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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

AGENDA ITEM 52

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

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it draft resolution A/31/L.5, which was introduced at the previous meeting by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

2. This afternoon we shall hear statements by the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Chairman of the African group of states and the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

3. The Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the representative of Nigeria, has asked me to inform the Assembly that a request has been made for priority to be given today to draft resolution A/31/L.5 on the Transkei and other bantustans and for a decision to be taken today. I presume that the General Assembly has no objections to accepting this procedure or to waiving the application of rule 78 of the rules of procedure so that a decision may be taken on the draft resolution this afternoon. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

4. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon, therefore, after hearing the three statements to which I have referred, the Assembly will vote on draft resolution A/31/L.5, with explanations of voting before and after the vote. Thereafter, the Assembly will hear the other speakers listed for this afternoon's debate on the item under discussion.

5. At this stage, I should like to propose to the Assembly that the list of speakers on the debate on this item be closed on Thursday, 28 October, at 12 noon. In order that we may organize our work in an efficient manner, we should have an indication of how many representatives wish

to speak. I take it that there is no objection to this proposal.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Aarno Karhilo of Finland.

7. Mr. KARHILO (Finland), Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: Southern Africa is witnessing today the disintegration of the last stronghold of racist and colonialist exploitation, which has been the scourge of mankind since time immemorial. While the mobilization of all progressive forces in the contemporary world is shaking the very foundations of this odious system, South Africa persists in its last desperate attempt to preserve the abominable system through which a few arrogant and exploitative groups believe that they can perpetuate their unjust privileges.

8. The Pretoria Government not only has exploited the African population within South Africa but it has also extended its odious practices to Namibia and has, in the past, supported the racist adventurism of the illegal Smith régime. These three dimensions of South African policies are ultimately based on the obstinate attempt to impose *apartheid* and all its repressive practices against the will of the people of southern Africa.

9. The persistent efforts of the United Nations to mobilize the international community have been vigorously spearheaded by the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, now under the chairmanship of my illustrious colleague, Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria. The policies of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* have decisively contributed to a greater awareness of the evil practices of *apartheid* and have further contributed to wide-ranging initiatives to undermine the supporters of *apartheid* everywhere.

10. As Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, it is for me a special honour to speak today in the consideration by the General Assembly of this ever more serious threat to international peace and security in southern Africa.

11. The United Nations Council for Namibia, established by the General Assembly in 1967 to act as the Administering Authority of Namibia until independence, endeavours to carry out its mandate by all the means made available to it by the General Assembly.

12. The refusal of the illegal South African administration to withdraw from Namibia has been one of the most serious

challenges this Organization has faced in implementing the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

13. The obduracy of Pretoria has benefited from the support that it has received from outside. However, the swelling tide of African nationalism is today irresistible. It is now clear that the liberation of all African peoples is within reach.

14. The United Nations Council for Namibia is actively engaged in giving full support to the aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of their authentic liberation movement, the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO].

15. This year the International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights, held in Dakar in January, brought together a large number of scholars, government officials and other specialists in southern Africa to formulate recommendations with a view to the intensification of the efforts to bring about Namibian independence. The inauguration of the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, on Namibia Day, 26 August 1976, was another important step in assisting the Namibian people develop the necessary skills to guide the construction of their national independence. Throughout the year, delegations of the United Nations Council for Namibia have carried out consultations to reinforce, whenever possible, the decisions of the United Nations in support of the Namibian people.

16. The United Nations Council for Namibia shares with the Special Committee on *Apartheid* the responsibility for assisting the people of southern Africa to fulfil their legitimate expectations of freedom and national independence. However, within the United Nations these efforts are sometimes frustrated. Regrettably, recently the Security Council was unable to adopt an important resolution on Namibia. Persistent action in support of the Namibian people and its liberation movement, SWAPO, must, however, be recognized as a solemn commitment of the United Nations towards the fulfilment of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence.

17. The Council for Namibia has rejected certain so-called proposals of hand-picked tribal elements and supporters of *apartheid* for the achievement of independence by December 1978. These proposals are lacking in legitimacy and are phrased in equivocal and ambiguous terms. The Council for Namibia has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from Namibia and has reaffirmed the demand of the United Nations for the holding of general elections under United Nations supervision and control. The Council has also strongly condemned the military adventurism of South Africa, whose policies of military build-up in Namibia are being followed by aggressive acts against neighbouring African countries.

18. The United Nations Council for Namibia, as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory, fully supports the programmes and actions of the Special Committee

against *Apartheid* and hopes that their joint action, in common with the initiatives of all positive elements in the international community, will be able effectively to advance the principles of justice and international co-operation enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other important declarations of the Organization.

19. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the African group of States, Mr. Kanté of Mali.

20. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): My first words will be to thank the Assembly, on behalf of the African group of States, which I have the honour to represent for the month of October, for having been good enough to authorize the liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], to take part in our debate. The African group regards this gesture as evidence of solidarity in the struggle the Azanian people are waging for freedom and justice.

21. In asking for the transfer of item 52, on the policies of *apartheid* of the "Government of South Africa", from the agenda of the Special Political Committee to that of the General Assembly in plenary meeting, the African group at the United Nations intends to open a substantive debate at the highest level of our Organization on one of the important questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, which has constantly pre-occupied the United Nations since its foundation.

22. It is to be understood that the most recent bloody events affecting the situation in South Africa, which have resulted in several hundred deaths and several thousand wounded among the black population of the country, are not unconnected with this initiative.

23. Indeed the general uprising in the bantustans and in the satellite cities of Soweto, Alexandra, Mamelodi, Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and other black ghettos of the large South African cities against the policy of *apartheid* of the minority racist régime of Vorster and the bloody repression which followed were bound to project the floodlights of reality upon the closed world of white power and on the sufferings of more than 20 million men, women and children that live within it.

24. The massacre by the police forces of South Africa last June, July and August of young black schoolchildren who were peacefully demonstrating against the arbitrary and racist decision of the Pretoria authorities to impose Afrikaans as the teaching language for several subjects in the secondary-school curriculum of the Bantu schools is but one of the tragic manifestations of *apartheid*, that include Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Vandervijl Park and others.

25. During those tragic days the policy of racial segregation practised by the minority régime of Pretoria was revealed in broad daylight in all its ugliness and inhumanity.

26. The world was struck by the horror of it. The nations, peoples and Governments were unanimous in condemning it.

27. Once such a tragedy had occurred, there could be no question, as far as we are concerned, of confining its

consideration to the ritual debates in the Main Committees. Today, as far as we are concerned, it is a matter of seizing the opportunity and commencing a substantive discussion of *apartheid*. In this connexion, we have to analyse the evil in order to appreciate once again the danger it represents for mankind.

28. As we know, *apartheid* was set up as a system of government in South Africa with the arrival in 1949 of the Nationalist Party of Mr. Malan, of sinister memory. Many of his theoreticians identified themselves with Hitlerian fascism and had supported the Axis forces during the Second World War. *Apartheid* is a policy of segregation based upon the superiority of the white race. In this connexion, let us listen to its apostle in his report presenting the doctrine:

“One of the most striking phenomena of the world in which we live is the diversity of the human races. They have been created separate. This separation must be maintained, even when economic or other circumstances have brought about a certain intermingling of the racial groups. For this purpose, we must maintain among the whites and develop in them the sense of colour, so that the purity of the race will be maintained.

“Inheritor of the Christian civilization of the West, the white race in South Africa has a double mission to fulfil: one with respect to the other members of the community of nations of the Christian Western civilization and the other vis-à-vis the coloured races with which events have placed it in contact and which are at a primitive or backward stage of civilization. For this purpose the white race in South Africa must reject any dogma of civic equality.

“This dominating position imposes as a counterpart the strict duty of Christian trusteeship with respect to the non-whites. . . .”

29. Article XI of the statute of Vorster's Nationalist Party indeed stipulates that:

“The Party considers itself to be the Christian mandatory of the European race and makes this principle the basis of its policy with respect to the non-European races. . . . It is absolutely opposed to any mixing of European and non-European races.

“The Party declares itself, moreover, to be in favour of territorial and political segregation of the natives, as well as the separation of Europeans in the residential field and, as far as possible, also in the industrial field. . . .”

30. The whole of the edifice of the South African society is, therefore, based upon discrimination among the various racial groups it comprises. The policy of the minority régime prevailing in the country is by this very fact based upon segregation. It consists in keeping the different tribes separate from each other. These tribes, which are considered to be nations, must each live in the zone that has been specifically assigned to it. No contact is permitted between the members of the white and black communities.

31. The bases of *apartheid* are: first, the law on the registration of blacks, or the pass law, by virtue of which a

husband may be forcibly separated from his wife and a child from its father or mother; secondly, the law of 1936 on reserves, assigning to blacks, who represent four fifths of the population, 13 per cent of the total land, whereas 87 per cent of the land is set aside for whites, who constitute less than one fifth of the South African population; thirdly, the law of 1959 on bantustanization, which divides the African population on the basis of tribal and linguistic criteria into bantustans or homelands or national homes, which foreshadow the future slave States, such as the Transkei, which will then be scattered like flyspecks throughout the territory of South Africa; fourthly, the law of 1966 on the regroupment zones; fifthly, the law of 1960 on “illegal” organizations; sixthly, the law of 1963, on publications and spectacles; seventhly, the law of 1950 on the suppression of communism; eighthly, the law of 1959 on prisons; ninthly, the law of 1949 on the prohibition of marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans and the law of 1950 on “moral behaviour” which modifies it; and tenthly, the law on the utilization of separate installations.

