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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. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): For many years now, the question of *apartheid* has engaged the attention of the international community. Indeed this Organization has been concerned with the racial policies of South Africa for almost as long as the life of the Organization itself. At the beginning, South Africa and a number of its friends essayed the argument that this Assembly was estopped by the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter from discussing the question of *apartheid* on the ground that it was a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of South Africa. It appears that there may still be an attempt to keep this contention alive. Ambassador Sherer of the United States of America for example, speaking in the Security Council on 19 June of this year, when the brutality of the racists was unleashed with wanton ferocity against the valiant freedom fighters in Soweto and other so-called townships, said:

“In agreeing to this resolution the United States is sensitive to the limits of the Security Council’s jurisdiction imposed by Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. By that Article’s terms, no organ of the United Nations is authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, except in cases in which enforcement measures under Chapter VII are to be applied. Of course, the Council is not applying enforcement measures in this resolution.”<sup>1</sup>

However, Secretary Kissinger in his address to this Assembly less than a month ago, seems to have put to rest any lingering doubt which may be harboured in that regard, when he said: “The system of *apartheid*—by whatever name—is a denial of our common humanity and a challenge to the conscience of mankind.” [11th meeting, para. 182.]

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1930th meeting.*

2. The international agenda has on it many problems of common human concern. *Apartheid* is legitimately one of them. Let us hope, therefore, that no attempt will be made during the current debate to deflect us from a thorough and critical examination of the issue of *apartheid* through asseverations which seek refuge in the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7. For it is now almost universally recognized—South Africa alone stands apart—that the policy of *apartheid* stands enemy to the most basic principles of our Organization, principles which concern the respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

3. It is most appropriate that this question should at this stage be discussed in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. My delegation regards this as a fitting response to the urgent demands of the progressively evolving situation in Azania and indeed in the rest of southern Africa. We consider this by itself as a positive indication of the sensitivity of the United Nations to the situation of crisis which currently exists in that part of the world, for that situation has been aggravated by the continuation and intensification of *apartheid* in South Africa, by its extension to Namibia, by the aggressive intentions and actions of that régime against neighbouring independent African States and by the obsolescence of the white minority régimes, which have far too long held sway in southern Africa. That situation poses a threat to international peace and security. We take comfort as well, Mr. President, from the fact that your own deep commitment to the principles of equity and justice and your effective leadership led to the mature decision taken by this Assembly on 26 October [41st meeting] to permit the legitimate representatives of the oppressed people of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress of South Africa, to participate in this debate. And we deem those circumstances generally as a reassuring augury of just and principled decisions by this Assembly in response to the imperatives for action which the crisis situation in southern Africa demands.

4. There can be no equivocation over the fundamental issue at stake in Azania. It is the issue of human dignity and human freedom; it is the issue of domination and oppression by a white minority disregarding elementary logic and attempting to hold back the tide of history.

5. Over the years, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations have adopted reams of resolutions signalling the abomination in which peoples the world over hold *apartheid*. Many have been the entreaties, the exhortations and the condemnations delivered to and of South Africa. Outside the United Nations as well, non-governmental organizations and individuals conscious of the indivisibility of human freedom

have expressed their abhorrence of, and joined in protestation against, *apartheid* practised by the racists in South Africa. But the efforts of the United Nations have too often stopped short of effective and decisive action against that detestable régime—action which could and would facilitate the pace of change in South Africa. We know only too well the many occasions on which the racists have been protected by the exercise of the veto in the Security Council and have been buttressed by the continuing collaboration of certain Member States in pursuit of their own perceived economic and strategic interests.

6. Yet the efforts of this Organization have not been in vain, nor have they been to no effect. For the decisions taken by this Organization have given succour, no matter how little, to the oppressed people in Azania and they have served to quicken the conscience of millions of people into effecting an increasing isolation of those who so blindly maintain and support the practice of *apartheid*.

7. It would be interesting, I suggest, to analyse in a detailed manner the reactions of the Pretoria régime over the years, to the decisions of this Assembly. Suffice it to say, in summary form, that that reaction has been arrogant, intransigent and totally unco-operative. That régime has never embarked upon any meaningful changes in its policies which reflect a desire to comply with the numerous prescriptions for action which this Organization has demanded of it. The response has always been the ruthless repression of the voices within South Africa dissenting against oppression and clamouring for freedom, and a contumacious defiance of this Organization by the South African régime.

8. The Fascist rulers in Pretoria, it seems, have a curious fascination with mythology. The concept and the practice of bantustans represent one product of that fascination. It is a curious logic which argues that in a system which seeks to separate people along ethnic lines, the white tribes are regarded as homogeneous, and that those tribes, comprising 17 per cent of the population, should occupy 87 per cent of the land. The bantustans are nothing but a sham, a downright fraud, and they must be exposed for what they really are. That is why it was heartening to see this Assembly in a display of near unanimity rejecting the declaration of the so-called independence of the Transkei [resolution 31/6 A]. That is why this Assembly must remain firm in its opposition to bantustanization, and all the other abhorrent manifestations of *apartheid*.

9. The simple truth is that the myth of racial superiority continues to be perpetrated in southern Africa in general and in South Africa in particular essentially in pursuit of economic interests. As my Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade F. R. Wills said on 26 October in connexion with the fraudulent independence of the Transkei:

“The same economic factors which once determined the slave trade and the indentured system, namely, the need to provide cheap labour for capitalist enterprises, are at work in the creation of bantustans.”

The aim is clearly to provide reservoirs of cheap black labour for the luxury of white South Africa and for the enrichment of the pockets of its external allies. One cannot

be outside of a bantustan and profess opposition to the system by merely saying so, if one benefits economically from its existence. Guyana, for its part, will not recognize any such puppet creation.

10. The most recent manifestation of the lengths to which the racists are prepared to go to maintain their dominance over the majority in South Africa and to perpetuate the system of *apartheid* was the violence and the ferocity of their reaction to the legitimate expressions of a desire for freedom by the militant masses in Soweto and other so-called townships. But those masses are not deterred. Intimidation, arrests and bullets by the racists are now catalysts for action: they stiffen the will and strengthen the courage of the masses who yearn for freedom and are determined to recover it. Many have died and we mourn their loss. As a poet of my country, Comrade Martin Carter said:

“Now from the mourning vanguard moving on,  
“Dear Comrades, I salute you and I say  
“Death will not find us thinking that we die.”

11. But the nefarious activities of the minority racist régime of Pretoria have not been confined to the territory of Azania. Paying no heed to the weight of international public opinion, callously ignoring the numerous prescriptions of the Security Council and defiantly disregarding the opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1971,<sup>2</sup> South Africa continues illegally to occupy Namibia and to impose on that country its system of *apartheid* and bantustans. But that is not all. Using Namibia as a base, that régime has sought to maintain a *cordon sanitaire* for white supremacy in Namibia and South Africa by threatening, harassing and invading neighbouring independent African countries. South Africa's aggressions against Angola and Zambia—which have been roundly condemned by the Security Council—stand as irrefutable evidence of its hostile intent against freedom.

12. Neither the precepts of justice nor the lessons of history can bring comfort to the racists in South Africa. The noose is tightening around their *laager* of repression. No force on earth—neither that régime, nor any other—can forever impede the onward march of the militant black masses in southern Africa.

