.7 million. The blacks are relegated to the bantustans, reserves of arid, barren lands.

111. The heroic struggle that they are waging under the leadership of their liberation movement will never end until their rights are recognized and respected.

112. The black populations are rising up against discriminatory legislation that treats them like beasts of burden and denies them their most fundamental rights, to which everybody aspires.

113. Limitations on freedom of movement, residential segregation, matrimonial segregation, segregation in education and segregation in other spheres have become their daily lot. Their revolt is often drowned in blood; the horrible massacres in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Soweto in 1976 are still fresh in our minds.

114. In order further to strengthen *apartheid* and give it an even tighter hold, the racist régime of South Africa at the beginning of this month organized a political deception through its so-called constitutional proposals. It organized a so-called referendum, with the participation of an exclusively white electorate.

115. The General Assembly, through its resolution 38/11, adopted on 15 November, categorically rejected this political masquerade. These so-called constitutional reforms in fact exclude the African majority and attribute to the Coloureds and Asians insignificant responsibilities, permitting them to discuss their own affairs with the authorization of the white Head of State. These so-called reforms give them the crumbs of power in order to preserve the privileges of the whites. This is an attempt to breach the common front and unity that exists against the policy of *apartheid*. It is a consolidation of the institution of *apartheid*.

116. There can be neither peace nor security in southern Africa without the elimination of *apartheid*. South Africa, with the support of its partners, perpetuates its policy of oppression against the African population of South Africa. Even worse, the racist authorities embark on acts of aggression against the front-line countries and persist in their illegal occupation of Namibia. They continue with impunity their illegal occupation of part of Angolan territory, in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The illegal occupation of Namibia also continues, in spite of the fact that South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was revoked in 1966.

117. It is therefore clear that the policy of *apartheid* presents real dangers, not only within South Africa but also in neighbouring countries and in the world at large. *Apartheid* constitutes a constant threat to international peace and security. It is high time for the international community to take energetic and appropriate measures to compel the racist régime of South Africa to renounce its criminal acts against the black majority in South Africa and its repeated acts of aggression against the front-line countries.

118. Everyone knows that South Africa would not flout world public opinion if it did not enjoy the support of certain countries that give it all the financial and economic assistance and moral support that it needs in its criminal enterprises. Furthermore, it has a highly sophisticated military arsenal given it by its allies, which explains its well-known self-assurance and arrogance.

119. My delegation is concerned at the attitude of certain countries that, while defending the principles of democracy and human rights, unceasingly give their assistance to the racist régime of South Africa, thus making it possible for it to strengthen its policy of *apartheid*.

120. In order to put an end to *apartheid*, the United Nations must ensure respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter by imposing upon South Africa the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Furthermore, the international community should boycott the régime of *apartheid* in all fields, give increased assistance to the liberation movement which is fighting against that ignominious system, and demand the release of Nelson Mandela and other freedom fighters without delay.

121. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): Nowhere are basic human rights violated in such a systematic and massive way as in South Africa, where racism has been elevated to the status of a State philosophy and forms the basis of the constitution itself—both in its present form and in the form recently proposed.

122. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be eliminated. On this the whole international community stands united. *Apartheid* has justly been a major concern of the United Nations for more than three decades. It will justly remain a major concern until it no longer exists.

123. *Apartheid* is not only morally reprehensible and legally indefensible; there is also overwhelming evidence, both historical and present, that it is a mistaken policy—even from the point of view of the South African Government. Ultimately it is doomed to failure. Yet, instead of facing the inevitable, South Africa persists in its policy and thus causes daily suffering and humiliation to the majority of its own population and to the neighbouring countries. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has constantly kept us aware of these stark realities. A special tribute is due to the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, who has guided the work of the Committee in an admirable way.

124. *Apartheid* generates violence, both internal and external. Members of liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity have been languishing in South African prisons without recourse to due legal process, some of them for most of their lifetimes. Executions of the opponents of *apartheid* take place, in spite of appeals by the Security Council, the General Assembly and individual Governments. Externally, South Africa continues what is aptly called a “destabilization policy” of the neighbouring countries. Angola is under constant siege. Lesotho, a peaceful country valiantly trying to respect its obligations under international law, is blackmailed. Maputo is attacked.

125. In these conditions, the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is not enough. Further measures by the Security Council are needed. Further pressure must be applied on South Africa. Finland continues to study such possibilities in the framework of the joint Nordic programme of action.

126. The international community cannot afford to despair in the face of the grim situation in South Africa. Racism is one of the anachronistic remnants of the past. If we look back but half a decade, we clearly realize that the trend in the area of southern Africa as a whole is towards freedom, equality and independence. This trend cannot be reversed, and it is the task of the United Nations to sustain and accelerate it.

127. Mr. KURODA (Japan): It is profoundly regrettable that the Member States of this world body must once again consider the hateful policies of *apartheid*, which the Government of South Africa clings to so tenaciously. Ever since it was admitted to the United Nations in 1956, Japan has joined the Member States in calling for an end to those policies. How many more years will it take before South Africa heeds the voice of the

international community and recognizes the fundamental human rights of all the members of its population? It is incumbent upon South Africa, as a State Member of this Organization, to abandon its policies of *apartheid*, since they are diametrically opposed to the Charter of the United Nations, which calls for "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race . . .".

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

129. Japan's opposition to racial discrimination, therefore, is based not on some abstract intellectual concept but, rather, on the bitter experiences of its own people, who have become profoundly sensitive to the problem.

130. There have been some developments in South Africa since the last session of the General Assembly. First, a referendum among the white population on the proposed constitutional reform was conducted earlier this month by South Africa. The purpose of the proposed constitutional reform—the extension for the first time of certain political rights to non-white people—may itself be desirable. However, these rights would be extended only to so-called Coloured and Asian people, and not to black people, who comprise more than 70 per cent of the population. Because of this very limited scope, the proposal for reform cannot be regarded as a genuine response to the calls, heard both from within South Africa and throughout the world community, for the abolition of *apartheid*. It can even be considered as a device to reinforce racial discrimination against black people.