32. The official purpose of Bantu education is to train and educate the black population, taking into account the possibilities that will be offered it in the life and environment in which it lives—to use the words of the white minister who is responsible for that department. The position of pariah which the *apartheid* society sets aside for the blacks leaves no doubt as to the quality and level of that type of education.

33. The 30 per cent of the African population residing in the cities are considered to be mere immigrants and cannot therefore acquire any property there.

34. More than 500 iniquitous and inhuman laws have been promulgated in South Africa to promote there the ignoble policy of *apartheid* through the outrageous impoverishment of the non-whites, and especially the blacks, in order to keep them in a state of perpetual inferiority. The latter, expelled from the urban zones and the rich areas, are banished to the poorest lands.

35. There they are planted like livestock with poverty as their daily lot. In those over-populated reserves many babies die half an hour after birth simply because their mothers are undernourished.

36. A particularly well-trained and equipped police force supervises those terrible racist regulations. The sinister prison of Robben Island and the forced-labour camps called prison farms set up throughout the country as a whole supplement, with their rigorous régimes, the fierce apparatus of repression established by the adherents of *apartheid*. More than 6,000 patriots are incarcerated at present, including the leader, Mandela, who has been serving a life sentence since 1964. In this connexion, we must mention the fact that South Africa holds the world record for death sentences. The black nationalists are the only ones exposed to this. With the exception of the martyred people of Palestine, never has a people been so subjugated and had its dignity and honour so trampled on as the Azanian people.

37. As can be seen, *apartheid* means, for millions upon millions of our brothers, sisters and children living in South Africa, oppression, humiliation and exploitation on the

very soil of their ancestors by the action of a small white racist minority. *Apartheid* is the reign of brutal and blind force over right and reason. *Apartheid* is, for a whole people, the degradation and destruction of man. *Apartheid* is a nightmare life for millions of non-white South Africans. *Apartheid* is the deliberate dislocation of the family unit, the village community and the national identity. *Apartheid*, finally, is the world of hatred, violence, frustration, anguish and uncertainty; in a word, the world of the absurd. This is what caused Mr. Sachs, Secretary of the South African Clothing Workers Union, to say in his book *South Africa at the Cross-roads*:

“There is today in South Africa a mass of hatred which is profoundly terrifying. There is no one there who does not hate and is not hated in turn.”

38. The tragic events that have just taken place in South Africa also constitute a demonstration of the failure of the United Nations, which has been fighting for more than a quarter century against *apartheid*, that disgrace to mankind. Does that mean that it has done nothing in this respect?

39. The answer surely is in the negative, because in its struggle for the elimination of *apartheid* several pertinent resolutions have been adopted, in particular by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council, which is the organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

40. Indeed *apartheid* has been branded by our Organization as a crime against humanity. Resolution 1761 (XVII) of the General Assembly set up a Special Committee responsible for studying the policy of *apartheid*. In resolution 1761 (XVII), the General Assembly called upon Member States: to break off diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa or to refrain from establishing such relations; to close their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag; to enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports; to boycott all South African goods and refrain from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa; and to refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa.

41. An International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* was even adopted during the twenty-eighth session in resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973.

42. A Special Committee to study the policy of *apartheid* was established in 1962 by resolution 1761 (XVII) of the General Assembly.

43. Information seminars and study groups have been organized by the United Nations to alert and mobilize international public opinion against the policy of racial segregation of the “South African Government”.

44. A Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was declared by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session. [resolution 2919 (XXVII)].

45. And many more steps were taken.

46. In the meantime, the oppressed people of Azania, becoming aware of its strength, is organizing and struggling to break the chains of *apartheid* which are shackling it. The signal has been given. It is no longer a matter of provoking local incidents but of intensifying the struggle for freedom. The African group hails the struggle of the Azanian people, led by the ANC and the PAC, for liberty and justice. We wish to assure them of our total solidarity and fraternal sympathy.

47. The latest general uprising of the blacks throughout the whole of the South African territory—a movement which has been spontaneously supported by a large proportion of the Indians and the coloureds—is one of the most significant episodes of that struggle.

48. That series of actions should normally have vanquished the adherents of *apartheid*, despite their endurance, determination and stubbornness. But unfortunately, with the complicity of certain Member States they have succeeded in emerging more virulent and more arrogant than ever.

49. Indeed, all the pertinent decisions adopted by our Organization in order to rid mankind of *apartheid* have been defeated precisely by those who have assumed special responsibilities in the organs responsible for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

50. In this undermining action the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] have played a primary role by strengthening the military potential of the white racist régime of Pretoria and by increasing their trade with South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions. France recently concluded with the adherents of *apartheid* an agreement on the supply of a nuclear plant. It is with tanks, fighter aircraft, heavy helicopters and other conventional arms supplied by those allies that the South African troops conduct criminal raids against Zambia and Angola, violating their territorial integrity and massacring innocent civilian populations. Thanks to those same allies, the white racists of Pretoria have achieved a nuclear capacity and today are producing a wide range of arms.

51. South Africa has become a monstrous war arsenal, a veritable camp, since the victory of Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] over the colonialist forces of Caetano accentuated its isolation and its encirclement. Its military budget has increased by 42 per cent for the year 1977. That country is considered by the strategists and theoreticians in the West as a natural extension of NATO, and the racist régime of Vorster seems to have taken advantage of this to gain a mandate to oversee certain “economic and political interests” in that region. The most daring among those experts go so far as to claim that the southern flank of NATO is contiguous to the South African defence zone, along the Tropic of Cancer, which—let us hasten to add—lies south of the Canary Islands.

52. It is certainly on the basis of this erroneous thesis that the adherents of *apartheid* have arrogated to themselves, through an arbitrary law promulgated in Pretoria on 28 December 1975, the right to undertake unilateral military

action all the way to the equator each time they consider "their security" to be endangered. They therefore consider all the independent States of Africa situated between the Limpopo and the equator as their vassals.

53. Here we appreciate the great danger which *apartheid* represents both for Africa and for the world. In several pertinent resolutions of the United Nations it has in fact been described as a threat to peace and international security.

54. The United Nations will therefore have to act before it is too late, because the shows of strength and the hysterical outpourings of the racist régime poorly hide its anxiety at the awakening and the rising of the people of Azania. The chiefs of seven of the eight bantustans published on 21 August last, following the general uprising in South Africa, a communiqué in which they proclaimed:

"The South African Government by denying the fundamental rights of the blacks has shown that the only language it is ready to understand is that of violence. We affirm our total opposition to bantustan independence. We do not wish to abandon our birthright as South Africans or our share in the economy and the riches of the country which we have built together. The time is no longer right for concessions which do not satisfy the aspirations of the black man. We demand the organization of a national conference in which the imprisoned leaders must participate. We demand, in this connexion, the liberation of all the patriots who are detained or deprived of their freedom.

"We believe that the time for penitence has come for all the whites in South Africa. What has happened in our country"—they conclude—"is the result of their failure to follow fundamental religious and ethical teachings."

55. No warning could be more solemn or firmer than that. That proclamation constitutes, moreover, a flat rejection not only of the infamous policy of bantustanization but also of the timid concessions made by the Vorster régime, which are so eloquently illustrated by the slogan "Reform in order to survive" which its fanatic partisans have openly proclaimed in mid-August in an effort to deflect the black revolt. Those concessions comprise a series of measures which the desperate racist authorities have hastily advocated for the purpose of establishing a black middle class in order to break up the nationalist front in that country.

56. We take this opportunity to denounce and firmly condemn, on behalf of the African group in the United Nations, today's proclamation by the Pretoria segregationists of the so-called Republic of the Transkei, a slave State which constitutes a defiance of democracy, of the principles of the Charter and of the values to which we are attached. In echoing the draft resolution which was submitted this morning by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we urge all States to refrain from recognizing the puppet State of the Transkei.

57. Although anger rumbles in South Africa, peaceful coexistence between the racial groups in that country is still possible. Indeed, all is not lost because, in spite of its sufferings, the Azanian people bears no resentment towards

the European community of South Africa. And it is this message of hope which the Azanian people made it its duty to transmit to the members of the Assembly through the militant spearhead organizations of ANC and PAC, which addressed this Assembly this morning.

58. Our Organization has thus been given an unexpected opportunity to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the world, because, as Miss Barbara Rogers so aptly put it on 8 October 1971 before the Fourth Committee:

"Today it is obvious that the United Nations is responsible for the death of every freedom fighter... because this is the direct result of its refusal to live up to its responsibilities."¹

59. Will the partners of the adherents of *apartheid* at last understand that time is working in favour of Africa and that the loss of their wards and allies is inevitable, because their behaviour goes against the current of history? The home of *apartheid*—this infamous policy which they have condemned—is surely the ideal place for the application and the implementation of the principle of "Africa for the Africans", which is dear to them. We have no reason to believe that this is a mere slogan born of a certain resentment. The interests which preoccupy them in southern Africa cannot be safeguarded except in peace and harmony between the racial groups, of which the true guarantor is the people of Azania, with which they can look to the future without fear.