13. Guyana stands four-square behind the freedom fighters in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The Government and people of Guyana remain firmly and unwaveringly committed to supporting morally, politically, diplomatically and materially those fighters in their heroic struggle to recover their freedom and to realize their full potential as human beings in their country which is their patrimony. We pledge our full support for concrete and decisive action by the international community which will advance the cause of freedom in southern Africa.

14. This Assembly has its own specific responsibility to assist the oppressed people of South Africa in their just struggle against the tyranny of the minority. My delegation

<sup>2</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

believes that it is of cardinal importance for this Assembly to call on members to refrain from activities which sustain the economic and other underpinnings of *apartheid*. And we believe that it should be made pellucid to the racist régime in South Africa that it is foolhardy—indeed suicidal—for it to attempt fatuously to traverse for much longer the lonely road which it has chosen.

15. Mr. HJORTH-NIELSEN (Denmark): The Danish delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania to bring before the plenary meetings of the General Assembly the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. We feel that the circumstances are such as to justify a thoroughgoing debate of the matter in this hall, a debate which will permit us once more to focus attention on the disgraceful *apartheid* policy of the South Africa Government and the urgent need to bring it to an end.

16. My country like other countries has voiced in the United Nations and elsewhere our deep concern at the racial injustice in South Africa and at the extent to which it has been institutionalized in law and practice. We deplore the fact that the appeals made to the Government of South Africa to reconsider and to abandon the *apartheid* policy have been to no avail.

17. It is the policy of *apartheid* itself that is at issue. The idea is absurd that a just and viable society can be built on the theory of the complete segregation of 4 million whites from 17 million blacks and on the existence of a perpetual, superior political and economic status for the whites and a corresponding inferior second-rank status for the blacks. But this is the essence of the policy. When Prime Minister Vorster in a much-quoted interview in *The New York Times* of 19 October was asked whether he could foresee the day when white rule would cede to black rule he replied: "I cannot foresee such a day at all". This blindness is the tragedy of the situation.

18. This year the situation in South Africa has entered a new and alarming stage. Our debate takes place against the background of grave events which have called forth strong reactions in my country and elsewhere in the whole world. I refer, of course, to the tragic events in Soweto and other places, where in recent months the South African Government has carried out violent and brutal repressions which resulted in numerous deaths and casualties among innocent people.

19. These events have caused profound shock and indignation among all those who firmly believe, as do the Danish people and the Danish Government, in the protection of human rights in all parts of the world. Altogether these sad events have proved, once and for all, the final and total fallacy of the policy of *apartheid* and the crying need for its abolishment.

20. In his statement of 28 September 1976 in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly the Danish Foreign Minister said:

"The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Republic of South Africa has once again manifested itself in violence and brutality. The organizer's oppression by the South

African Government, resting as it does on an inhuman philosophy, can never provide the foundation of a viable society. Events in Soweto have shown that the white minority is ready to resort to uncontrolled violence in order to maintain its privileged position at the cost of the African population. The events also demonstrate that the African population cannot be pushed any further; it is prepared to fight for its rights." [*3th meeting, para. 67.*]

21. We are also these days witnessing another manifestation of the *apartheid* policy. The so-called independence of the Transkei territory was proclaimed a few days ago and at the same time rejected by the total outside world. The bantustans and the Transkei experiment are an illustration of the absurdities to which the idea of *apartheid* leads. In order to carry out the plan, the South African Government has not hesitated to deprive millions of South African blacks of their citizenship in their own country in order to herd them together in limited territories. It also shows the length to which the Government is prepared to go in pursuit of its policies. The Danish Government has no intention to recognize this creation of *apartheid*.

22. I should like now to turn to the report which the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as in previous years, has prepared on the activities of the Committee during the past year [*A/31/22 and Add.1-3*]. The report has been studied by my Government with great care and attention and we would like to congratulate the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the presentation of this report. Because of its comprehensive character, the report provides a most useful basis for our debates.

23. We agree with the three general conclusions of the report: that, because of the brutal massacres and massive repressions to which I have already referred, a new and more serious stage has been reached in the crisis in South Africa; that the Government of South Africa bears a primary responsibility for this aggravation; and that, in order to avoid a major conflict in the whole region, appropriate action by the international community is urgent.

24. The Government of Denmark feels that action in two distinct directions is required. In the first place, solidarity must be shown with the African people by placing added pressure on the South African Government. The time has come for an effective policy of sanctions by the Security Council. In the general debate, the Danish Foreign Minister appealed to all members of this Assembly to utilize any opportunity to work for the introduction of measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In this context, he referred to the endorsement by the Nordic countries of a binding arms embargo. In the second place, increased solidarity should be shown by the international community in humanitarian action in favour of the increasing number of innocent victims of the policy of *apartheid*.

25. Denmark has itself set aside considerable funds to be used for humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and of policies of racial discrimination in southern Africa. The total amount for the current fiscal year exceeds \$2 million.

26. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): The question of *apartheid* has long been a source of preoccupation and

frustration to most of us here at the United Nations, which has been seized with this question since its first session in 1946. The white minority which usurped and omnipotently ruled the vast territory of South Africa established the repugnant system of *apartheid* in 1948 in all its political, economic, social and cultural relations with the non-white population of South Africa. It is the same amoral, obtuse and pitiless group which still continues to enforce *apartheid* in South Africa with the same systematic denial of human dignity and justice that this entails for over 80 per cent of the population of that country.

27. In 1952, 13 Arab and Asian countries requested the inclusion of an item entitled "The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa" in the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-four years ago it was stated in this Assembly that the race conflict resulting from the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa was creating an explosive situation that was a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

28. Since then, the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted numerous resolutions and taken action in an attempt to dissuade the unrepresentative minority Government of Pretoria from its abhorrent policy of institutionalized racial discrimination and to promote the welfare of the non-white population of South Africa.

29. On 21 March 1960, there occurred an event which is indelibly engraved on the hearts of all peace-loving people throughout the world. It was on that day, just over 16 years ago, that a peaceful campaign was launched in a number of South African townships to protest against the requirement that all non-white South Africans carry "passbooks" at all times in order to move freely about their own country. It will be recalled that many Africans left their "passbooks" at home and convened peacefully and unarmed before the offices of police commissioners to allow themselves to be arrested for failure to carry their "passbooks". The word Sharpeville then entered the lexicon of history to take its place among other infamous names which still conjure up visions of unimaginable horrors and repression. In Sharpeville the white-controlled police brought in armoured vehicles and fired at the unarmed crowd while jet fighter-planes flew overhead to frighten the demonstrators. Sixty-nine Africans were killed and 184 wounded in the police brutality that followed this peaceful demonstration. Large demonstrations also occurred in many other cities and were suppressed by force.