131. Secondly, certain economic and social measures have been taken recently in South Africa. Some of them have been taken with a view to protecting the basic right to work of black people. In addition, restrictions prohibiting migrant workers from the so-called homelands from living in the cities have been relaxed. We do not think these measures in themselves will produce significant changes. Nevertheless, we feel that these developments are an indication, albeit a faint one, that the concerted efforts both within and outside the United Nations to put pressure on South Africa are having an effect. We should therefore not be discouraged, but, rather, should with patience and unflagging determination continue to apply pressure, so that the racial barriers in South Africa will gradually but steadily be destroyed.

132. My country has been making the utmost efforts to persuade South Africa to abolish its abhorrent system of *apartheid*. On this occasion, I should like to outline Japan's policies towards that country.

133. First, Japan has no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor does it recognize the so-called bantustan States.

134. Secondly, in the field of economic relations, Japan does not permit direct investment, including the establishment of local corporations in South Africa, by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. This position is maintained despite Japan's general policy of maximum liberalization of direct investment abroad.

Further, the Government of Japan, respecting the relevant United Nations resolutions, has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa. Japan's economic relations with South Africa are strictly confined to normal trade.

135. Thirdly, there is absolutely no military co-operation between Japan and South Africa, nor is there any exchange of military personnel. Japan's vigorous observance of the arms embargo against South Africa, as decided by Security Council resolution 418 (1977), is recorded in the relevant documents of the sanctions committee established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977).

136. Fourthly, in the field of nuclear development, Japan strictly upholds the three non-nuclear principles of not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing them and not permitting their introduction into Japan. Thus, Japan has not extended—indeed it is not even able to extend—any co-operation whatsoever to South Africa in the field of nuclear weapons development. With regard to peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or any related materials, nor has it extended any assistance to South Africa in nuclear technology development. It is therefore most regrettable that unfounded accusations are still being made even in United Nations forums with respect to Japan's alleged co-operation with South Africa in the field of nuclear development.

137. Fifthly, in compliance with the resolution of this Organization, the Government of Japan maintains the policy of not issuing visas to South Africans for the purpose of cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities.

138. Lastly, the Government of Japan, deeply concerned about the victims of *apartheid*, has been extending support to international humanitarian and educational efforts through United Nations funds and programmes.

139. Before concluding, I must reiterate that the Government of Japan does not support the argument that the solution to this problem can be achieved through armed struggle. My delegation sincerely hopes that during this session, Member States will devise peaceful and realistic measures, reflecting the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, to combat *apartheid*, and that they will demonstrate the resolve to implement those measures in an effective manner.

140. Mr. KOMENDANT (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet people, who carried out the great October Socialist revolution and thus destroyed all forms of exploitation, including national oppression, are in a particularly good position to understand the aspirations of those who today are fighting for their liberation against racism and racial discrimination. From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet State at once stood at the side of the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. Therefore, the people of our country sincerely welcome the historic changes which have occurred on the African continent under the mighty blows of the national liberation struggle. Today, when we see, instead of a solid line of colonies in Africa, 50 emerging and developing sovereign African States, when 95 per cent of the territory of Africa has been cleansed of the remnants of colonialism, it is a particularly stark contrast to see the flagrant historical injustices which are still being preserved in the very south of that continent. What is occurring in southern Africa cannot be described other than as a crime against humanity, where the racist régime does not pay attention to any generally recognized international standards, ignores the appeals of the world community and the United Nations

and implements a policy of terror and repression against the native population of the country. At the present time, thousands of people are languishing in prisons, many freedom fighters have been executed and some have died under torture while in prison. The outstanding leaders of the people are thrown behind bars under life sentences. In an attempt to maintain and strengthen their rule, the racists have used violence to deport more than 3 million people. In accordance with the degrading pass laws, millions of Africans are deprived of their freedom. The racist régime carries out segregation in schools, hospitals and other institutions and practices crude discrimination against the black majority in education, health and other services.

141. In carrying out its policy of bantustanization, the racist régime is striving to deprive of citizenship the whole African majority and thus to perpetuate the rule of the white population. Pitiless exploitation, unemployment, poverty, hunger, serious illnesses and a continuous threat to life are what *apartheid* brings to the Africans—80 per cent of the population—in the Republic of South Africa. The upsetting news of killings and mass repressions in Ciskei are a further and convincing piece of evidence of the true situation of the African population in the bantustans.

142. The political manoeuvrings of the racist régime in respect of the so-called new constitution cannot delude the world community. The African majority is, as before, deprived of its civil rights. Therefore, General Assembly resolution 38/11, adopted on 15 November by an absolute majority of the countries of the world community, justly states

“that the so-called ‘constitutional proposals’ are contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, that the results of the referendum are of no validity whatsoever and that the enforcement of the proposed ‘constitution’ will inevitably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole”.

143. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the peoples of Africa justly continue to demand the complete elimination of *apartheid*, the liberation of political prisoners, the liquidation of the bantustans and the ensurance of general and universal suffrage in the country. The *apartheid* régime not only imposes enormous sufferings on the people of southern Africa, but has created a genuine and growing threat to world peace and security. What is more, world public opinion is seriously concerned with the policy of aggression, destabilization and terrorism carried out by South Africa against the independent States of the region, and also with its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. The account of the mission of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to front-line States [A/38/22, paras. 22-32] provides evidence of the escalation by the racist régime of its acts of aggression, economic sabotage and terror against the neighbouring States.

144. The Soviet delegation notes the fact that, with the direct connivance of and in close co-operation with the Western Powers and Israel, the racist régime continues to increase its military power. For example, the 1983/84 military budget of South Africa was 15.9 per cent larger than the 1982/83 budget and is now more than \$3 billion. The world community is particularly concerned over South Africa's efforts to obtain nuclear weapons. As was noted in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in the current year there was a substantial increase in the nuclear potential of South Africa, which also possesses missiles with a radius of action of up to 1,500 miles. All of this constitutes a serious threat not

only to the neighbouring States but to the African continent as a whole.