60. Therefore, through me, the African group at the United Nations, of which I have the honour to be Chairman for the month of October, requests them to revise their position and to associate themselves with the great crusade against *apartheid*. The oath which we sealed with the blood of our martyrs to combat nazism in Europe must today be renewed in order to vanquish *apartheid*, which, together with zionism, is one of its most pernicious surviving elements. It is not possible to hesitate in making a choice between an entire people and a handful of soulless and heartless adventurers who are only an accident of history, because of the fact that by their actions and their concerns they are the very negation of the great ideals which we are defending and which are the glory of our peoples.

61. We wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the peoples and the Governments of the Scandinavian countries, whose political, diplomatic, moral and material contribution has been decisive in the struggle against *apartheid*. The relevant proposals made on 20 August last at Copenhagen by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs at the end of a special session convened as a result of the deteriorating situation in South Africa are evidence of their total commitment at the side of the forces of peace and progress in the world. We wish to thank and congratulate them.

62. The situation is ripe in South Africa. War is on its threshold, but all chance of peace has not been lost. Therefore everything depends on the determination with which the United Nations will decide to deal with the explosive situation prevailing there.

¹ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Fourth Committee, 1922nd meeting, para. 35.*

63. We are convinced that the Assembly has understood us and that the decision which will be adopted at the end of its deliberations will give impetus to the last attack of the international community on the citadel of *apartheid*. And that will be justice.

64. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: I have the honour and privilege of speaking here both as representative of my country, Nigeria, and as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*. After my direct involvement with the question of South Africa and *apartheid* for the period of about a year since I came to the United Nations, I am short of words and emotion in expressing myself on the subject. This reaction obviously marks the state of mind which I have gradually developed in the face of the approach of many members of this Assembly to these problems which are so basic and fundamental but which some countries still prefer to philosophize about and play down.

65. The degree of unanimity of views in this Assembly makes it possible for me not to hesitate to emphasize the coincidence of Nigeria's views and those of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, in fact, of the main body of opinion in the General Assembly.

66. Today we are discussing the problem of *apartheid* and the over-all policies of South Africa, with its racist régime, as a member State of the international community. While we must beware of cant in such discussions, this must not make us fail to examine the situation in its true and realistic perspectives.

67. The weakness of the moral position of South Africa is reflected in two things; first the absence of South Africa from its seat today; and secondly, the fact that in 1961, when last we had contact with South Africa as a member of an important international body, the Commonwealth, South Africa absconded before it was exposed and expelled from that body.

68. It is significant that 30 years ago, when the General Assembly first considered the problem of racism in South Africa in the wake of new racist laws and massacres of African mine workers who had gone on strike for a minimum wage, the delegation of the South African racist régime was seated in this Assembly hall while the spokesmen of the liberation movements, representing the great majority of the people, were obliged to remain in the corridors. Today we have listened [*41st meeting*] to the great African patriot Oliver Tambo and also David Sibeko, who are both from South Africa, and today that anachronism has been corrected.

69. The delegation of the racist régime has excluded itself from this Assembly. The authentic representatives of the great majority of the people of South Africa are here today with us and participating in the discussion on *apartheid*, that sin and crime against humanity.

70. The unanimous decision of the General Assembly to discuss the matter in plenary meetings and the invitation extended to the liberation movements to participate in this debate as observers represent a development of historic significance.

71. This is a tribute to the long struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom and human dignity, for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a tribute to the numerous martyrs who have laid down their lives in this heroic struggle since the Soweto massacre of 16 June. It is a demonstration of the recognition by the overwhelming majority of mankind that their struggle is legitimate and that it is indeed the cause of all mankind.

72. On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I congratulate the freedom fighters of South Africa on this occasion. I also thank the General Assembly for accommodating our special case in the deliberations in the plenary meetings.

73. We look forward to the day when these courageous freedom fighters of South Africa will take over the seats of power in South Africa and take their rightful place as the representatives of South Africa in this world body.

74. We have noted the commitments and the contributions by various peoples and countries in all regions of the world. I wish to refer especially, as I have been doing for some time now, to the Nordic countries, which have been in the forefront of international action to aid the oppressed in the humanitarian field, because they are part of the Western and Christian world. They have exerted, in their own modest way, pressure on their allies to re-examine their co-operation with South Africa. The Nordic countries have identified themselves with the aspirations of Africa and have joined the majority of the Members of the Organization in our concerted efforts to fight *apartheid*. We thank them for their sacrifices, and we sincerely hope that they will continue steadfastly to support this human cause.

75. The socialist States have always reflected what they stand for—the dignity, freedom and equality of man—in their commitment to the liberation struggle all over the world, and particularly in Africa. They have, from the days of colonialism in some countries in southern Africa, given both financial and material support to the liberation struggle. We are aware of, and share their view on, the equality of man, their view that man should not exploit his fellow man, as is done in South Africa today, where the profit motive is pitted against human conscience and human values.

76. The question of human value and dignity is one on which there can be no compromise. Many of the Caribbean and Latin American countries have identified themselves with the cause. Unfortunately, one or two of them have been misguided by the propaganda efforts of South Africa and we note that a general from one of the Latin American countries is reported to have been represented in Umtata this morning. It is not only because we have a common heritage that we expect great support from the Caribbean and Latin American countries. It is also, and more importantly, because we have similar aspirations and a belief in the equality of man. We have all at one stage or another been downtrodden together.

77. Those countries that give support can rest assured that we in Africa will translate our convictions and militant outcries into a greater involvement in both financial and

material support for the liberation struggle in Africa. We in Nigeria will continue to play our part in every way possible to ensure that justice for the black man in Africa, in his own land, will be obtained and sustained.

78. On that note I do not hesitate to say that we call also on all black men all over the world to react as strongly as we do in the common cause to salvage the human being who, because of his black colour or his kinky hair, is subjected to the most degrading form of inhumanity in the history of mankind. We call also on all men of conscience to put behind them the inhibitions emanating from vested and racial interests, and to work towards universal justice.

79. It is distressing to note that some of our friends from the "free world" in the West still find difficulty in translating their verbal protestations into tangible support for the oppressed people of South Africa. They still find themselves inveigled and therefore entangled in the web of their own double-thinking. They profess that they belong to the "free world", which rests on the tenets of freedom, justice and equality. They acknowledge that the lives of the oppressed people of South Africa are devoid of those very principles. They claim that they are applying voluntarily the arms embargo against the racist minority régime in Pretoria. Yet some give their patents and licences to the Vorster régime to manufacture arms and ammunition which in turn are used by the bloodthirsty, trigger-happy racists to murder in cold blood innocent and peaceful persons carrying out peaceful demonstrations in South Africa. They connive at massive investment in the exploitation of cheap labour and exchange technology with South Africa, oblivious of their own resolutions to isolate the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

80. Even in backward Africa—for so they describe us—we have never heard of machine-guns being used against mourners, as we read today happened in "civilized" South Africa. We have all been part of or have seen demonstrations at one stage or another in our lives. Some of us have been hit by the rubber bullets, knocked down by water hoses, rendered ineffective by tear-gas. But when machine-guns are used to exterminate people at a funeral, to kill children who carry only sticks and stones, I can find no words to describe such a situation.

81. This free world still believes that the solution in southern Africa is a super-Power contest of threats and strength. It regards the heroic response of Cuba to the Angolans' brotherly call for help as a threat to its sphere of influence. It took the Cuban presence in southern Africa to wake the free world from its slumber and indifference to the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed people of Africa. It took the Cuban presence to make the free world begin to see its need for intervention—an intervention primarily to protect sources of raw material for the free world and its allies, an intervention to deradicalize and deescalate the forward thrust of the nationalist forces towards their objectives, an intervention based on self-centered national interests.

82. As the representative of a major Western Power put it two weeks ago: "This is not altruism." Intervention by a world Power cannot be based on altruism. It is validly based on national interest. For so is the world today, and so are the realities of the world we live in.

83. If the free world, however, honestly feels that there is need for its intervention, let it rally round the liberation movements; let it withdraw its props that support the racist economy; let it cease using its privilege of the veto power to shield the Vorster régime from concerted international sanctions.

84. Our records are replete with declarations and *clichés*: human solidarity, human rights, human dignity, all men are created equal, and so forth. On what do we now base our appeal to those who appear to support these declarations but continue to beg the question of the solution? For how many years can we continue to accept the veto on the South African question, which deprives this Assembly of the possibility of applying simple pressures against the racist régime of South Africa to induce it to give up settler colonialism and *apartheid*? How do we shake ourselves out of our present state of mesmerism by rhetoric? For how long do we continue to stagnate in the United Nations and continue to play this ping-pong game of words and unproductive resolutions, frustrated by a few powerful Members with vested interests, while the enslavement of black peoples in South Africa continues, not only unabated, but on the rise?

85. The question of South Africa is not just one of human rights; it is also one of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism by whites dominated eastern and southern Africa for many decades. We recall the wars of liberation in eastern Africa, where the colonial Power was as eager to crush African nationalism in Kenya as it was to scuttle its responsibilities in Rhodesia.

86. Settler colonial Powers have never handed over power anywhere in eastern or southern Africa. An attempt was in fact made to extend the spectrum of this phenomenon up to southern Sudan and from southern Sudan to the Cape. It was thwarted by the inexorable strength and heroism of the owners of the land. So we expect that, with great courage and determination, the South Africans will, with the help of this international community, extricate themselves from the shackles of settler colonialism and the inhumanity and indignity of *apartheid*.

87. Today, the white settlers of Zimbabwe cannot even see the writing on the wall and hand over power in peace. My delegation would like to advise the nationalists meeting in Geneva not to allow red herrings in the so-called talks to divert them from the alternative of winning a military victory in Zimbabwe.