30. Now, some 16 years later, the name of another township has found its place on the list of those whose atrocities will be remembered for generations to come. Soweto, a township near Johannesburg, was the scene in early June of this year of demonstrations by the black Africans against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and the brutal massacres which ensued were seen by many around the world in all their horrifying detail. Thus, in the comfort of our own sitting-rooms around the world we were

witnesses to the unedifying and inhuman spectacle of policemen shooting black schoolchildren, children who possessed no weapons but sticks and stones, and yet guns were drawn on them and fired at will. Grown men were seen manhandling children, many of whom were killed. The protest intensified and spread as if some unspoken word had been passed. Although the immediate cause of the demonstrations by students was the arbitrary imposition by the *apartheid* régime of Afrikaans as a compulsory second language in black African secondary schools the demonstrations in fact reflected the intensification of black African feeling about and resistance to *apartheid*. Even so, it was no accident that the protest spread to other townships throughout South Africa and involved not only black Africans but Coloureds and other minorities who have suffered oppression under the evil system of *apartheid*.

31. The atrocities committed upon the non-white population of South Africa and the complete denial of their human rights still continue and are continuing at this very moment. On 17 October there were demonstrations and on 23 October police shot to death one man and arrested 115 people after some 1,000 mourners had gathered for the funeral of a young black African who had died at the hands of the police. Again, on 24 October, just five days ago, three blacks were killed and dozens injured when police fired submachine-guns and shot-guns into a crowd in Soweto within the short space of a week.

32. Lest anyone believe that the fully armed police of the racist régime have opened fire on demonstrators only when their own safety has been imperilled, let me refer to the testimony of the South African senior pathologist, who testified before a government commission of inquiry on 14 October that more than half the people shot dead by police since racial violence erupted in South Africa in June had been shot from behind. The pathologist also informed the government commission that two thirds of the 229 people whose bodies were examined at the government mortuary had died of gunshot wounds.

33. If the repressive Government of South Africa itself admits figures such as these, which make a mockery of all our efforts to secure basic human rights and dignity for all mankind, what untold prejudices still lie festering in the archives of this most repressive and inhuman of States? It is not hard to imagine, for, in the light of these horrifying occurrences, the Prime Minister of South Africa, on 13 September at a rally of his Nationalist Party, simply recommitted his Government to the principles of separate development—the modern name for *apartheid*—which it has followed for the past 28 years. In a widely reported interview on 18 October, Prime Minister Vorster made it clear that his Government would continue to exclude blacks from participation in the mainstream of South Africa's political life. He went on to say that he could not foresee a day when the country's 4.2 million whites would cede power to its 18 million blacks, and he declared that, should violence intensify and spread to white areas, the Government would take all necessary steps to restore order and in the meantime would hold to the fundamentals of its racial policy. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Pretoria régime has raised its military budget by 42 per cent in 1976 and this, with last year's increase of 36 per cent, represents almost a doubling of defence costs in two years.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 66, document A/2183.



34. It is hard to live with the fact that Sharpeville has repeated itself in 1976, the only difference being that on this occasion the victims were far more numerous and the majority of them were children. That Soweto should have taken place is a massive blot on humanity and the most eloquent indictment of those who, blind to the ruthless oppression inflicted by *apartheid*, continue unperturbed with activities that serve to strengthen the racist régime both morally and materially.

35. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has documented fully the collaboration that continues to take place between certain Western and other Powers and the South African régime in the economic, military and nuclear fields. Military equipment from Western countries is continuously being supplied to the repressive régime. Military equipment plants are being set up in collaboration with that régime. Decisions to supply nuclear reactors to the régime are being openly reaffirmed.

36. For my delegation, it is a matter of grave concern that, when an attempt is made to resort to the remedies provided under the Charter of this Organization in order to stop the flow of arms to a country where there is an explosive situation, that attempt should be frustrated by the use of the veto by some of these very States. My delegation considers that no State which desires to act responsibly in respect of the South African situation can any longer oppose the recourse provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

37. No less alarming is the fact that many international consortia are still helping to strengthen the inhuman régime in South Africa. On 20 October it was reported that a major new loan to South Africa involving United States banks was in the final stages of formulation. In the light of these continuing acts of collaboration, what can the people suffering from the gross indignities inflicted upon them by the repressive enforcement of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa think? We cannot blame them if they come to the conclusion that the freedom-loving peoples of the world and the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations have deserted them completely and that the lack of human interest in their plight has reached a zenith.

38. There are those who have argued that it is only by contacts with the racist minority régime in South Africa that the situation can be changed, that pressure can only be brought to bear on the Pretoria régime by maintaining a presence there and encouraging foreign enterprises to improve the lot of black African workers. This, unfortunately, is not the case. Beatings, torture, arrests, detentions and banishments have continued unabated and in many instances have increased.

39. A recent study by Rodney Stares entitled *Poverty wages in South Africa*<sup>4</sup> states that thousands of African workers employed by British companies in South Africa are still being paid below subsistence levels. Just over a month ago, the firm of British Leyland Motors, Inc. said that fear of economic reprisals by the South African Government had forced it to reject overtures proposing that it should recognize an African trade union in its South African

subsidiary. In a statement, the firm said that it was totally sympathetic to the view that the non-recognition of African unions was a manifestation of *apartheid* policies. The firm went on to state that it had an obligation not only to its employees in South Africa and Britain but also to the Government and its shareholders to maintain its business and investment in South Africa. Small wonder that many of us here in this hall feel frustration in the face of such callous indifference, which puts profit before human dignity.

40. A few days ago, this Assembly rightly condemned the establishment of bantustans and decided that it would not recognize the so-called independence of Transkei. This action of the Assembly can only serve to emphasize that the partition of South Africa into one white State embracing two thirds of the country and 10 black States sharing the rest cannot be an acceptable basis for a peaceful, just and equitable settlement between the 18 million black Africans and the 4 million whites in South Africa.

41. A much more serious matter for consideration is the tremendous propaganda exercise mounted by the white minority racist régime to persuade world public opinion of the benefits of its sterile bantustan policies. A nation-wide advertising blitz of eye-catching advertisements, parodying the familiar fife player, drummer and flag carrier of the United States' own independence 200 years ago, has appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the United States.

42. The time has truly come for those who profess their concern for justice and human rights to ask themselves whether they should permit their facilities and their expertise to be put at the disposal of a régime whose inhuman behaviour has been condemned by every member of this Assembly. My delegation believes that this insidious propaganda should be countered by an intensified campaign by the United Nations and its specialized agencies for the dissemination of information on the evils of *apartheid*.

43. Trinidad and Tobago is a small country with a multiracial society. Its opposition to *apartheid* is total and its commitment to the eradication of this evil is complete. We have taken legislative steps to prohibit trade between our country and South Africa. We do not permit persons travelling on South African passports to enter Trinidad and Tobago and we have given our support to United Nations funds for southern Africa. We have taken steps to advise sporting bodies in Trinidad and Tobago of the Government's policy with regard to *apartheid* in South Africa and have warned them that any sporting activities in South Africa and/or with racially selected teams of South Africa would be denied official sponsorship and financial support. Following this, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago decided in November 1975 that the Body-Building Association of Trinidad and Tobago would not receive any Government sponsorship or financial support for any sporting activities at home or abroad because two of its members had participated in the Mr. Universe contest in South Africa.

44. Trinidad and Tobago fully supports all international action designed to put an end to the system of *apartheid* in

<sup>4</sup> London, Christian Concern for Southern Africa, 1976.