145. It is the duty of the United Nations to adopt urgent and effective measures to block the dangerous development of events in southern Africa. United Nations actions against the criminal policy of *apartheid* go back a long way. The Organization has done a great deal to unmask the forces which co-operate with the racist régime, to mobilize world public opinion for the active struggle against *apartheid*, to organize a boycott of South Africa and to help the oppressed people of that country and its national liberation movement.

146. A major step on the path towards isolating South Africa was the decision of the Security Council, in resolution 418 (1977), adopted on 4 November 1977, on a mandatory embargo on the delivery of weapons to South Africa. Security Council resolution 473 (1980), of 13 June 1980, stressed that the South African

“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”.

147. The Soviet delegation would like to note the impressive work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria. As is known, this year marks the twentieth anniversary of the first meeting of this Committee, and we wish it further success in its exceptionally important and useful work against *apartheid*.

148. The racist régime would not be able to ignore the numerous decisions of the United Nations condemning the shameful and dangerous policy of Pretoria if it were not for the open support of a number of Western Powers, including, in the first place, the United States. These countries, by their policy and through practical measures, have for many years been undermining the implementation of United Nations decisions on sanctions against South Africa, as was quite correctly noted in the report of the Special Committee:

“despite the commitment and sacrifices of the great majority of States, because of the diplomatic, political, economic and military collaboration of some Western countries and Israel with the racist régime of South Africa, the anxiety of transnational corporations and vested interests to profit from that inhuman system, the support derived by *apartheid* from racist elements abroad, and the cold war attitudes of powerful forces in the West which view the *apartheid* régime as an ally, especially in times of international tension” [*ibid.*, para. 256].

149. The Special Committee's report quite correctly stresses the particular responsibility of the Government of the United States, which is a permanent member of the Security Council but which carries out “a policy diametrically opposed to the essential lines of United Nations action against *apartheid*” [*ibid.*, para. 260]. By their multi-faceted co-operation with the racist régime, these Western Powers in fact help it to overcome its isolation and to increase its aggressions in southern Africa. They thereby share with the Pretoria régime responsibility for the sufferings of the South African people and for the creation in that region of a threat to international peace.

150. The representatives of the major Western Powers condemn *apartheid* verbally, but when it comes to deeds, they continue, together with the racist régime, to co-operate in pitilessly exploiting the natural resources and the

people of South Africa and Namibia. Of the 2,000 transnational corporations which are now active in South Africa, 20 per cent are American, while 6,000 other United States companies engage in various financial and commercial operations with South Africa. Fifty-three transnational corporations, 15 of which belong to magnates of the United States, are operating in Namibia and are growing fat and prosperous through barbarous exploitation of the native population, who are deprived of all human rights.

151. It is not therefore surprising that the United States and other Western Powers are very interested in maintaining the racist régime in southern Africa and are giving it every possible assistance.

152. The military co-operation of leading Western Powers with South Africa is particularly dangerous. Despite United Nations decisions, they assist the racist régime to strengthen its military potential. According to a report from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, from 1970 to 1977 alone South Africa imported \$780 million worth of weapons, including armoured vehicles, ships, missiles and aircraft. The major role in supplying the South African military-industrial complex is played by transnational corporations. Thanks to their capital investment in South Africa, the Pretoria régime is able to meet about 75 per cent of its present military needs. The rest of its requirements in weapons, *matériel* and so forth is willingly sold to South Africa by the transnational corporations. The dangerous consequences of the growing military and nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa were noted by the international community at the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983. The facts show that the continuing co-operation by the United States and certain other Western Powers with South Africa is a principal obstacle to the eradication of *apartheid*.

153. The international community can no longer tolerate the existence of the *apartheid* régime, which has caused so much suffering to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and which threatens international peace and security. The increasingly explosive situation in southern Africa requires the taking of decisive measures to prevent a catastrophe.

154. The interests of peace demand that South Africa end its aggression against the neighbouring countries, that it withdraw its troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and that it put a stop to its racist, *apartheid* system—that shameful phenomenon.

155. The Soviet Union is in favour of the strict and complete observance by all States of the arms embargo adopted by the Security Council against South Africa and supports the demand of the African countries for the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

156. The immediate ending of nuclear collaboration by Western countries with South Africa must be demanded. The Security Council must adopt the measures necessary to prevent South Africa from acquiring nuclear weapons.

157. The present General Assembly session must play an important role in the further development of the struggle against *apartheid*. The implementation of the Programme of Action against *Apartheid* adopted by the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983,¹ could be of major significance.

158. The United Nations must take decisions supporting measures adopted by Governments and by intergovern-

mental and non-governmental organizations against *apartheid*.

159. The Soviet Union is at the side of those struggling against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Our country has given and will continue to give all the necessary support to the righteous struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, for the independence of Namibia. We are also at the side of the African States in their struggle for genuine independence and progress. The Soviet Union will continue its consistent support for the national liberation movements. We are firmly and decisively against the aggressive designs of imperialism and in favour of the most rapid eradication of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

160. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): There is nothing more impressive or more significant than the debate to which the consideration of the question of *apartheid* has always given rise, as well as the unparalleled number of decisions and resolutions which, over the years, have constantly expressed the international community's concern and its determination to work for the elimination of the system of *apartheid*.

161. *Apartheid* is pictured as a policy of "separate development", whereas it actually codifies regression. It is based on a genuine stratification of races and, therefore, can be defined as a minority system of institutionalized racism inspiring repulsion and disgust.

162. What is more, this system constitutes both a crime against humanity and a challenge to the universal conscience.

163. We are reminded each day of the tragedy taking place in South Africa. An entire people has been deprived of its very identity and banished from its own homeland. The South African blacks are arbitrarily arrested, persecuted or deposited in dormitory-cities and the slums of bantustans.