88. South Africa continues to rule Namibia in spite of international opinion. Bantustans are being planned for Namibia and are being carried out. Yet a few days ago in the Security Council three Western Powers which know more about these phenomena than myself refused to support in the Security Council a draft resolution² to bring additional pressure to bear on South Africa in terms of mandatory sanctions. It is inevitable that the pressure on the racists in Namibia be stepped up by the nationalists themselves in order to achieve a settlement.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12211.

89. We talk today of the higher freedoms in international society without devoting any more than passing rhetoric on basic freedoms in Africa and in particular in South Africa. We orate on the higher values of international co-operation, the new international economic order, world peace, the régime of the sea and outer space, while the régime of neo-slavery in South Africa is side-tracked and a solution thwarted by three permanent members of the Security Council.

90. In South Africa a new badge of respectability has been given to Vorster, who is now being represented as playing a part in the solution of the problem of Zimbabwe. He has been invited to take part in the solution by contributing blood money to the fund for Zimbabwe, a fund that Vorster will naturally be pleased to contribute to because it emanates from a racist and capitalist concept. We all know that this fund is in the interest of a few thousand white usurpers, while hundreds of thousands of blacks are in prison, in exile or in refugee camps because of the very racists who are now being protected. Those blacks received little of the compassion and assistance now being considered for the racists. Obviously this racist solution is untenable.

91. The dehumanization of the black people of South Africa by enslavement and deprivation of their basic rights can only lead to greater and greater desperation among the black people of South Africa. This might not be limited to southern Africa but could extend to the whole of the black world. The black man cannot continue to be exploited in one way or another. We have been too underprivileged to be able to continue in this state to build a so-called Western civilization.

92. Today, 26 October, is a day of infamy in South Africa. I spoke briefly about this this morning. The concept of *apartheid* hatched by the colonial racist white settlers is reaching its apogee in the establishment of the Transkei as one of the many homelands to which black South Africans will now be relegated. The *apartheid* régime, in collusion with handpicked chiefs in its pay, has announced the sham independence of the Transkei. More than 3 million Africans, as a first stage, will now be deprived by racist laws of citizenship in their country. The plan goes on to revoke the citizenship of all Africans, the majority of the people of the country, in order to confine them to scattered reserves and to take them away from the mines and the rich land, while most of the country—more than 80 per cent—is to be appropriated for exclusive white domination. There is no parallel in history to this monstrous bantustan scheme.

93. The racist régime, which represents no more than a fraction of the minority population, is in the process of herding about 7 million people into those confines and keeping the rest in ghettos around their mines and factories and is, as I said earlier, being given a badge of respectability. In the Security Council a few days ago we heard that because of the role South Africa is playing in the solution of the southern African problems three Western States refused to accept the decision of the international community to exert pressure on South Africa to change. In this process the *apartheid* régime subtly continues to force Africans into so-called homelands and continues to increase pressure and to massacre Africans who resist.

94. The destiny of South Africa will be decided by all the people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed, and above all by that great majority of the population which has been oppressed and its liberation movement.

95. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has denounced the bantustan scheme ever since its inception in 1963. On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* I wish to express satisfaction that not a single Government has agreed to recognize the fraud being perpetrated in Umtata today.

96. The Transkei is and will remain an integral part of South Africa. The whole policy of *apartheid* in the refined form of bantustanization is bound to fail.

97. Man can make laws, but man-made laws must conform to the basic nature of man within his community. Any group of men relegated to the abyss of their society, deprived of their rights, dispossessed of their land, enslaved in their own God-given country, must be expected to react inevitably and rise against the system unless they are perpetually handicapped by psychogenetic traumata or are perpetually dehumanized.

98. In nation-States, as in the international community, man in this class will never understand the meaning, much less the essence, of peace. Man cannot be expected to live in peace in these circumstances, much less to accept being perpetually held down by laws made by the few against the interests of the many.

99. Men who find a marginal line between living and dying can hardly be expected not to use violence in order to free themselves. These are the dialectics of the situation in South Africa and the inevitability of change in the situation.

100. I hope that the draft resolution that has been proposed today will be adopted by acclamation.

101. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): This all-important debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa takes place at a time when we are celebrating the thirty-first anniversary of the United Nations. May I seize the opportunity, therefore, to salute our Organization and, in the words of my Head of State, "rededicate Ghana to the noble objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter". Every anniversary is an occasion of joy and of stocktaking. Despite the several phases through which our Organization has passed, the United Nations still represents mankind's best hope for international peace and justice. We wish our Organization many more anniversaries and greater success in its endeavours to help in ridding our world of injustice and in promoting the welfare of all mankind.

102. But today is also a day of sadness and of shame, for today also witnesses the unfolding of a shameful drama in that part of South Africa known as the Transkei. The fraud that has been perpetrated in the name of "independence" impresses no one—certainly not Ghana. We condemn that fraud, devoid as it is, of any validity and any honour, and I pledge in the name of the Government and people of Ghana our full solidarity with the nationalist movement in South Africa working against bantustans, and therefore against the

perpetuation of *apartheid*. We have no doubt that the stooges of the racists will very soon pay dearly for this treacherous act against Africa and the hopes of millions of South Africans who value honour and dignity.

103. The policies of *apartheid* of the racist minority régime of South Africa are so well documented and so well known that it would be tedious for me to recount them before this informed Assembly. It would appear sufficient for me, therefore, merely to remind this Assembly that those *apartheid* policies have persisted for almost as long as our Organization has been in existence. Every passing year since 1948 has witnessed an intensification of the discriminatory and barbarous measures unleashed against the majority African population. Naturally, the victims of *apartheid* have resisted, and it is this resistance which has today brought the situation in South Africa closer to its breaking-point, rendering it thus a veritable threat to the peace of Africa and to world peace and security.

Mr. Ríos (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

104. The section on this subject in the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1, chap. V, sect. E] and the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22 and Add.1-3] serve to remind us that the situation in South Africa calls for greater imagination and bolder measures by members of the international community. It is an issue of right and wrong, which therefore does not, and should not, encourage hypocritical attitudes. The time has come when we must ask ourselves whether we wish to see created in South Africa a society which is free from oppression—a society where every person, without regard to race, colour or creed, can exercise his full political and economic rights and can live in peace, security and dignity.

105. This Organization, through its Charter, has recognized that no limitation can now be placed on the application of basic principles, by confining it to either one nation or a group of nations, or one group of people or another group of people, but not South Africa; for, there, the selective application of these basic principles by the racist minority régime, in favour of only the white population, has been raised to the level of legality. Any form of resistance to this blatantly inhuman situation has been treated as an indictable offence and met with violence. Thus only a few weeks ago a high official of the American Government had the courage to describe *apartheid* as being "inconsistent with any concept of human dignity".

106. But the matter should not end there, because it goes beyond this. Records have not been lacking, either in the past or the present, of condemnation and denunciation by world statesmen of the pernicious policy of *apartheid*. These have not proved enough in the past to bring about a change of heart in South Africa, and we have no reason to believe that they will do so in the present. What this Organization now needs is a practical expression of its reprehension and horror. As yet, there has been no evidence that all of us are prepared to make it.

107. The Swedish Foreign Minister, in her statement before this Assembly a few weeks ago, remarked that "The systematic racial discrimination practised there [in South

Africa] is in glaring conflict with the Charter of the United Nations . . ." [29th meeting, para. 104] and demanded that the *apartheid* system be brought to an end.

108. In the judgement of the majority of us here, and that of the international community, *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. Since June this year, hundreds of unarmed and defenceless Africans, many of them women and children, have been slaughtered in cold blood by the racist police of Pretoria. Evidence has been provided that in some cases the victims were shot in the back. The actual death toll is not known, and may never be known. Naturally, Ghana mourns the dead, and we convey our condolences to the bereaved families. Those victims of *apartheid*, it should be remembered, were slain only because they demanded elementary rights which white children in South Africa enjoy even before birth. Many more instances of this kind can be cited.

109. But Soweto is not all disaster. The events there and in other black townships remind us that no struggle has been accomplished without its martyrs. The children have demonstrated their recognition that they are primarily responsible for their own redemption and that in this regard they do not lack either the courage or the readiness to sacrifice to bring this about. It is also true that we who see ourselves as representing the conscience of mankind have a responsibility towards these children. This recognition demands of us sacrifices which we should be willing and prepared to make—sacrifices which involve a rethinking of our individual relations with South Africa.

110. The events to which I have drawn attention stem basically from a deep sense of pent-up grievance. The Vorster régime, caught in an obscure paralysis of power, appears unable or unwilling to recognize the situation for what it is. Mr. Vorster dismisses the legitimate demands of the majority of the black population as being without merit. Mr. Vorster's racist minority régime contemplates no remedy for the deteriorating situation, save the naked display of force. One may therefore ask whether Mr. Vorster is indeed in control of South Africa or only of its armoury. What sort of a country is South Africa and what responsibility can we, and should we, expect on the part of its Government?

111. I think it would be appropriate for me to stress at this stage that my country believes in the value of changes brought about by dialogue and by peaceful means. But we do not subscribe to this philosophy blindly. In the particular situation prevailing in South Africa, every peaceful method of change has been tried but has failed.