South Africa. In this respect, we support the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and in particular the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo, the cessation of economic collaboration, the isolation of *apartheid* sports teams and assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. To oppose any of these actions while feigning concern for the plight of those who suffer under the yoke of *apartheid* would be to display matchless cynicism and callousness in the face of untold human suffering. We here in the Assembly must not be guilty of this.

45. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): During the last two years profound changes have taken place in the political structure of southern Africa. After long and valiant struggle the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe have all gained their independence. With the exception of Angola, these countries have subsequently become Members of the United Nations. In this connexion, we repeat our hope that Angola will very soon be given the same opportunity to take part in our work.

46. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism in southern Africa had the effect that an essential link was broken in the chain of white minority régimes influencing and reinforcing each other and grouped around the *apartheid* régime in South Africa as its centre and main bulwark. The geographical and political isolation of the remaining white minority régimes in southern Africa is thus now increasing. No doubt this development has given new impetus to the struggle for freedom and human dignity in that part of the world. It has helped to inspire a determined resistance within South Africa itself by the black population. The white régime is today subjected to growing pressure to change its racist policy. In this process the white liberal and progressive opposition plays a part.

47. The minority régime in Pretoria is now—in its own interest—reconsidering its position regarding the Salisbury régime. The whole problem of how to effect a peaceful transition to an independent Zimbabwe under majority rule is now the object of concerted international efforts, involving the five front-line States in the area as well as the major Western Powers concerned. Likewise the pressure on Pretoria to leave Namibia is constantly growing in spite of such setbacks as the regrettable triple veto in the Security Council the other day.

48. There are, then, today some hopeful signs in the region. These signs, however, must not lead us to reduce the pressure when dealing with the main problem: the situation within South Africa itself. There is, unfortunately, nothing to indicate real improvements for the South African black majority. On the contrary, the tragic events in Soweto and other areas, for which the South African Government has been strongly and unanimously condemned by the Security Council, confirms the impression of a more and more desperate minority intent on maintaining its privileged positions. The political repression is intensified. The Pretoria régime has this year taken to new, serious measures to suppress resistance in enacting so-called security laws enabling it to detain indefinitely anyone suspected of disturbing law and order as conceived by the South African régime. These new laws, which have already influenced the

lives of many African citizens, represent a further regression for public freedoms in South Africa.

49. The Pretoria régime has stepped up its plans to establish the so-called independent homelands, i.e. the bantustan policy. The only aim of this policy is to consolidate white domination and continue the social and economic exploitation of black workers in reservoirs of underpaid labour. The Swedish position in this matter remains the same: we will in no form recognize such entities.

50. The *apartheid* system—in whatever form—must be brought to an end. Over and over again it has been demonstrated how utterly false is the claim by the white régime that the *apartheid* policy can establish harmony and peace in South Africa. It is, on the contrary, more evident than ever that all attempts to found a society on the principle of social discrimination are doomed to failure. The *apartheid* system, inhuman and morally repulsive as it is in its basic concept, is also inevitably a system of violence. It can only be upheld by use of force. It is indeed significant that the Pretoria régime has declined to discuss the country's racial problems with truly representative groups of the black African people, let alone to negotiate a solution in co-operation with them. Nevertheless, only in such a way will a final solution which takes account of all legitimate interests in South Africa be possible.

51. The continued practice of the policy of *apartheid* constitutes a major challenge to the international community and to the United Nations as the most systematic violation of the Charter; but it also represents a threat to international peace and security. The repressive policies in South Africa inevitably have repercussions on peace and racial harmony all over the world.

52. Sweden shares the view of the overwhelming majority of States that it is necessary to continue, or rather to increase, international pressure upon the minority régime in South Africa. This must be done within the framework of a generally agreed policy. Such a policy must pay special attention to the fact that the States bordering South Africa are poor, while the white minority in South Africa itself has achieved considerable prosperity. This imbalance can have serious repercussions on future development. It should therefore be a common task to encourage the economic strength and independence of the African States especially endangered. Sweden has for many years tried to contribute to these efforts to achieve economic liberation by devoting an increasing part of its development aid to the African States faced by South African economic expansionism. These African States must gain economic strength to thwart the ambitions of the Pretoria régime to extend its influence.

53. Strengthening the border States will also entail indirectly a strengthening of the forces active within South Africa itself. It is their struggle that must have the decisive influence on the future of the country. A well-informed and committed opinion against the brutal oppression prevailing in South Africa is, however, essential. In this connexion, increased attention must be paid to foreign enterprises operating within that country. These corporations share the responsibility of the national companies for exploitation of non-white labour. Such workers are de-

prived of all rights to influence their own situation and their struggle for fundamental economic rights is thus at the same time a struggle against *apartheid*.

54. The policy of the Swedish Government is to discourage new investments in South Africa. As emphasized by our Foreign Minister in her statement in the general debate before the General Assembly [29th meeting], Sweden would be prepared to support a Security Council decision to ban new foreign investments in South Africa and Namibia. An appeal from this Assembly to Member States asking them to discourage new foreign investments in these countries might also be a helpful initiative. The role of the trade unions of the developed countries should also be stressed. These trade unions have become more and more aware of the racial discrimination within South African branches of foreign corporations and they have an important task to perform in influencing the central management of the respective enterprises and thus add to the pressure against the *apartheid* system.

55. South Africa's military dominance in the southern part of Africa remains a matter of deep concern. On the initiative of the Scandinavian Governments an arms embargo against South Africa was recommended by the Security Council more than 10 years ago in its resolutions 181 (1963) and 182 (1963). We regret that the Security Council, because of the votes cast by three of its members, has been unable to proceed further and reach a decision on a mandatory arms embargo. All Members of the United Nations claim to have discontinued arms sales to South Africa. It is therefore difficult to see how anyone could be negatively affected by transforming that embargo into a mandatory one. A mandatory embargo would represent a considerable political and diplomatic setback for South Africa and would increase the pressure on the white minority régime to change its racist policy.

56. To conclude, the elimination of *apartheid* must remain one of the vital aims of the United Nations. It is the responsibility of our Organization to protect human rights. It is also our duty to maintain international peace and security. A fundamental principle in the fulfilment of these tasks is the right of the peoples to political self-determination and freedom. Racism and oppression in South Africa constitute a glaring example of a situation that violates this basic principle and threatens peace, justice and progress. It is imperative—and here the responsibility weighs heavy on the South African Government—that all avenues leading to majority rule be explored together with truly representative groups in South Africa.

57. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The war of liberation in southern Africa has assumed unprecedented dimensions and has entered a new and decisive phase. This struggle is increasing in intensity in the racist citadel itself, the Republic of South Africa, and is becoming a popular movement against the criminal system of racial and social oppression. This struggle is being ever more widely and more actively supported in the international arena. All progressive forces of modern times are uniting their efforts for the speedy and final elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. All this is convincing evidence of the fact that the improvement in international relations and the

strengthening of international security resulting from the process of détente are contributing to the activation of the forces of peace and progress, promoting the struggle against the vestiges of racism and helping to check, isolate and eliminate the racist régimes. These positive changes are creating favourable conditions for the intensification of the national liberation struggle of peoples in the south of the African continent.