164. The order in South Africa is a diabolical order invented to legalize the oppression and exploitation of 23 million human beings.

165. Analysed as a dogma of racial supremacy and as a system of government based on oppression and exploitation, *apartheid* cannot but engender violence.

166. To allege that the system of *apartheid* can change because of "persuasion", "internal reforms" and "constructive engagement" means deliberately minimizing the tragedy of the South African people and giving that tragedy the appearance of a passing violation of the rules governing all human societies. It means also giving credence to the idea that the *apartheid* régime could improve and become bearable through a few reforms that would, however, maintain the essential structures intact.

167. Using the kind of logic characteristic of a system based on a policy of the exclusive monopoly of power and racial domination, the *apartheid* régime ensured the approval on 2 November last, by an exclusively white electorate, of "constitutional proposals" allegedly designed to enable the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin to "participate" in the country's political life.

168. Faced with increasing internal and international resistance, the Pretoria régime is trying, by means of these pseudo-reforms, to create an illusion about the so-called internal development of the country, whereas in point of fact they do nothing but perpetuate the power of the white minority. Thus, these "constitutional proposals" specify that each racial group—of course, excluding the 23 million Africans—will manage their "own affairs", which are defined and delimited exclusively by the President of the State. These "proposals" are designed to break the unity of the South African people. Putting in practice the

old maxim of divide and rule, the South African leaders will be able—and this is very serious—to use the so-called Coloureds and persons of Asian origin, who will necessarily be subject to military service, as cannon fodder in the war the South African leaders are waging against the South African and Namibian peoples and the African countries of the region.

169. It was for these reasons, moreover, that a few days ago, in resolution 38/11, the General Assembly rejected almost unanimously the so-called constitutional proposals and declared them null and void because they were contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

170. South Africa's harmful action is not confined to oppressing the South African people, but is also shown in the repeated acts of aggression against the Namibian people and against sovereign countries of the region.

171. The forcible occupation of Namibia in defiance of international legality, the colonial oppression imposed on the people of that Territory and the constant refusal to implement the United Nations settlement plan have been condemned on many occasions by the international community.

172. On 28 October, the Security Council adopted resolution 539 (1983), condemning South Africa for its obstruction of the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978) that endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and calling on it to co-operate with the Secretary-General to facilitate the implementation of that plan.

173. However, as if to reassert their challenge to the international community, the South African leaders did not hesitate, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General dated 29 October 1983, to declare: "We do not intend to succumb to the Security Council's threat." Moreover, the constant acts of aggression against the countries in the southern part of the African continent with the avowed aim of compelling them, by intimidation, to fail in their duty to show solidarity with the liberation movements represent a serious threat to international peace and security.

174. The very close ties of common interest which certain countries maintain with South Africa have greatly strengthened the racist régime's machinery of oppression and aggression and its capacity for defiance. Israel's role in this connection must be stressed, as was done at the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held at Vienna last July.

175. A régime which on many occasions has proved its tendency to aggressive escalation gets all the technological assistance and scientific co-operation it needs from Israel and other countries, and this has already enabled it to acquire the nuclear weapon and therefore to introduce a new and more dangerous threat to world peace.

176. It is therefore necessary that this co-operation, which establishes complicity in the crime, be ended immediately. It is also necessary for the international community to increase its pressure on the Pretoria régime to restore the legitimate rights of the South African people and put an end to its policy of oppression, occupation and aggression. For this purpose, the Charter of the United Nations provides a series of coercive measures, in particular the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

177. With this as the legal basis for its action, the international community must work specifically for the eradication of the scourge of *apartheid* and the restoration of the national rights of the South African and Namibian peoples. So far, the United Nations has confined itself to

drawing up rather laborious rejoinders without any real impact whenever the Pretoria régime has presented it with a new *fait accompli*.

178. Thus, the downward process could only be accelerated. In this connection, if the mass of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions devoted to all aspects of this question correctly reflect the perception and the increasing intensity of the threat to international peace and security represented by the Pretoria régime, no less do they illustrate the limits of their effectiveness.

179. Thus, apart from an arms embargo, the subtleties of whose interpretation, moreover, leave the way clear for transgression, the Security Council has never demonstrated the necessary consistency and firmness.

180. The systematic obstruction of the Security Council because of the acquiescence of certain of its members in Pretoria's actions continues to frustrate the unanimous will of the international community.

181. We therefore feel it our duty to draw attention to this and proclaim it from this world rostrum. We should now call the world public to witness. We should constantly denounce not only the *apartheid* system itself and the South African régime, but all those who enable that régime to continue its policy of oppression by paralysing the action of the Security Council and the General Assembly, contrary to the will of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

182. In this connection, we welcome the action of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and all its members, in particular its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, and the crucial role played by the Centre against *Apartheid* in informing public opinion about the adverse effects of the policy of racial segregation. Perhaps one day the pressure of public opinion will lead the Governments concerned to deal with a matter that concerns the fate of millions of human beings who, because of the colour of their skin, suffer daily persecution.

183. Mr. CONNELL (Barbados): We meet here once again to declaim against the vicious and inhuman practices of the South African régime. Every year, and several times each year, our talents are tested in conceiving new and yet interesting forms of graphic presentation in this Assembly and elsewhere in the United Nations of the heinousness of *apartheid*.

184. Why do we persist in this exercise? It is because there lingers in our breasts the hope that those who can still find it in their conscience to support this racist and brutal administration will somehow see the light and desist. Those few but powerful States which still aid and abet the successors of Hendrik Verwoerd do so from a narrow, short-term and myopic position. They calculate with a cool and complacent cynicism that this last bastion of white supremacy can endure at least for another 10 years, and while it lasts it best serves their interests to support it.