112. Only a week ago, Mr. Vorster said categorically that he could not envisage the day when the African majority could exercise its political rights in South Africa. It should not be forgotten either that, despite the much vaunted change implied in Vorster's appeal for time a year ago and his supposed search for peaceful coexistence in Africa, nothing has really changed to make us give any credibility to Mr. Vorster. The inhuman and repressive apparatus of the State security system is still appallingly in effect. Far more serious, and as the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* reveals, the South African régime, with the support of some Western countries, including the

United States, has continued to build up its defence potential to a level that is beginning to cause concern and worry even to its allies. The military budget of South Africa, we are told, has increased from 44 million rand in 1960-1961 to 1,350 million rand in 1976-1977, and is expected to increase further. Through this build-up, South Africa has in the last year carried out military incursions into Angola and attacked border towns and villages in Zambia. South Africa has also increased its military presence in Namibia with the full knowledge that it does this illegally and irresponsibly.

113. We are amazed, therefore, to discover that South Africa continues to profit from political, economic, military and sporting relations with many countries of our Organization—mostly Western countries. Even worse is it that the veto should be exercised in favour of South Africa any time there are visible indications that effective action is contemplated against the repressive Government of that State.

114. Everything that we know about South Africa convinces us that any kind of co-operation with that racist State confers respectability on that régime, strengthens that régime in its *apartheid* policies and therefore undermines the struggle which the nationalist movements are waging.

115. It is in this light that the Government and people of Ghana see the boycott of South Africa in international sports. To us, therefore, the insulation of sports from politics is not tenable in this circumstance. Nor is the repudiation of our international obligations by arguing the freedom of the individual in this country or that tenable. There is no legal system under which assertion of individual freedom can be argued as a valid defence for murder.

116. A number of reports have been commissioned by various bodies of the United Nations with the purpose of determining the extent, if any, of the influence which political, economic, military and other links with South Africa have had in changing the situation in that country. One of these reports was commissioned by the Commission on Human Rights. The following observation appears in one of its paragraphs:

“Far from exerting leverage for changed policies, foreign funds are building up South Africa’s economy so that it will be better able to resist any challenge to *apartheid* from the international community. Furthermore, foreign capital is accepting a stake in the South African economy on terms laid down ever more stringently by the controllers of that economy. The intent of the South African Government is clear: apart from the indispensable role played by foreign capital in crucial growth areas, the more closely the economy is linked with Western economic interests, the simpler it will be for the Government to command political support and sympathy in the countries of origin of that capital.”³

117. The South African régime has taken advantage of its status as a major producer of uranium to involve the major industrialized countries of the West most closely in the

apartheid economy, thereby strengthening the vested interest of these countries in support of the *status quo* in South Africa. In other words, industrialization, militarization and general progress in South Africa have not proved to be collateral for the blacks of South Africa. In the military field, as is shown in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22] there is revealing and disturbing information on the increased co-operation between South Africa and NATO. The fact that NATO has made its codification system available to the South African racist régime and maintains regular contacts with the “Advokaat” system suggests that the countries which make up that Organization have developed a community of interest with the racist régime and would wish to see the *status quo* retained.

118. It is in the light of these revelations that my country has evaluated the meaning of the triple use of the veto last week by France, the United Kingdom and the United States at the 1963rd meeting of the Security Council. This action, as we see, can have one purpose only: to give South Africa a breathing space to continue to arm itself, to allow the racist régime more time to pursue its bantustan policies while slaughtering the African population and to allow South Africa more time to settle the situation in Namibia in terms which would be most suited to its interests and those of the West.

119. Let me at this stage quote what the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Ghana said before this Assembly earlier this month on the matter of the use of the veto. He said:

“... veto powers have been vested in the permanent members of the Security Council in recognition of their special responsibility to the international community to promote a peaceful world environment. But veto powers degenerate into abuse, and their noble ends are defeated if they are ... employed ... as an instrument in the regrettable politics of ‘the cold war.’ [20th meeting, para. 233.]

120. Although this statement was made in the context of the application for admission of Angola and Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations, it was meant to have, and it has, a general application.

121. In a larger context and viewed against the fact that the triple use of the veto has been exercised three times by France, the United Kingdom and the United States in support of South Africa, it is the view of my Government that these countries have acted as willing accomplices of the racist régime in Pretoria. What value can one attach to the veto when increasingly it is used to support wrong causes to the detriment of those who are struggling to exercise their right to self-determination, to freedom and to dignity?

122. The Government of Ghana believes that the time has long passed for effective measures to be instituted against the régime of South Africa. Indeed, it is our firm conviction that South Africa’s membership in the United Nations is wrong and therefore undermines the moral strength and viability of our Organization. My country believes in the principle of the universality of our Organization, but we do not agree with those who maintain that in pursuit of that

³ See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/371, para. 66.

principle South Africa should continue to retain its membership and enjoy the protection and privileges of an Organization whose principles it does not accept or respect and whose decisions it despises.

123. I have already suggested that the struggle against *apartheid* is a noble one and therefore demands sacrifices by all nations. No Member of our Organization can be indifferent to *apartheid* or can ignore the tensions and the uncertainties created in South Africa as a result of this obnoxious and inhuman system. It is a matter of satisfaction, therefore, for Ghana to recognize that the majority of the Members of our Organization have been responsive to their obligations in this matter. We in Ghana have long dedicated ourselves to a commitment to the elimination of *apartheid*. This is in keeping with our historical circumstances and the values which we as a nation cherish and strive to put into practice. The history of our nation over the nearly 20 years since its independence testifies to this. Beginning with our birth cry through the Conference of Independent African States, held in Accra in April 1958, to our offer to play host in Ghana in 1978 to the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, one cardinal fact emerges, namely, our unshaken conviction that Ghana's independence is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of Africa—liberation that involves the total decolonization of the continent from Cairo to Cape Town and from the tip of the Gambia to the extreme limits of the Horn of Africa; liberation, also, that involves the total liquidation in the continent of the old concepts of the superiority of one race over another, in particular the liquidation of *apartheid*.

124. Ghana supports the struggle in southern Africa—in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa—because it is a struggle for self-determination, national unity, human rights and dignity. It is not and cannot be a struggle in favour of communism or any other "ism". The caricature of communism has been created by South Africa and its allies only as a means of delaying the inevitable destruction of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. That attitude is dishonest and does no honour to those who propagate it. It undermines the credibility of those who preach to us the values of democracy as the fountain of all freedoms and human dignity.

125. Since the end of the last war and particularly since the mid-1950s over 40 erstwhile colonized States have become independent and are exercising their sovereign rights. None of those States has become Communist or opted for communism. Even if some of us had opted for that system of government would it not have been within our sovereign right to do so? On the contrary, rather than improving any system of government root and branch, our efforts have been directed at recapturing our former glory and pursuing policies which, for a change, would work for the benefit and prosperity of our people. In the process we have opted for non-alignment and thus removed ourselves from the dominating sphere of Western imperialism and from the sphere of any other domination. We stand for friendship with all countries which value such friendship; we do so conscious of the fact that Africa is not an extension of Europe or any other continent and because we have no desire to become the vassals of any country or of any group of countries. This is because we value our

independence and sovereignty. This is what the freedom struggle in Africa is all about. *Apartheid* must therefore be eliminated by every means available to us. Ghana pledges its full support in this regard. This is not a declaration of war; it is a restatement of our commitment to the cause of right, the cause of the dignity of the individual, regardless of race, colour, religion or sex.

126. In conclusion, I appeal to all Members of this Assembly to support the draft resolution that has been introduced by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

127. Mr. AL-SHAikhLY (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question before us is one that affects not only human dignity but also international peace and security. The delegation of my country is especially interested in the question of *apartheid* in the present phase in Africa, namely, that of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Southern Africa is undergoing important transformations connected with its destiny. It is the end of settler colonialism which has lasted longer than a century. The African struggle has been strengthened by the successes in the former Portuguese colonies, the appearance of progressive régimes in the region and the failure of all the attempts to maintain the colonialist grip on those countries.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

128. The United Nations has demonstrated its interest in the question of *apartheid* in South Africa and has expressed its concern over and has condemned that policy. The General Assembly has condemned the policy of *apartheid* because it is a contradiction of the Charter and a crime against humanity. The General Assembly has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle being waged in South Africa to put an end to *apartheid* by any means possible so that a majority government may be installed. The General Assembly has also condemned the policy of bantustanization in South Africa and any economic and military co-operation with the racist régime, because this makes it possible for Pretoria to maintain its inhuman policy.

129. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* from the time of its inception in 1962 to the present day has made worthy efforts to explain the perilous policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination not only in South Africa but in the whole of that region of Africa, but the stubbornness of the South African Government, which is perpetuating its racist policy and thus defying the will of the international community, has brought about a situation in which the people of South Africa and Namibia are more than ever resolved to defend their rights based on the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and this can be achieved only through armed struggle. What the world is seeing now is an escalation of the struggle against the racist régime. This shows that the Pretoria régime understands only the language of armed struggle. The large-scale insurrection that we see now in South Africa against *apartheid* and the inhuman massacres by the racist régime of unarmed school-children and other members of the population indicate that this is a new phase in the struggle in South Africa. The world community is once again invited to fulfil its commitments.

130. The Security Council in its resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976 has recognized that the present situation

“... has been brought about by the continued imposition by the South African Government of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly”.