58. It is precisely these conditions that have made it possible for the people of Angola and Mozambique to achieve victory in their struggle of many years against colonial domination and for Angola successfully to repel the imperialist aggression, the shock troops for which were the South African racists. The successes of the national liberation struggle of the Africans, which have led to the formation of the independent States of Angola and Mozambique, have placed on the agenda the question of the liquidation of the racist white minority government in Rhodesia, and of racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

*Mr. Medani (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

59. Now at a time when a new set of circumstances are being created in the south of the African continent which are favourable for the struggle of the African peoples, at a time when the *apartheid* régime is being subjected to increasing external and internal pressures, the United Nations must multiply its efforts in providing assistance to the fighting people of South Africa for the liquidation of the criminal system of *apartheid* and the colonial order in the racist Republic of South Africa.

60. This is all the more necessary inasmuch as the Pretoria régime constitutes a most serious threat for the neighbouring countries of Africa, a threat to international peace and security. The presence of such a threat has been confirmed on numerous occasions by the aggressive actions of the racists of the Republic of South Africa against Angola and Zambia, and it is being confirmed by the unlawful occupation of Namibia. In introducing the racist system, in carrying out a policy of violation of the territorial integrity of Namibia, the racists have converted Namibia into a base for aggression against independent African countries. This year the "service record" of the racists of Pretoria was augmented by a new wave of oppression, unprecedented in its cruelty against the indigent inhabitants of South Africa, by attempts to drown in blood the growing struggle of the Africans for their liberation. Evidence of this was the bloody reprisals of the racists in Soweto and in other towns of the Republic of South Africa, the mass physical annihilation of Africans, with thousands of dead, wounded or cast into prisons.

61. Every year the General Assembly considers the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and every time the question arises, Why is it that the racist authorities of the Republic of South Africa, in spite of the stern condemnations of the world, in spite of the numerous appeals and demands of the United Nations, are stubbornly pursuing their policy of racial discrimination, retaining the *apartheid* régime and defending it by every barbarous means? The answer to this question is no secret to anyone. The fact is that the stronghold of racism in Africa is being defended by the

capitalist world, its military circles and its monopolies, which are pursuing their own political, military and strategic, economic and other aims in this region. The Republic of South Africa is the source of great profits for the monopolistic investors. It is precisely this circumstance, as was pointed out in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which is stimulating co-operation of the Western countries and NATO with the racist régimes.

62. The racists are obtaining big loans from the banking associations of Western Europe and the United States and credits from the International Monetary Fund. The trade of Western countries with Pretoria is growing. Foreign investments in the Republic of South Africa have sharply increased precisely in the past few years and have exceeded \$11 billion.

63. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 20 October 1976, United States loans to the racists during the past 18 months have doubled. And these investments and loans, as has quite appropriately been pointed out by numerous speakers at the present session of the General Assembly, are in fact investments in the *apartheid* system itself, as a source of super-profits and as an instrument for plundering the country's natural resources and cruelly exploiting the oppressed people in South Africa.

64. The co-operation between certain NATO Powers and international monopolies with the racist Republic of South Africa in the military and nuclear fields is becoming even more ominous. The protectors of the racists in certain NATO countries and Israel are supplying Pretoria with rockets, tanks, aircraft, naval vessels and other military *matériel* and are assisting it in the organization of production of these weapons and in the training of military personnel. Especially alarming is the increasing co-operation of certain Western Powers with the racists in the nuclear field; this is a circumstance that has been frequently referred to by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* as well as by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo.

65. In appraising the possible consequences of nuclear co-operation between the West and the Republic of South Africa, it has to be remembered that this is a country which has not signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which is a leader in stockpiling and production of uranium in the capitalist world. This is a country whose most prominent leaders, including Vorster, have frequently stated that the Republic of South Africa is on the threshold of nuclear-weapons possession and "in case of need" can rapidly produce its own atomic bomb. Finally, this is a country which does not conceal its aggressive intentions in regard to neighbouring countries and which has frequently demonstrated its aggressiveness in deeds—a country, moreover, which has adopted a law, unique of its kind, permitting military interference abroad. The incursion of South African forces into Angola last year is a clear demonstration of that.

66. The supply of weapons to the Republic of South Africa, in spite of the decisions of the United Nations, and the provision of facilities for its nuclear armament, constitute a genuine threat to international peace and security. To nullify this threat, military and nuclear co-operation with the racists must be brought to an end.

67. The escalation in the aiding and abetting of *apartheid* not only exacerbates the situation in southern Africa and threatens international security, but it is also directed against the national liberation struggle of the African peoples. The imperialist forces see the Republic of South Africa as their ally and supporter in the struggle against the national liberation movements upon the continent. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in its report to the General Assembly, emphasizes that the continuing co-operation with the racists is a hostile act towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

68. In this connexion, it is not superfluous to recall that at previous sessions of the General Assembly it has frequently been emphasized that genuine assistance to national liberation movements in southern Africa would take the form of complete cessation of any co-operation whatsoever with the racists in the military, economic, political and other spheres. However, the appeals of the United Nations have remained like a voice crying in the wilderness. The racists, in obtaining assistance from their partners, have become more brutal and are trying to repress the national liberation movement by fire and sword. They have flung into prison many thousands of fighters, including outstanding leaders of the African National Congress, of the National Student Union, of trade unions and other members of the national liberation movement.

69. Refusal to grant elementary human rights to the African population of the Republic of South Africa, and the expansion of terror and oppression—this is the racist executioners' answer to the mass demonstrations against the régime of *apartheid*. Unfortunately, those who like to shed "crocodile tears" at this rostrum concerning alleged violations of human rights in other countries display excessive reserve and even coyness on the subject of the genuine and crying violations of human rights by the *apartheid* régime, on the subject of mass terror and reprisals which have been converted into genocide against Africans.

70. Confronted with increasing isolation and a growing national liberation movement in South Africa itself, the racists are attempting to rescue the *apartheid* régime and to postpone the hour of its total collapse. To this end they are receiving not only the assistance of their friends and allies, but are also resorting to the shop-worn scare of the so-called "Communist threat", as was pointed out in the general debate at the present session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of the Congo, Mr. Obenga, when he said: "... racism is conceived and explained in southern Africa in terms of anti-communism..." [8th meeting, para. 236].

71. We also have to point out that the imperialist forces are building far-reaching plans aimed at sowing the seeds of distrust and discord among the independent African countries and to weaken or disunite these countries and the national liberation movements, which stand for the immediate and total liquidation of *apartheid* and of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. South African and Western propaganda is therefore attempting to delude the United Nations and world public opinion by fables about alleged changes that have taken place in the *apartheid* system. However, these fables were unmasked by the racist



chieftain Vorster himself, who stated on 18 October of this year that he did not see the day when authority in the Republic of South Africa would ever be handed over to the majority in that country.

72. The proclamation of the so-called “independence” of the Transkei was a further attempt to achieve recognition of *apartheid* under a new guise. The establishment of bantustans is a new and monstrous creature of racism, designed to confirm racist, political and social inequality for the population of South Africa, to force that population into reservations which would be used as a source of cheap labour and as an instrument of colonial exploitation of the people of South Africa. The establishment of bantustans and the proclamation of their accession to so-called “independence” is simply an intensification of the *apartheid* system and its adaptation to new conditions.