185. Such States and such leaders have not learnt the grim lessons of history. No people will languish indefinitely under the iron heels of oppression and exploitation. All this, the system of *apartheid* does, and more. It denies the quintessential humanity of the African. Essentially, therefore, what we are doing here today is seeking to create the conditions in which the vicious and inhuman system can be replaced by a more humane and egalitarian one, with a minimum of human suffering. We are seeking to reduce the buildup of hatreds; we are seeking to mute—indeed, to obviate—the explosion of revenge, that very wild kind of human justice. Barbados has appealed on many previous occasions to, and once more calls in earnest on, those States that support and even encourage the

racist South African leaders to desist from so doing. We urge them to take a longer, more statesmanlike and humanitarian view of the grim consequences that will result from their present deeds and omissions.

186. Today, South Africa presents the spectacle of a huge, nation-sized, fortified concentration camp to over 80 per cent of its population. It is all documented for those who wish to read and understand. The barbed-wire fences, police cruisers, troops, tanks, press censorship, pass laws and other repressive legislation, bannings, passport refusals, arrests, political trials, political prisoners, deaths of detainees and executions of freedom fighters—it is all there and most of it documented by the United Nations itself. And it exists, not in the Middle Ages nor at the turn of the present century, but today, after the shocking revelations of the Second World War and the totalitarian régimes which preceded and followed it. It flourishes in a world that reverberates to the rhetoric of human dignity and human rights.

187. Speaking only a few weeks ago within these very walls on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Barbados, Mr. Louis R. Tull, said:

“The grim reality of the racist régime and its ethos impales the black people of South Africa on the horns of a vicious and inhumane dilemma. They must organize and fight to overthrow the evil system, or it will continue. If they organize they run the serious risk of imprisonment or immediate death. I say ‘immediate death’ advisedly. In South Africa the line between police custody, imprisonment and death is blurred, bloody and unstable. Let those who doubt this remember the death of Steve Biko. The racist police executed him summarily, without even the travesty of a South African judicial trial.

“This shabby charade was reserved for three of his brothers who followed him this year. The entire civilized world pleaded for clemency for those three members of the African National Congress: Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung. They pleaded in vain. After a scandalously unfair trial and sentence, the pitiless régime hanged those three sons of the segregated and oppressed on 9 June 1983—and that in defiance of the Security Council and international public opinion.

“On the question of the worth of the human being and the sanctity of life there is a clear double standard in today’s world.”⁶

188. It is against that background that Barbados applauds the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We pledge our support for the African liberation movements. We will continue to make our contribution in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

189. Embattled though it is, the South African régime could not survive and persist in its inhuman racist policies without the military, economic and financial support of major Powers. To maintain that support, they must necessarily practise a double standard: human rights for some, and subhuman rights for others.

190. Some of these States plead in their own defence that strongly worded resolutions, boycotts and more militant postures only serve to irritate the racist régime. These States favour a more conciliatory approach. But, again, they forget the grim lessons of history. What was achieved by appeasement of the Fascists? The most devastating war in history. When the great Powers stood by and allowed Mussolini to crush Ethiopia, Emperor Haile

Selassie stood before the League of Nations, a disappointed but wiser man. It is said that he then uttered the prophetic words: “God and history will remember the justice of your decision.” He did not have to wait long to behold his prophecy come true.

191. In the meantime, Africans continue to die in a struggle for freedom and dignity such as never before engaged any people in all recorded history. But they do not fall in vain. From the blood of the martyr the flowers of liberty and justice spring. Nor will we forget them:

“They shall not grow old, as we who are left grow old.
Age shall not weary them nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we
will remember them.”

192. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The policy of *apartheid* of the racist white minority Government of South Africa has been condemned on a number of occasions by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity. Despite the unequivocal condemnations of the crime of *apartheid* by the Assembly, there still unfortunately remain Governments which, on grounds contrary to human reason, continue to maintain co-operation in many areas with the criminals of Pretoria. The continued co-operation of those Governments with the *apartheid* régime, in flagrant violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, is nothing but a translation of the racist and discriminatory nature of the foreign policy that they apply to the African continent and to persons of African origin.

193. How else could one explain the feigned condemnations of the system of *apartheid* by those Governments, on the one hand, and, on the other, their refusal, for unavowed reasons, to support the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the international community to ensure the eradication of this disgrace to our century? The reason for this is quite clear: those Governments privately share the racist motivation of the whites of South Africa, which is something their own people could not publicly tolerate.

194. That is why the Assembly must hold the supporters of the racist régime of South Africa responsible for the crimes that the latter still commits against our South African brothers, whose fate has been played down for too long now by a handful of countries.

195. It is very clear that, above and beyond the ideologies, the propaganda and the East-West rivalries, the question of the *apartheid* policy of the white racists of South Africa is, after all is said and done, a question of human conscience, a question of the choice between good and evil, justice and injustice, freedom and oppression.

196. It is nevertheless most regrettable that in making this decisive choice, and for reasons contrary to human conscience, certain Western Governments have chosen the evil of *apartheid* over the good of our South African brothers. It is high time for the international community to give all the assistance possible to our brothers in South Africa so that they may recover their freedom and participate on an equal footing, without distinction as to race, colour or creed, in the building of a world based on freedom, peace, justice and solidarity.

197. We venture to believe that human reason will lead the Governments supporting the South African régime to do useful work in the direction of respect for freedom and human dignity.

198. We join the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in thanking all those countries which have given even the slightest support to the liberation struggle of our oppressed brothers in South Africa.

199. We also appeal to Western Governments to show, in response to the masquerade of the so-called constitutional reforms of Pretoria, their genuine commitment to the defence of democracy, justice and human rights by supporting the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its programme of action for 1984.

200. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): The United States shares strongly the common desire to see a speedy end to the unjust system of *apartheid*. We would gladly join in adopting a draft resolution dealing with *apartheid* framed in a constructive spirit through a process that sought to embody the profound revulsion of all decent international opinion at the abuse of human rights and human dignity which the *apartheid* system represents. In fact, we have already done so earlier this year in the Human Rights Commission. Unfortunately, the draft resolutions generally presented in this Assembly are not framed in such a spirit and are not the product of such a process.