I should like to refer to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which contains all the details of the Soweto massacre, in which it says, *inter alia*:

“The Pretoria régime, however, has scorned the resolution of the Security Council. While making partial concessions on the issue of Afrikaans instruction, it resorted to massive repression against the African people and all opponents of *apartheid*, thereby aggravating the situation.” [A/31/22/Add.1, para. 5.]

131. The demonstrations of the pupils and students in Soweto were directed against the imposition of Afrikaans in secondary schools; but, in fact, the real reasons for those demonstrations were the massacres that had taken place, the true nature of the racist régime and the policies followed for the past 10 years by the racist Government, that is to say, the savage oppression of all those who oppose *apartheid*, the displacement of thousands of families, the detaining of thousands of black citizens, and the drafting, enactment and imposition of repressive and discriminatory laws. That is the régime of the Republic of South Africa and that is its result.

132. In this year 1976 it is trying to bantustanize a part of Africa and, as proclaimed today, is giving so-called independence to the Transkei. For this purpose a law has been promulgated—the law on the Transkei—which deprives not only the inhabitants of the Transkei but also many other categories of the population of South African citizenship. Those manoeuvres are quite clear and they cannot conceal the truth, because the world is aware of what those imperialist manoeuvres mean.

133. The decision taken at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo, recommends non-recognition of that false entity⁴—an entity which has been created in contravention of the will of the people concerned. The latter wish effectively to liberate the people of South Africa and put an end to the colonial manoeuvres which are dangerous not only for South Africa but also for the whole of that region of southern Africa, including Namibia and Zimbabwe.

134. The Pretoria régime is still resolved to exploit the Territory of Namibia and to help maintain the system of *apartheid* in Zimbabwe. Pretoria is defending the illegal régime in Rhodesia, notwithstanding the fact that it is threatening the neighbouring African countries. The Government of South Africa is able to maintain that racist, aggressive policy only because of an extensive military and economic support that it receives from the imperialist and colonialist countries.

135. It is evident, as was indicated by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, that the countries which

oppose United Nations resolutions are the very same countries which provide aid and support and are aiding and abetting South Africa in maintaining its racist policy. Any support given to that country is aid to *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It is therefore no accident that we see those same countries with vast investments in South Africa. That is an exploitation of cheap labour; that aids the very policy of *apartheid*, which exploits the inhabitants. Thus, the transnational companies which belong to the countries concerned are acting against the interests of the people of that region; their chief interest is to derive the greatest possible profit, without showing any concern at all for the interests of the peoples of those countries, that is, their aspirations to life in freedom and dignity.

136. We wish to recall here the importance of the decision of the Fourth Committee this year regarding the policies of transnational companies that operate in a manner contrary to the interests of the people in that region.

137. The discussions that have taken place in the Security Council, in the course of which the United States, the United Kingdom and France resorted to their right to veto against the draft resolution which called for an arms embargo against South Africa, brought into the open the fact that those countries, by preventing the adoption of a radical measure against the racist régime, are in fact not applying the provisions of the Charter. What is worse, that fact was brought into the open immediately after Vorster's statements that were published in *The New York Times* on 19 October of this year.

138. The delegation of Iraq wishes to speak of those statements; they are important—and I wish to emphasize that. I shall refer to parts of those particularly dangerous statements. In reply to a question as to whether Vorster expected that the rule of 4 million whites would cede to rule by 18 million blacks, he replied: “I cannot foresee such a day at all.” With reference to SWAPO, recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, Vorster said the following: “I have nothing to say to SWAPO at all.” That is what the leaders of the régime which is governing South Africa say. There is no need for further explanation or comment.

139. We should also like to mention the suspicious pact which is being hatched between Pretoria and Tel Aviv and which is one of the bases of world imperialism. This Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis has deep roots, owing to the identical nature of those two régimes. Zionism was born of settlement imperialism and is based upon the idea of the “chosen race”. The Palestinian people has been expelled from its country so that Palestine might be occupied by those foreign settlers.

140. I must also mention what an eminent Jewish personality stated in a magazine of the international press issued in New York on 31 March 1975. Professor Israel Shahak, who came to Palestine in 1945 as a refugee from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, believed in Zionism but he changed his mind after having gone through certain experiences and especially after the war of June 1967. In answer to a question concerning the statements of the European and American press to the effect that the Zionist

⁴ See document A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 4.

entity was a democratic one, he said that it was the greatest disappointment of the twentieth century:

"Israel is as much a country of *apartheid* as South Africa but in a more hypocritical fashion and in a way more designed to delude American public opinion."

Mr. Shahak based his statement on certain statistics of the Zionist entity which do not record the births of "Israeli" children but only the births of "Jews" and "non-Jews", so that within Israel there are not so much Israeli citizens as Jews and non-Jews. That racism explains the collusion between the racist regime of Pretoria and that of Tel Aviv.

141. That is what the General Assembly has condemned in more than one resolution, the most recent of which is resolution 3411 (XXX), in which the Assembly condemned once again the collusion between the South African régime and that of Israel, both of them being racist in their political, military, economic and other policies.

142. Thus, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* likewise condemned that collaboration, which covers all the sectors that we have mentioned and others, such as science and technology. The report also mentions that "... relations between the minority racist régime in South Africa and Israel have deep historical and ideological roots" [A/31/22/Add.2, para. 16]. The report also refers to the collaboration between the two countries and describes how it is being strengthened. It states that the co-operation between the racist régime of South Africa and the Government of Israel increased after June 1967, when Vorster paid a visit to Israel and signed agreements on economic, industrial and scientific co-operation between the two countries. That is also abundantly evident from the reports in the press and all the information confirms that they are strengthening their military co-operation. The report also demonstrates the dangers resulting from that co-operation in view of the existence of the liberation movements in southern Africa and in the Arab world. The delegation of Iraq feels that this co-operation must clearly be condemned and that if it continues the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter will have to be applied to both countries.

143. The struggle of the people of South Africa for justice and equality will triumph, especially if the United Nations adopts a strong position. We therefore invite all countries to assist the African liberation movements by all possible means, whether in the information, political or material sphere. We believe that, since this is the Decade for the struggle against *apartheid*, the most radical measures provided for in the Charter must be adopted in order to put an end to that inhuman régime.

144. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): My delegation would like to thank Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria for his very able conduct of the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and record our appreciation of the excellent work done by the Committee over the past year. Once again the Committee has approached its task of guiding the international campaign against *apartheid* with dedication, perseverance and commitment. We believe that with the full co-operation of the international community the efforts they have made in a just cause will yield fruitful results.

145. Over the past year, we have witnessed momentous developments in southern Africa. The Vorster régime and its racist ally in Salisbury are now confronted with growing and determined African resistance, which is the inevitable result of the policies of racial oppression which they have pursued. At previous sessions of the Assembly, year after year, warnings have been issued to the effect that failure to respect the legitimate aspirations of Africans to freedom and equality would inevitably result in conflict and bloodshed. The racist régimes have continued to treat international opinion with contemptuous disregard and the warnings issued have gone unheeded. The armed confrontation between the racist régimes and the liberation forces has now entered a new phase in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself, which is the core of the system of racial oppression in southern Africa.

146. The characteristic response by the *apartheid* régime to legitimate protest, brutal repression, will not stem the mounting tide of African resistance to racist domination. But the Vorster régime has not learned this lesson. The merciless massacre of innocent schoolchildren at Soweto in June of this year once again reminded us of the horrors which reveal the true nature of the *apartheid* system and its cynical and criminal disregard for the lives of the black population. But it is certain that African resistance will continue to spread and increase in force until the goals of freedom and equality are achieved.

147. It is clear that the Pretoria régime is not prepared to respect the humanitarian principles which the United Nations has upheld in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But that is not all: it is also clear that the racist régime will not respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring black independent African States. The invasion of Angola in the latter part of last year and the repeated incursions into Zambia represent clear instances of naked aggression which threaten peace in the continent and indeed in the world. The racist régime has been condemned in Security Council resolutions for aggression against Angola and against Zambia, but the grave threat to peace persists and now more than ever requires firm and effective action by the United Nations. Mere condemnation is not enough. My delegation is convinced that the time has come for all Member States to take action to fulfil their obligation under the Charter to promote freedom and peace. The clear responsibility of the international community cannot in good conscience be avoided.

148. In this regard, it is the view of my delegation that the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has provided in its report [A/31/22 and Add.1-3] constructive proposals for international action in a number of fields which deserve the full support of this Assembly. The aim must now be the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime and effective support for the liberation struggle. Joint action by the international community along those lines will, in the view of my delegation, go a long way towards the elimination of *apartheid*, and the complete liberation of Africa.

149. Regrettably, in the past the effectiveness of international action has been undermined by the policies of some States which continue to provide economic and political support to the Pretoria régime. My Government deplores in

particular the growing nuclear and military collaboration of certain States with the *apartheid* régime. Not only have those States given comfort to the enemies of African freedom but they can also be regarded in effect as accomplices in the actions of the *apartheid* régime. My delegation appeals to those States for a change of policy which would put principle before the immediate interests of economic gain and political expediency. We call upon those States to take action urgently to end their association with the racist régime and to take firm action against companies, financial institutions and other organizations within their jurisdiction to discourage collaboration with South Africa, in accordance with the recommendations of the Special Committee.

150. For its part, my Government will support the implementation of measures recommended by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and will endeavour to do all in its power to bring about the eradication of *apartheid* and the full liberation of the people of southern Africa.