73. The racists and their protectors are resorting to “new methods”, manoeuvring to weaken and undermine the national liberation movements. To this end, under the pretext of fictitious “liberation”, they are seeking to implant puppet régimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe acceptable to the racists. However, it is not difficult to see the real intention behind all this, which is to rescue the shaky racist régime from inevitable collapse and to maintain the positions of imperialism in southern Africa.

74. An analysis of the co-operation of the Western Powers and their monopolies with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa makes it possible to understand the interests which determine the positions of these countries in relation to Pretoria—here in the United Nations as well—and those motives and purposes which are behind the manoeuvres undertaken in southern Africa to protect these interests; for it is completely impossible to combine co-operation with the racists, and thereby the strengthening of the system of *apartheid*, with the liquidation of that system and with the genuine interests of the oppressed people of South Africa, with the purposes of its national liberation movements. Nor is it possible to combine the verbal utterances condemning *apartheid* with the systematic protection of the *apartheid* régime in the Security Council, at a time when it is a question of adopting effective measures against that régime, including the application of an embargo on the supply of weapons to Pretoria.

75. The Ukrainian SSR firmly and consistently speaks out for the speedy, total and unqualified liquidation of the criminal system of *apartheid*. The Ukrainian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, have always provided assistance and support to the fighting people of South Africa. Our position in this matter is not dictated by any considerations of expediency. It has always, from the very first day of the existence of our State, been clearly delineated; it has been consistent; and it has been a matter of policy and principle. This policy is derived from the very essence of socialism, our solidarity with the forces of progress and national liberation.

76. Proceeding from this position of principle, we support the decisions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity designed to bring about the total and unconditional eradication of *apartheid* as a system of oppression and racial discrimination. Our delegation sup-

ports the proposals of the African and other States concerning the adoption of effective measures against the racist Republic of South Africa and the application against them of appropriate sanctions, the introduction of a total embargo on the supply of weapons to Pretoria and a total and unconditional cessation of trade and of economic and political co-operation with the racists.

77. These measures must be implemented by all Members of the United Nations in order to achieve total isolation as well as total condemnation of the *apartheid* régime. It is precisely these actions that would be effective assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in its just struggle. We likewise support the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the effect that it is necessary to strengthen the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)], which has already entered into force, and we support the appeal addressed to all countries by the Special Committee to adhere to this Convention as early as possible in order to ensure its universality and effective implementation.

78. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that joint action on the part of all progressive anti-imperialist forces will finally sweep away from the African continent the colonial and racist order doomed by history, including the criminal régime of *apartheid* in southern Africa, and will lead to the total liberation of its heroic people.

79. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): For years—too many years indeed—the question of *apartheid* has come before the General Assembly in quest of progress and in quest of a solution. And every succeeding year the international community experiences frustration at the lack of progress. In our statement during the thirtieth session,<sup>5</sup> while expressing our own disappointment, we pointed out that this assembly of nations is here to drive home to those who give no heed to it that their policy of refusal is no longer possible.

80. And indeed, who will not recognize how different are the circumstances this year on this crucial question for humanity? New prospects seem to be opening at last regarding the whole complex of problems around the issues of southern Africa, prospects due to human sacrifice, to the resolute will of the oppressed people to oppose the abhorrent practices of *apartheid* and to the moral pressure of international public opinion expressed in this supreme forum.

81. The position of Greece on the question of *apartheid*, with all its repercussions on the whole of southern Africa, is well known and hardly needs an elaborate exposition. Indeed, Greece would be oblivious of itself were it not to stand for the defence of human dignity and of freedom and for the effective respect of the ideas of democracy and the rule of the majority.

82. Imposition of minority rule injures not only the oppressed but the oppressor as well, and it is bound to be a policy without a future—for how long can minorities,

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Special Political Committee*, 960th meeting.

however entrenched and armed, resist the torrent of the will of the majority? The ancient Greek tragedies have taught us that the voice of the people is the voice of the gods. And yet, it is not only the voice of the majority in the whole of southern Africa which has remained unheeded, but also the voice of the majority of human society throughout the world as expressed time and again in a series of resolutions of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. Through the clouds of human suffering which has been so sadly experienced this year in southern Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe, and to a great extent as a result of this suffering, we can see, or at least we hope we can see, the prospect of a clearing horizon.

83. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece stated during the general debate:

“In Africa we are following with the greatest interest on the one hand the substantial progress of the countries which, once having acquired independence, are now trying to consolidate it, and on the other hand the evolution of the situation in southern Africa.

“In this latter region the problems are of such complexity and gravity and give rise to such passions that they deserve a special place in our deliberations.

“We have always vigorously condemned *apartheid* and all other forms of racial discrimination and we support all efforts to ensure that human dignity, equality, security, safety and progress for all might prevail in this region. The blood which has flowed these last months was not only a call for our compassion; the danger of an escalation is too real not to cause the gravest concern. The time has come for radical solutions. Namibia should accede to independence and the people of Southern Rhodesia should be given the great benefit of the democratic principle of government by majority.” [12th meeting, paras. 165-167.]

84. This being our position, we follow with particular interest the endeavours of the Presidents of the African nations most directly concerned with the situation to bring about a solution of the problems through peaceful means. Any solution, in our view, should take into consideration the fundamental precepts of the Charter and reflect the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

85. The minorities—whether they base their arbitrary rule on anachronistic and repulsive devices of their own or whether they import this anachronism and these devices from elsewhere, as is the case in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe—simply cannot resist the march of time. Nor will the majority, and for that matter the international community, tolerate colonialistic devices of population transfers, of demographic changes, of breaking up consistency through bantustanization and all the well-known practices on which past systems of domination have attempted to rest in total disregard for the human being and human society.

86. We have listened with special attention to the statements made by the African representatives on the matter. The principles involved concern the whole of mankind;

they affect man and human society in general; they are universal.

87. The attempt to create artificial entities is, furthermore, made with the aim of dispossessing the majority of the population of their legitimate rights in relation to the whole of the country. It is a device aimed at the legitimization of the present situation. It has therefore been condemned by the overwhelming majority of the international community, as was done by the General Assembly through its resolution of 26 October 1976, on the question of the so-called independent Transkei [resolution 31/6 A].

88. The day before yesterday [43rd meeting] the President of the Assembly reminded us that 10 years have gone by since this world Organization assumed responsibility for what was then called South-West Africa—that is, Namibia. He rightly appealed to us to bear in mind that South Africa, therefore, no longer has a legitimate authority over Namibia. He appealed for respect of the resolutions of the United Nations. He may be sure that he has the whole-hearted support of the Greek delegation and of my country.

89. Let us trust that the expression of international public opinion clearly voiced time and again before this Assembly and its series of resolutions will be actively implemented and that the suffering and sacrifices in southern Africa will not be in vain and will soon produce their much-awaited results. May this be one of the happiest developments of Mr. Amerasinghe's presidency!

90. Mr. GUTIERREZ MACIAS (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is not pleasant to have to recognize—though it must be said—that, of the hundreds of items that have been included in the agenda of the General Assembly and the Security Council, there are few that the world Organization appears as powerless to deal with as the *apartheid* item. The item on the racial policies of the South African régime has been on the General Assembly's agenda year after year since 1946, and the more than 150 resolutions adopted have failed to prevent a radicalization of Vorster's discriminatory policies. The so-called “independence” of Transkei is an attempt to institutionalize this discriminatory practice and to proclaim Transkei a nation through the fraudulent declaration and artificial creation of a pseudo-State.