201. We are determined, however, to concentrate on the critical issue of how most effectively to promote positive change in South Africa, away from the *apartheid* system to a régime free of racial discrimination and based upon respect for law and human rights.

202. Previous resolutions presented here have appeared to be based upon the belief that the most effective strategy for change in South Africa is one based solely upon condemnation, aimed at isolating the people of South Africa and paving the way for a violent cataclysm. Such a strategy assumes that no forces exist in South Africa offering effective levers for bringing about constructive, peaceful change; that no white people of South Africa show signs of decent human feeling; and that South African blacks have no recourse save violent struggle.

203. The United States questions these assumptions and the destructive strategy based upon them. We believe that righteous anger and abhorrence in the face of injustice should not blind us to the complex reality of the South African situation and do not excuse us from cool and painstaking analysis of that situation aimed at identifying opportunities to promote peaceful, positive change and devising practical steps to exploit them. We believe that the search for such opportunity is a moral imperative unfulfilled by reflexive moralistic condemnations.

204. To be sure, we recognize that there are situations in which a people must take up arms to defend or repossess its just right to freedom and equal justice, but the decision to do so should never be taken lightly, even by those who suffer injustice, and certainly not by others for whom the resulting violence would be only a distant rumour of war. Any Member States of this body which adopt postures that encourage a violent approach to the problem of *apartheid* should bear in mind that it would not be their young sons and daughters who would fall prey to remorseless conflict or their children who must live amidst the rubble of shattered economic potential and broken dreams of progress. Where, as in Afghanistan, a ruthless invasion by a foreign Power forces a people to defend its freedom, the choice of war is made by the aggressors and decent opinion can only applaud the courage that resists them. But the people of South Africa live in the same land, share, despite bitter divisions, a common history, and face, despite racist prejudices and the deep anger engendered by oppression, an inescapable common future. In such a situation, the choice of violence has all the elements of an epic tragedy, a tragedy that only those who are themselves devoid of humanity can welcome or applaud.

205. Faced with the prospect of such a tragedy, decent moral feeling demands that every effort be made to avoid

it. South Africa is a land blessed with great material resources. Its people, black and white, have the talent, the energy, the creative drive and the inextinguishable spirit to erect with those resources a great nation, worthy of helping to forge the better destiny of a great continent. Before the vision of such a future, what right has this body to whip up the maelstrom of conflict that would lay such hopes in ruins?

206. The United States believes that a strategy of isolating South Africa would only contribute to making such violence more likely, widespread and destructive. Such a result may be the intention of some States which hope to make use of it to transform southern Africa, through the presence of their arms and influence, into yet another system of subjugated client States. But those who have no such imperial ambitions can only lament an approach that would isolate South Africa's black population from effective international support in their legitimate struggle for justice, leave South Africa's recalcitrant whites alone with their benighted prejudices and impulsively violent fears, and encourage a result that would consume the material and human resources essential to the future prosperity of all South Africans.

207. The United States rejects this isolationist approach in favour of another which aims at helping South African blacks to build effective bases for the economic and political power they need in order to pursue their rightful place in South African society. We favour an approach which seeks to encourage and reinforce the better nature of South Africa's whites so that they too will see the folly of retaining an unjust, oppressive political domination.

208. We believe that actual and potential forces for change exist in South Africa across the whole range of economic, social and political realities.

209. In the economic sphere, the *apartheid* régime, which systematically thwarts the development of the productive abilities, purchasing power and enterprising spirit of South Africa's black majority, is incompatible with the needs of a modern industrial society. As South Africa's economy becomes increasingly diversified, the need for a more skilled and educated population with the sophisticated aptitudes and tastes essential to a developed economy will make the politically motivated neglect of South Africa's black people ever more anachronistic and self-contradictory. Already the system of fragmented, racially based geographic units envisioned by the theorists of "grand *apartheid*" is recognized as an economically irrational and unworkable illusion. In order to turn this economic reality into an effective lever for change away from *apartheid*, South Africa's black population needs a critical mass of education, skills and organizing know-how. Recognizing this need, the United States has undertaken a \$4-million-a-year scholarship programme to bring black South African students to the United States to study in our universities. The legislative basis of this programme preceded President Reagan's Administration. The programme has been substantially increased under his leadership. We have initiated training programmes for black South African trade unionists in co-operation with the AFL-CIO labour organization to which the United States Government will contribute over \$1 million this year and next. We are supporting small business development in the black communities of South Africa at a cost of some \$3 million over the next two years. We are providing \$2 million over the next two years to help tutor black South African high-school students to improve their chances of entering professional schools.

210. Such steps as these are aimed at ensuring that South Africa's black people will have the ability to exploit

the opportunities for change offered by the more diversified economic system developing in South Africa. But such abilities would be meaningless were it not for the expanding presence in South Africa of corporations and enterprises offering the jobs, salaries and managerial opportunities that can be built into effective platforms of economic influence. Those who encourage disinvestment in South Africa unwittingly undermine these platforms and tend to return South Africa to a purely agricultural and mineral-based economy more compatible with the *apartheid* mentality and more easily controlled. They would deprive South Africa's blacks of potentially powerful instruments for practical action in pursuit of greater justice. Serious moral purpose, informed by sound economic analysis, would suggest that instead we should encourage greater involvement in South Africa's economy by foreign and domestic investors willing to adhere to strictly non-racial and equitable codes of conduct, such as the Sullivan principles, and determined to give qualified South African blacks a leadership role in their enterprises.