151. As indicated earlier, my delegation recognizes with grave concern the threat to peace posed by the aggression of the *apartheid* régime and supports appropriate action under Chapter VII of the Charter to force South Africa to comply with resolutions of the United Nations. In this connexion, my delegation deplores the use of the veto once again by three permanent members of the Security Council against a draft resolution calling for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

152. Such action can only give comfort to the racist *apartheid* régime and encourage continued disregard for United Nations resolutions supported overwhelmingly by States Members of the Organization.

153. Jamaica has always condemned the policy of bantustanization, which today has assumed a new dimension with the coming into effect of the so-called independence of the Transkei. Let me assure this Assembly that the Jamaican Government will not extend any form of recognition to that puppet State created by the *apartheid* régime to perpetuate white minority domination and deprive the black population of its legitimate rights in its own country. We note with satisfaction that most countries have already declared that they will not recognize the Transkei or any other bantustan created by racist South Africa. The propaganda of the racist régime has failed to deceive the international community and to mask its sinister intentions.

154. I wish to make a few remarks on the recommendation of the Committee regarding *apartheid* in sports [see A/31/22, chap. II, sect. I]. The campaign to boycott sporting contacts with South Africa is based on a commitment to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sports, which racist South Africa continues to violate. My delegation regards the boycott of sporting contacts with South Africa as an important means of demonstrating to the white minority in South Africa international abhorrence of *apartheid* and our solidarity with black sportsmen in that country. We congratulate all those States, organizations and individuals that have taken a principled stand in refusing to compete with teams selected on the basis of *apartheid*. But unity of action has been frustrated by some countries which have continued sporting exchanges with

South Africa and some international sporting organizations which continue to allow South Africa to participate in international competitions.

155. At the International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa organized by the Special Committee, which was held in Havana in May 1976, my Government submitted a proposal for an international convention against *apartheid* in sports in order to promote adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sports. That proposal was based on our conviction that the struggle against *apartheid* should be intensified on all fronts, in keeping with previous resolutions of the United Nations. My delegation is pleased to note that the proposal was endorsed by the seminar and by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo and recommended to this Assembly by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We hope that this Assembly will accept the proposal and establish the machinery for the formulation of such a convention.

156. In conclusion, my delegation would like to pledge Jamaica's continued support for the armed struggle being carried out by the liberation movements in South Africa. We recognize that in the end this is the main hope for meaningful change in southern Africa and we shall continue to provide moral and material assistance to this struggle. We are encouraged by its increased momentum and we pay a tribute to the heroic fighters for freedom, who are making immense sacrifices to achieve their liberation. They have made it plain to the world that they will persevere in their opposition to a system which denies them human dignity. They have refused to surrender in the face of brutal and violent repression, and we believe that, despite the heavy odds, the inevitable victory will be achieved. Africa will be free from the source of white racist domination.

157. Mr. SIYOLWE (Zambia): First of all, I wish to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the fact that the General Assembly is for the first time considering directly in plenary meetings the question of the vicious, inhuman and evil system of *apartheid*. Furthermore, it is a matter of historic importance that the authentic representatives of the people of South Africa, ANC and PAC, have been accorded the chance they so much merit to put before this august body the situation in South Africa in its right perspective. At the very outset, my delegation would like to commend the liberation movements for the eloquent and highly instructive statements they have delivered before this august Assembly. It is my delegation's hope that the wealth of information, which was delivered in a statesmanlike manner, will be of immense value to the General Assembly.

158. I should also like to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which, under the dynamic chairmanship of Ambassador Leslie Harriman of Nigeria, has spearheaded the United Nations efforts aimed at the eradication of the institutionalized racist doctrine of *apartheid*. The statement made before this Assembly by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [41st meeting] is, like those of the liberation movements, of utmost importance in the consideration of the item before us.

159. *Apartheid* is, as the international community knows, the most extreme form of racism and racial discrimination.

It is not my delegation's intention to bore this Assembly with the meaning of the *apartheid* system. Suffice it to state that *apartheid* stands out as the crudest form of racism not only because of its institutionalization by the racist South African régime but also because of its most inhuman effect of degrading the majority of the people of South Africa.

160. *Apartheid* also stands out in clear contradiction to the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa, a Member of the United Nations, pursues this evil policy in contravention of numerous United Nations resolutions. Only last week, racist South Africa's Prime Minister, John Vorster, had the cheek to state in a press interview that he could not foresee the day when white rule in South Africa would eventually yield to black rule. By implication, Vorster meant that he could not ever envisage a situation in which all the races of South Africa—black and white included—would share political power.

161. The internal situation as it is within South Africa has confirmed Vorster's reaffirmation of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. In legislative terms, nothing has taken place to change the existing situation. Furthermore, the position of the black and other oppressed people of South Africa in the political, economic, social, cultural and other fields remains essentially contrary to the expectations not only of the oppressed people themselves but also of the international community as a whole. The continual barbaric massacres in South Africa stand out as evidence of the deepening oppression of the majority of the people of that unhappy land.

162. Indeed, South Africa is going ahead with its policies of *apartheid*. It is seeking to give them the stamp of international respectability. It has expanded these policies of *apartheid* to the international Territory of Namibia and to the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Internally, it is going ahead with bantustanization, a policy of "divide and rule" intended perpetually to subjugate the people of the Territory and to preserve white privilege and supremacy.

163. This day, 26 October 1976, is a sad day. It is on this day that, in pursuance of its *apartheid* policies and in an act deliberately intended as a slap in the face of the international community, South Africa has granted so-called independence to one of its bantustans, the Transkei. What a farce!

164. Let me make it quite clear that Zambia rejects outright this international lie. Zambia regards the Transkei as an integral part of the racist Republic of South Africa. The so-called independence of the Transkei is meant as a disguise. Matanzima and his clique are nothing but stooges and puppets of the South African racist régime. They are on the payroll of Vorster and their sole purpose is to protect and enhance the *status quo*. They are nothing but traitors.

165. Zambia urges all States Members of the United Nations and all other States not to recognize the bogus independence of the Transkei. We urge the international community to condemn this dangerous manifestation of South Africa's ugly scheme to seek international acceptability of and respectability for *apartheid*. Let us treat

South Africa with the contempt it deserves. This is the moment for the international community to increase its support for the oppressed people of South Africa, who, having suffered for too long, have decided to rise up and overthrow the vicious and demeaning *apartheid* system. How can the international community fail to support the sacrifices of those courageous young men and women in the black townships of South Africa such as Soweto and Alexandra, who have decided to call the bluff of the *apartheid* system, which has subjugated them for too long? These heroic young men and women have not been daunted by the savage and high-handed police and army brutality. They have decided to stand gallantly for right against wrong. They have decided to fight for their birthright.

166. If the racist régime of South Africa had deluded itself into believing that the detention, imprisonment and banishment of South African freedom-fighters such as Nelson Mandela and Mangaliso Sobukwe would halt the heroic struggle of the oppressed people, surely the events of Soweto and the like must have come as a great shock. Indeed, thousands of South African patriots today languish in gaols. But many more of the 20 million South African black people who are the victims of *apartheid* will carry on the struggle until total victory. The duty of us all is to assist them and encourage them.

167. It is in the light of the foregoing that we in Zambia consider as totally repugnant and unacceptable the attitude of certain States which are Members of this Organization. It is a truism that all of us have at one time or another professed support for and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. But what is the actual situation? In practical terms, we find that while sugar-coating continues unabated, some Members of our Organization, particularly the major Western countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France—continue and even intensify their economic, military and other forms of collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa. The activities of foreign economic interests, and more specifically Western economic vested interests, continue to flourish in South Africa. There is almost free-for-all plunder and exploitation of the natural resources of South Africa. Billions of dollars are being exported to the already developed Western countries. Absolutely no regard is paid to the interests of the black majority of South Africa, which continues to languish in slave-like conditions. We are aware of the claims and propaganda of international capitalism to the effect that *apartheid* is being undermined through increases of wages and side benefits for the oppressed people. The fact is that all these posturings are meant to buttress the *apartheid* system and to hoodwink the oppressed people of South Africa and the international community into an unwitting acceptance of *apartheid*. It should be understood that, given the choice between poverty in freedom and affluence in bondage, the oppressed people would choose freedom.

168. I referred earlier to the military collaboration of the Western countries with South Africa. The racist régime of Pretoria prides itself on being the defender of Western interests in southern Africa. My delegation would like to submit that the international community and those countries which are seriously committed to the liberation of southern Africa are tired of the unacceptable argument of

some Western States to the effect that it is possible to support military sanctions against South Africa on a voluntary basis, while they desert that argument, on the same issue, when the proposal deals with the mandatory application of sanctions on the supply of arms to the racist régime of South Africa. That simply does not make sense. The irony is that, in effect, those countries which profess absolute application of voluntary military sanctions against South Africa invariably reject the application of mandatory sanctions as provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Are we to believe that the professed sincerity on voluntary sanctions represents a world of difference from what effectively constitutes mandatory sanctions?

169. Zambia believes very strongly that great insincerity is reflected in the positions of the Western permanent members of the Security Council. It is within that framework that Zambia, consistently true to its principles in international relations, condemns the abuse of the veto by the United States, by the United Kingdom and by France. The triple-veto action which we witnessed in the Security Council last week illustrates the insincerity and the absence of international morality on the part of those who exercised it, in relation to the professed commitment to the cause of the majority in southern Africa. It is in fact unrealistic, it is contradictory, and it is an affront to the intelligence of the oppressed people and, indeed, of their supporters within Africa and around the world.