91. Last Tuesday my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/31/L.5. We would have preferred a more explicit text, one not only rejecting the declaration of a pseudo-independence, but also stressing its illegal nature, reaffirming the resolution on the non-recognition of South African bantustans adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo last August,<sup>6</sup> where we truly enjoyed a very pleasant stay in Mr. Amerasinghe's hospitable and beautiful country.

92. The South African régime, flagrantly flouting the provisions of the Charter, stubbornly persists in its racist policy and reaffirms this stance because it feels supported by the Powers that assist it. In this connexion, the vote in

<sup>6</sup> See document A/31/197, annex IV, resolution NAC/CONF.5/S/RES.4.

the Security Council is eloquent. The veto, as it is now being exercised in the Security Council in such cases, negates the most elementary principles of international democracy and should be a cause of profound concern for all of us. The decision-making capacity of the General Assembly is limited vis-à-vis the powers of the Security Council in matters where this is no longer warranted.

93. The position of Mexico, supported by its people, as expressed both in plenary meetings and in the Main Committees has been and is one of emphatic and resolute condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and the conduct of the South African régime. Since 1969 Mexico has said—and we repeated this in 1970 and 1974—that the conditions laid down in Article 5 of the Charter fully fit the case of South Africa. My country has striven to implement the United Nations resolutions in this connexion. My Government does not have, nor has it had, diplomatic relations with the South African régime. It maintained an honorary consulate in Cape Town which was closed down some time ago in keeping with Mexico's votes for the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

94. South Africa, as will be recalled, did not participate in the Olympic Games held in Mexico in 1968. The position of Mexico as a host country was a determining factor in that decision. At the request of the Mexico Government and in compliance with United Nations resolutions, the Mexican tennis team, which has scored significant victories, refused on two successive occasions to compete against the South African team in the Davis Cup tournament. In response to this upright attitude taken by Mexico, the Davis Cup Management Committee recommended the suspension or expulsion of the Mexican team from this tournament, a proposal which was rejected owing to the support of the majority of delegations present at the meeting held in London on 1 July 1976. Moreover, the Mexican Softball Federation did not allow the Mexican team to participate in the latest World Softball Championship, in which South Africa competed.

95. It is gratifying to point out here that the Government of Mexico has enjoyed the support of the Mexican people in general and of sports organizations in particular in implementing the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* in sports. Regrettably, however, some Governments, despite their readiness to do so, have been unable to prevent sporting contests between their nationals and racist teams or sportsmen. For that reason, my delegation views with interest and sympathy the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contained in chapter II, section I of its report [A/31/22], especially its request to Governments to refuse visas to racist sports teams or sportsmen, because it feels that this will promote the fuller implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* in sports, pending the signature of the International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports proposed by the Government of Jamaica.

96. It is also noteworthy that Mexico refused entry visas to the representatives of South Africa that were to participate in the symposium on uranium deposits sponsored by the International Atomic Energy Agency which was to be held in Mexico; for that reason the Agency,

United Nations resolutions notwithstanding, decided to change the venue for the symposium.

97. The Government of Mexico also denied entry visas to the representatives of South Africa who were to participate in the Twelfth International Congress on Large Dams and the meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank.

98. Mexico has problems and short-comings, but Mexico has no racial discrimination leading to confrontations, as happens in countries of high technological development. A perpetual melting-pot, Mexico is totally alien to élitist concepts based on race or religion. Mexico has always maintained and will maintain an unequivocal position vis-à-vis the racist policies of *apartheid*, firmly and resolutely protesting against any form of racial discrimination anywhere in the world, and we are certain that very soon we shall see justice triumph in southern Africa.

99. Mr. IPSARIDES (Cyprus): This year, more than three decades after the founding of the United Nations, the annual consideration of the situation created by the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa assumes an additional significance and an extra dimension. It has therefore rightly been allocated this year for discussion directly in plenary meetings. The condemnation of this abhorrent doctrine of policy, which constitutes a denial of the most fundamental values of the Charter—namely the worth of the human person, the equality of all persons irrespective of race, colour, creed or ethnic origin and the right of peoples to self-determination—is virtually universal. Not only is *apartheid* denounced by practically all shades of opinion represented in this Organization as a gross violation of human rights, but also an overwhelming majority has been indicating for some years now that the situation brought about by the application of this doctrine presented a grave threat to international peace in the African continent and the world at large.

100. It is very significant in this respect to note that even those States which opted to ignore until now this grave danger have lately recognized that the situation is indeed a great threat to peace and security in the world and have decided to admit, one way or the other, this reality. Yet the fact remains that the situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate. This deterioration is highlighted by the recent move of the racist régime to proceed with the flagrant establishment of the so-called independent Transkei, which amounts to nothing more than an affront to self-determination and constitutes another effort to Balkanize the country in order to maintain the scourge of white minority domination, which has aptly been described in this Assembly earlier this week as "settler colonialism".

101. Despite all the efforts of the United Nations, which for the past nearly three decades has accepted the responsibility of acting to combat and eliminate *apartheid* and to keep the international community apprised of its heinous nature and effects, developments in South Africa show that the South African racist régime has not accepted the prerequisite for a peaceful solution of the question. It is therefore imperative to step up concerted action to promote liberation and thereby avoid wider conflict. It is this situation in its clear aspects of gross violation of human

rights and of the right to self-determination, on the one hand, and a threat to peace, on the other, that we are now considering. This Organization, which finds itself gravely challenged and unable to bring about the implementation of its most fundamental objectives, has solemn responsibilities in this respect, particularly with regard to South Africa. As members of the international community, all Member States must apply themselves individually and collectively to meeting the challenge and, with imagination and particularly with determination, to do their part to bring about the realization of the principles of the Charter and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions with regard to South Africa.

102. Where is it that we have been tried and found lacking? Certainly not in expressing our convictions about our abhorrence of *apartheid* as a doctrine and a practice of racial policy—for *apartheid* is based on the notion of exploitation on racial criteria of the many by the few—and not in detailing measures that should be taken and that contain pious exhortations.

103. Where we have failed as Members of this Organization is in the practical application of our professed beliefs and in the effective implementation of the measures and resolutions which all, or most of us, vote for. While none is free of the collective responsibility for this failure, a grave responsibility rests particularly upon those States which, by putting economic, political and strategic considerations above the requirements of conscience, aid and abet the racist South African régime in its present attitude. Especially deplorable is the attitude of those Governments which, oblivious of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and relying upon distinctions of dubious validity as to external defence and internal security, are supplying the South African racist régime with the means of continuing the oppression of the African majority, thus encouraging it to export *apartheid* beyond its borders and to pose a real threat to the neighbouring African countries.

104. My delegation has carefully noted and agrees with the conclusions and the constructive recommendations of the Special Committee for international action against *apartheid* in a number of fields. This Committee has continued and in fact this year intensified its essential work in this respect, under the able and wise chairmanship of Ambassador Leslie Harriman of Nigeria and of the Rapporteur, Mr. Valderrama of the Philippines. The proposal and recommendations of the Committee deserve the full support of this Assembly.