211. We do not suppose that economic progress for South African blacks will translate automatically into a more just political role, but it can and should be a strong foundation for movement towards such a role. As blacks move into a more nearly equal role in South Africa's economic life, the psychological barriers that sustain the social aspects of *apartheid* will be—indeed, they are being—affected. White prejudices and fears make the prospect of equitable political participation for blacks fearsome to the white population. But here, too, a policy of isolation will only make matters worse. As Americans, we believe that we have important insights to share with South African whites about the advantages of a society free of racial discrimination. We believe that people of other nations, in Africa and elsewhere, have similar experience to impart. The all-too-human emotions that help to sustain the *apartheid* system can never be completely eradicated, but they can be eroded and discredited by the human contacts that transform hesitant doubt and guilt into a more assured commitment to right and justice. Here again, more rather than fewer contacts between South Africa and the outside world would seem to be the practical response if moral change is more important to us than moral posturing.

212. In the final analysis, we all realize that the most difficult aspect of the South African dilemma is neither economic nor moral. It lies in the critical question of whether South African whites can choose, by peaceful means, to accord the black majority the political rights that their humanity requires. Were South African whites entire strangers to the concept of such political justice, the answer to this question might unavoidably be a hopeless one. But they know full well its meaning, for they apply it to themselves. They celebrate the history of their own struggle against what they regarded as unjust political dominion. They can understand from that history the bitter indignity of political inequality and the unyielding persistence with which all human beings will struggle against it. They are human—as their all-too-human errors prove—and, as their sympathy with the humanity of their black compatriots is aroused and strengthened, so shall their conscience be aroused to urge them on to right. Already such a movement is under way which, however little it may seem upon the surface, betokens mighty forces at work in the hidden world within their human breast. The people of the United States will not despair of their humanity, and neither should the world.

213. Even less should we despair of the courage, perseverance and ultimate vindication of South Africa's black

majority. Oppression has, we believe, neither crushed nor totally embittered their spirit. We should not dictate for them the possible means of struggle, however strongly we may feel about that struggle. Some may despair of peaceful means, take up the gun, and learn how to kill and how to die. Others, not less courageous, but thinking perhaps of the world in which their children and grandchildren might live, may choose to seek the knowledge and the skills to use the jobs and the businesses to forge the tools with which to strike down the structures of oppression without destroying the land that is theirs and that they love.

214. The people of the United States will not usurp their choices in the struggle. We will not abandon the people of South Africa, black or white, to the desperate exertions of a heedless conflagration. And as long as we retain our faith that a just and compassionate God sits in judgement upon human history and aids in the silent revolutions of the human soul, we will persevere in our endeavour to help them find the courage, the wisdom and the practical means to fulfil the more hopeful promise of their now troubled land.

215. Mrs. JONES (Liberia): Once again we have assembled, this time under the wise leadership of Mr. Illueca, to lament the intolerably evil system existing in South Africa. Daily we see there a mighty and colossal Goliath heaping acts of brutality on the rightful inhabitants of their homeland. A strange people has robbed the Africans of all their elementary rights of human decency. Their behaviour and actions are like those of men from Hades who have suddenly appeared from nowhere upon the southern shores of Africa and are daily writing chapters of brutality in the history of man's inhumanity to man.

216. *Apartheid* will not last for ever—this we know—because every evil system that has afflicted Africa has had a life span that runs out. The slave trade came and went. Colonial rule also came and went. *Apartheid* will have a similar fate. We therefore take comfort in the fact that history teaches that every society carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. So, one must ask, has the minority racist group in South Africa never heard or learned the colonial lessons of history? What is it in the history of Western civilization that causes its custodians to behave now and then in a perverted way, as they do? What is it in their intellectual history that causes them to deny others fundamental human rights and to believe that human rights were intended for themselves alone, and not also for others?

217. Some applaud and condone the illegal acts of the racist minority régime in South Africa, because it invites them to come and join it in the exploitation of the land and its resources. They have created wealth for their own nations while virtually planning for the death of other nations. Indeed, until greed begins to indicate a negative growth rate and increasingly points to irreversibly diminishing returns, it will seem to remain interminable and will drag on for centuries, dehumanizing everyone in the process.

218. Each century has running through it its own set of evil systems to be confronted and eradicated. It is against this background that the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* must be appreciated. There must be a relentless watch over the deeds of an evil system until it vanishes from the face of the earth. The generation that sees *apartheid* depart will be fortunate enough to witness the culmination of all our tireless efforts here. So we must meet annually and report on our individual efforts, humble as they may appear, so that when the final chapter in the history of the war against *apartheid* is written our

names will be inscribed for the judgement, commendation or condemnation of posterity as either those who loved good or those who loved evil, those who were enlightened or those who were unenlightened.

219. It is not enough to lay the blame for the perpetuation of evil systems on the times in which they existed and to say that those were dark unenlightened days but that today, in the twentieth century, we are enlightened and are doing better. On the contrary, it seems that each century is competing with the last in terms of the massive destruction or evil it can unleash on the earth. No one knows today where we are heading. Has there been any indication that it is in any other direction than that of total self-destruction and that, after becoming weary of piecemeal acts of destruction and evil, we must face the real possibility of destroying the whole world, when the oppressed and oppressor alike will share the same fate? *Apartheid* will collapse under its own weight.

220. The world community is dealing with a people with a possessed and siege mentality, indoctrinated to believe that *apartheid* is the only way out of a hideous situation which they themselves deliberately created. This is the reality of an unfortunate, evil situation, for all mankind to see—that *apartheid* is an irrational behaviour reinforced by a perverted education system, making it an entrenched evil system that defies all forms of civilized behaviour.

221. *Apartheid* is a comprehensive, evil system. The world community is therefore faced with a battle to free the minds of men, to achieve a change in behaviour and to make an irrational system become rational. This is no easy undertaking. Given the perverted religious, educational, economic and racial values of the minority race in South Africa and the psychological factors of fear and insecurity which underpin them, this battle to free the minds of the minority racist group from life imprisonment must take on a new strategy and seriousness.

222. Accordingly, my delegation calls upon the world community to bring into existence a programme for a "Radio Free Azania". We feel that South Africa has not demonstrated in any meaningful manner that it sees its future in Africa as a multiracial State, when all the forces are present for that eventuality.

223. Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, when faced with the evil of slavery 12 decades ago, and being by providence well placed to do something about it, first acknowledged its existence and then advocated an end to it. In his second inaugural address to his people, he was moved to tell them that, as they witnessed slavery as one of the evils which in the providence of our common Creator had come about, but which, it having continued and run through His appointed time, He now willed to remove, they should pray fervently that the mighty scourge of slavery might speedily pass away. We must say the same of *apartheid* today, in the twentieth century—that as we who are alive today witness *apartheid* as an evil which in the providence of our common Creator has come about, and continues and runs through God's appointed time, but which He alone can will to remove, we fervently pray that this mighty scourge of human rights may speedily pass away.

224. Again we join the great emancipator to say "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

225. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has asked to make a statement in reply. I call on him in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly at its 4th meeting, on 23 September 1983.

226. Mr. EBRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): In the course of the statement made yesterday by the Zionist representative, claiming that his entity had no connection with South Africa, and of his attack on the two institutions created by the United Nations, namely, the Centre against *Apartheid* and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, his main argument was that trade between the Zionist entity and South Africa was minimal and that there was total distortion about the relationship. He also alleged that we worked on the basis of hearsay and rumours.

227. In this respect, I should like to quote to him an article written by none other than an Israeli, Naomi Chazan, who, in an article which appeared in *African Affairs*, a journal of the Royal African Society, said: "Israel's South African connection is morally, Jewishly and instrumentally indefensible."

228. Here is a categorical statement that there is a connection between Israel and racist South Africa. In the same article, Ms. Chazan says:

"Israeli-South African economic links have mushroomed during the past decade and trade has become the first component of this new economic alliance, with three items accounting for the bulk of the trade: steel, raw diamonds, and coal. Israel in turn exports finished goods like agricultural machinery, textiles and electrical goods to South Africa, plus sophisticated electronic equipment and diamond-cutting machinery.

"South African exports to Israel in the past decade expanded from about 11 million rand"—which is equivalent to about \$11 million—"in 1970 to about 155 million rand in 1979, whereas Israeli exports to South Africa expanded only from about 11.5 million rand to about 50 million rand."

229. This is an obvious increase in trade between the two entities. The delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress is not surprised at the close collaboration that exists between the Zionist entity and the racist entity in South Africa, because the "State" of Israel is a colonial creation, similar to that of *apartheid* South Africa, at the head of which are European Zionists. It is a well-known fact that the people in the "State" of Israel are, first and foremost, divided into citizens and non-citizens, as is the case in *apartheid* South Africa. The indigenous Arabs, be they Moslems or Christians, are the "non-citizens". In *apartheid* South Africa, the Africans have been declared "non-citizens" in what is now euphemistically called "white South Africa", as opposed to the "bantustans".

230. However, in the "State" of Israel, too, there exists *apartheid*, based on the concept of "European" and "non-European". The Jews are divided into the Ashkenazim—the Jews of European lineage, in which also fall the American and South African Jews—and the Sephardim—the Arab, Asian and African Jews. Just as the European racists refer to Africans in *apartheid* South Africa as "Kaffirs", the Ashkenazim, too, refer to the Sephardim pejoratively as the "khomer", a Hebrew word which, when roughly translated, means "material" or "stuff". In other words, the Arab, Asian and African Jews, to the European Zionists, are not human beings but some material object or thing.

231. It is today common knowledge that there exists discrimination in education in *apartheid* South Africa. One can quote facts and figures. First, education for the white child is free and compulsory and for the black child is neither free nor compulsory. Secondly, the régime allocates 20 times more money for white education than for black education. The black child, moreover, is subjected to Bantu education, a carefully designed system of subservient education.

232. However, while this is well known, few know that a similar discriminatory practice prevails in the so-called State of Israel. For instance, and these are Zionist figures, in 1978 only 17.5 per cent of all university students were Sephardim and 71.8 per cent Ashkenazim, although the Sephardim make up 55.9 per cent of all Israelis between the ages of 20 and 24. In the 1978-79 academic year, 12.7 per cent of locally-born Ashkenazim and 2.6 per cent of locally-born Sephardim, between the ages of 20 and 29, were university students. However, official figures show that Sephardim are under-represented in academic high schools and over-represented in vocational schools, exactly as in *apartheid* South Africa.

233. In the same academic year, when 57.7 per cent of all Israelis in the 14-to-17-year age bracket were Sephardim, vocational school enrolment was 64.3 per cent Sephardic, agricultural school enrolment was 64.7 per cent Sephardic and academic high school enrolment was only 38.7 per cent Sephardic.

234. According to one of the Zionist mayors, Mayor Meir Shitreet, "Ninety-five per cent of those sitting in prison in Israel are Sephardim".

235. These are figures that come from the Israelis. They are not concocted or quoted. What we would like to point out here categorically is the fact that the collaboration that exists between South Africa and the Zionist entity is based on the ideological affinity that exists in the practice of *apartheid* carried out in South Africa between what is called "white" and "non-white".

236. If there is no military co-operation between the South African racists and the Zionist entity, we would like to know how Zionist Gabriel missiles are now in South Africa. We would also like to know how all the other *matériel* that is manufactured by the Zionists is in South Africa itself.

237. We believe that when facts are facts, they should be treated as such. There is no point in using big words to try to disguise what the reality is. The South African Zionist Association itself has been given special permission in South Africa to transfer funds to Israel. That, in itself, is an element of co-operation between the two.

238. I should also like to comment briefly on the statement made by the representative of the United States that the problem in South Africa is moral and that, in fact, the South African racists are oppressing, exploiting and dispossessing us because they are having some psychological or moral problem. It has nothing to do with a psychological problem. It is a colonial question. The entire aim is to dispossess the rightful owners of that land, just as the rightful owners of this land, the Red Indians, have been dispossessed.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *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.

² A/AC.109/743.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14*, para. 295.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16106.

⁶ See A/AC.115/PV.529.