170. The transparent pretence of those who profess to be friends of Africa has been exposed as such, and we want to state here and now that if a line were to be drawn between the true friends of Africa and those who pretend to be its friends we are convinced that the caricatures would be sufficiently exposed. The element of compromise which should normally characterize international co-operation in the field of international justice has increasingly and conclusively retarded progress towards the liberation of southern Africa. We therefore appeal to the genuine friends of the black and other oppressed people of South Africa to reject hypocritical ambiguities and to come out in a forthright and sincere manner to support the torch-bearers of genuine liberation in South Africa—namely, ANC and PAC.

171. I can conclude my statement on no better note than by quoting my own President, His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda, who, in his reaffirmation of Zambia's continued support for the liberation struggle in South Africa at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in August of this year, said:

"With regard to the situation in South Africa itself, the riots in Soweto and other black townships have more than ever before demonstrated the fallacy of *apartheid* while rekindling the fires of revolution. The riots in South Africa have demonstrated that the situation will resolve itself by an internal revolution."

172. The international community should therefore assist in hastening progress towards that goal within the realistic framework of the continuation of the struggle.

173. The PRESIDENT: In his capacity as representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the representative of Mauritius wishes to speak to propose certain amendments to draft resolution A/31/L.5.

174. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): At the outset I should observe that, since my delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution about which I am speaking, I do not believe the rules of procedure allow me to amend it. I shall, however, propose some oral revisions.

175. I refer the Assembly to draft resolution A/31/L.5 [41st meeting, para. 89] sponsored by some 40 States including my own and introduced earlier today by my colleague and African brother Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria. This draft is entitled "the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans".

176. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft under consideration, with most of whom I have had consultations—and I would apologize to those of my fellow sponsors with whom I have been able to consult either personally or through the OAU secretariat, because it has been a question of rushing against time—I formally inform this Assembly that our draft has been slightly revised and improved without any change as to substance. I shall now read out the oral revisions.

177. In the second preambular paragraph, which starts with the words, "Taking note that . . .", we wish to delete the words, "and has thereby sought to deprive millions of South African people of their citizenship".

178. Operative paragraph 3 should be amended to read as follows:

"Calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans".

179. In operative paragraph 4 we should again like the words "so-called independent" to be inserted before the word "Transkei", so that the paragraph ends: ". . . from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans".

180. Concerning operative paragraph 5, it is the wish of the sponsors that that paragraph be deleted.

181. I hope that the revised draft will command the support of all delegations. I request that the draft be put to the vote now and I ask for a roll-call vote.

182. The PRESIDENT: There is no rule of procedure to prevent a sponsor of a proposal from amending that proposal, but I shall regard the proposals of the representative of the current Chairman of OAU as revisions. The revisions are as follows.

183. The second preambular paragraph has been revised by the deletion of all the words appearing after "26 October 1976", so that the paragraph reads,

"Taking note that the racist régime of South Africa declared the sham 'independence' of the Transkei on 26 October 1976".

184. The third preambular paragraph remains unchanged. Operative paragraphs 1 and 2 remain unchanged.

185. In regard to operative paragraph 3, I wish it to be clear that the representative of Mauritius has proposed the following two revisions: the insertion of the words "so-called independent" before the word "Transkei", and the replacement of the rest of that paragraph with the following words: "and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans". In other words, operative paragraph 3 in its revised form would read as follows:

"Calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans".

186. Operative paragraph 4 would be revised by the insertion of the words "so-called independent" between the words "the" and "Transkei", in the third line of the English version of that operative paragraph, which would now read as follows:

"Requests all States to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans".

187. Operative paragraph 5 of the original draft resolution would be deleted.

188. I take it that the draft resolution in its revised form is now clear. As decided earlier, we shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution as revised by the representative of Mauritius, but I shall call first on the representatives who have asked to explain their vote before the voting.

189. Mr. HARRY (Australia): The Australian Government will not recognize the Transkei. This was announced some time ago and confirmed by our Minister for Foreign Affairs earlier today. The Australian Government's basic opposition to the philosophy of *apartheid* also embraces opposition to the policy of creating bantustans, which constitute an expansion and consolidation of the practices of *apartheid*.

190. The bantustans policy will lead not only to the fragmentation of the South African State and to the persistence of privilege for a minority but also to the dispossession of the majority of the people of South Africa. Those intended to be citizens of the bantustans will not only be given an inequitable proportion of the territory of South Africa but will be excluded from the industrial and mining wealth of South Africa at the same time as they are expected to provide cheap labour to produce it.

191. The bantustans thus constitute an attempt to legitimize the present situation. As such, they have been condemned by the majority of the international community. Without wishing ill to the people of Transkei, the Australian Government does not find convincing the arguments put forward in favour of the existence of an independent Transkei and has serious misgivings about the

process by which it has acquired the status of independence.

192. Furthermore, the recent rejection by homeland leaders of the bantustans policy strengthens our view that the granting of independence to homelands is not the answer to the political aspirations of black people in South Africa.

193. As regards draft resolution A/31/L.5, the Australian delegation has a reservation with respect to operative paragraph 4, which, even as just revised, might be interpreted as requiring us to prohibit individual dealings with the people of the Transkei. However, we support the draft resolution as a whole, and will join in its adoption, for the reasons of principle I have already stated.

194. Mr. ABE (Japan): Japan has persistently condemned *apartheid*. We strongly oppose the establishment of bantustans as reflecting this abhorrent policy of South Africa. My Government, therefore, will not recognize the Transkei.

195. My delegation can support the purport of operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/31/L.5 as orally revised. Accordingly, if the draft resolution is put to the vote, my delegation is ready to vote in favour of it.

196. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/31/L.5, as orally revised [*supra*, paras. 177-180] by the representative of Mauritius, who has requested a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Malta, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 134 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 31/6 A).

197. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes at this stage.

198. Mr. STANBURY (Canada): Canada has supported this resolution, as it did resolution 3411 D (XXX), because it rejects bantustanization as the corner-stone of the policy of *apartheid*. The Canadian delegation must, however, indicate a reservation with respect to operative paragraph 4, as it is the policy of the Canadian Government not to interfere in the activities of Canadians abroad except when the United Nations Security Council has adopted mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

199. We take this opportunity to state that Canada does not recognize the independence of the Transkei.

200. Mr. HESS (United States of America): Looking rather lonely in this august body this afternoon, I wish to explain the vote of the United States and to express the serious problem that my Government has with operative paragraphs 3 and 4.

201. The United States delegation was prepared to support a resolution calling on all States not to recognize the Transkei and not to have official contacts with the Transkei Government. We regret that the present draft, in our opinion, contains some wording that goes well beyond this and with which we cannot agree. Although, with respect to operative paragraph 3, for example, we do not intend to have official contacts with the Transkei Government or to establish any type of relationship with the Transkei, we do reserve the right to act as necessary to protect the interests and rights of our citizens.

202. More broadly, we believe that it would be unwise to preclude contacts with any elements of the South African population who strive for social justice and racial equality, including those who have been relegated to the bantustans.

203. We also cannot support operative paragraph 4, which would have the effect of calling on United Nations Members to impose a type of sanction on private relationships of any kind with people in the so-called homelands. This is a matter for the Security Council to decide.

204. Indeed, this resolution, in our opinion, appears to contain some very loose language that forces a separation between the mind and the heart. Our heart is firmly against South African *apartheid* and its homelands policy. Our heart will continue in this deeply held belief, but much of the non-essential language forces our mind to boggle at some of the wording of this resolution.

205. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): On behalf of the nine member States of the European Communities, the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Mr. van der Stoep, has already indicated during the general debate at this Assembly session [7th meeting], that our nine Governments do not intend to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei. False solutions to the problem of *apartheid* such as the establishment of bantustans, as Mr. van der Stoep stated, promote rather than diminish racial discrimination in South Africa.

206. Therefore our nine countries have readily associated themselves with the adoption of draft resolution A/31/L.5, as revised by the representative of Mauritius on behalf of the sponsors. I wish to state, however, that in our view this consensus can not prejudice in any way the manner in which each of us will deal with specific problems of a practical and legal nature with regard to that territory and its inhabitants.

207. Mr. TALLROTH (Sweden): On behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, my delegation would like to make the following statement in explanation of our votes.

208. The Nordic Governments reject the concept of bantustans. We have repeatedly stated that we will not recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei, which we consider to be a creation of *apartheid* and not a State. Therefore we have voted for the draft resolution.

209. The wording of operative paragraph 4 appears to us to raise some difficulties of an administrative and legal nature. Our Governments will examine those problems in the spirit in which they accept the resolution.

210. Mr. WOLF (Austria): The Austrian delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution A/31/L.5. Firmly opposed to any form of racial discrimination, my delegation regards the establishment of bantustans as a means of consolidating the policies of *apartheid* and therefore wishes to associate itself with the sponsors of the draft resolution in rejecting such policies.

211. On the other hand, the Austrian delegation must point out that operative paragraph 4 of the resolution, in our view, presents, as far as its application is concerned, difficulties of a legal and administrative nature.

212. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): My delegation has supported draft resolution A/31/L.5. Our support of the draft resolution must be regarded as being without prejudice to a more thorough study by us of the practical implications of the applicability of paragraph 4.

213. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): On behalf of Africa I say "thank you" to this Assembly. The votes speak for themselves. For once let my silence be eloquent.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.