105. My delegation is not so naive as to suppose that what has proved ineffective before will prove effective now. The experience of the past is far from encouraging. This is why all of us should be prepared to consider specific and effective steps in order to give real content to the general attitude against *apartheid*. We firmly support, therefore, as in the past, a repeated call upon the Security Council to take appropriate action under Chapter VII of the Charter with a view to forcing the South African régime to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations. Only if those who practise this pernicious policy are denied and deprived of their means of doing so by bringing on them proper and complete isolation can we expect meaningful results. The hyena of *apartheid* will not disgorge its plunder because of

mere words containing pious condemnations. With due respect my delegation earnestly appeals to those States which, by taking sides with the South African régime and/or by militarily collaborating with it, encourage it in its course to place the dictates of conscience above economic considerations and political expediency and to throw their meaningful weight in furthering the common effort.

106. In this way, and by effective support to the liberation movements while the real and legitimate representatives of the people of South Africa representing the indigenous black majority, as distinct from the racist régime of the Government of South Africa that represents the settler colonial minority which oppresses the people, and also by supporting the struggle of the people of South Africa, the United Nations can expect to achieve positive results. It can thus drive it home to the racist régime that if it continues its present policy it will inexorably find itself on a collision course or perhaps in a racial conflagration with catastrophic consequences which no one would wish, and that in the long run it would be wiser and more beneficial also from that régime's own point of view to revise and reverse this attitude.

*Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

107. My Government is fully committed to the principles of racial and ethnic equality in every country, and is ready, as it has unfailingly done so far on all occasions, to support not only by words but also by deeds all United Nations initiatives aiming at remedying the situation in South Africa.

108. Cyprus, for its part, has no relations whatsoever with South Africa, having imposed, since its independence in compliance with the United Nations resolutions since 1963, comprehensive trade, economic and other sanctions against the South African régime and prohibiting any air or sea communications with it. It does not maintain any diplomatic, consular, cultural, sporting or other relations whatsoever with the régime. Moreover, within our limited potentialities, we have been contributing regularly to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, as well as with other United Nations funds for South Africa, and to the United Nations programme of scholarships for the Non-Self-Governing Territories in southern Africa. On this occasion we solemnly declare that, as regards these modest financial and educational contributions, my country will continue offering them despite the unprecedented and devastating tragedy and destruction which have, for more than two years now, befallen my country, and still continue, as this Assembly already knows.

109. The aim in South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, should be the abolition of artificial and unwarranted distinctions among peoples on the basis of racial or ethnic criteria, dividing them into separate and distinct categories for the purpose of domination. In this respect, we strongly condemn the policy of bantustanization for what it is, not self-determination but a fraud. This fraud assumed a new dimension three days ago with the coming into effect of the bogus so-called independence of the Transkei.

110. The Cyprus Government, one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on the question of the Transkei bantustan



adopted three days ago by this Assembly, will not extend any form of recognition to this puppet State created by the racist régime. The case of the Transkei presents an example of an obnoxious tactic the disguised aim of which is dividing the people, perpetuating settler colonialist minority domination and depriving the indigenous population which is the vast majority of their legitimate right to their own country.

111. The mass transfer of populations and their forcible uprooting, with a view to the artificially democratic dismemberment of a country, violate its territorial integrity and run contrary to the cardinal principles of the Charter. Moreover, such action infringes the most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, and serves the political aims of a privileged minority rather than the legitimate rights of the people as a whole.

112. In the words of General Assembly resolution 2775 E (XXVI), adopted on 29 November 1971, the bantustans are contrary to "the principle of self-determination and [are] prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the countries and the unity of their peoples".

113. The essence of the question of South Africa can perhaps be summarized in the words of the Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Tambo, who stated on 26 October 1976 before this Assembly:

"...an incontrovertible part of the demands of our people is that there shall be one united and democratic South Africa. We will never abandon our birthright to the ownership and control of the whole territory of our country nor countenance any attempt to Balkanize it and to set its peoples one against another in tribal, racial or national conflicts." [41st meeting, para. 132.]

114. If I may use a phrase going back 200 years in the context of a struggle against foreign domination in another part of the world, the cause of the African people in southern Africa is "the cause of all mankind" and they are defending mankind's liberty in fighting for their own. Human rights are universal in their application. The ultimate aim in South Africa should be that all its peoples should be able to attain majority rule based on universal suffrage with full guarantees of the right of all its citizens in accordance with the generally accepted democratic principles enshrined in the Charter. To this end we should all strive sincerely and forcefully, both individually and collectively.

115. Mr. ADJIN (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): On 26 October 1976, in this hall and from this very same rostrum an important, historic event took place which all the peoples fighting throughout the world against oppressors have already inscribed on the honour-roll of history. It is on that day, after the 30 years of discussion by our Organization of the shameful record of *apartheid*, that the authentic representative of the Azanian people, ignominiously maintained in the most abject form of colonialism, was able to address our Assembly [41st meeting].

116. My delegation addresses its warmest and militant congratulations to the representative of the Pan Africanist

Congress of Azania and the African National Congress of South Africa. May they find an expression of our active solidarity with and total commitment to the exploited people of Azania, which is fighting for a just cause, namely the reconquest of its independence and freedom, confiscated by the forces of evil.

117. In 1974, after having for long sullied these august precincts by defending ugliness, those who adhere to *apartheid* took it upon themselves to quit our meeting. An African proverb states that only those things that resemble can be brought together because disparate natures destroy the harmony of forms.

118. Since 1946, many hundreds of pertinent and consistent resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the assemblies of the specialized agencies and other organizations outside the United Nations system in order to condemn in the strongest possible terms the racist, Fascist and minority régime of South Africa for its policy of *apartheid*. Thanks to this realization, which grows daily in the international community, *apartheid* is now rejected as a genuine crime against humanity. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* was adopted for this purpose in resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973. In 1962, by its resolution 1761 (XVII), the General Assembly established the precursor of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which was given a mandate to mobilize international public opinion and to secure the necessary documentation with a view to fighting against *apartheid*.

119. Since then, the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, assisted by two other bodies, has amassed voluminous documentation and has organized conferences and seminars, in order to help international public opinion, which has been literally intoxicated by racist propaganda, to have a better understanding of what *apartheid* is. Today, throughout the world, anti-*apartheid* groups have been created whose influence is by no means negligible. The Azanian patriots living through the calvary of slavery, which the minority Fascist and racist whites have imposed upon them, are daily making clearer to the world the nature of *apartheid*.

120. In these circumstances, it is clear that the essential nature of *apartheid* is now well known. Therefore, my delegation considers that, from now on, our Assembly, in order to be consistent with itself, must totally change its vocabulary and language. This scientific progress in the real and honest understanding of the *apartheid* phenomenon is necessary in order the better to organize an effective struggle. In order to deal more effectively with an evil, it is necessary to diagnose it, and my delegation feels that in view of the material available in the voluminous, scandalous and shameful record of *apartheid*, the international conscience, which has so far been deceived, must now unmask it and give to the phenomenon of *apartheid* its true name, its true nature and its true function on the African continent.

121. The international community, through this Assembly, must reconsider its terminology for describing

*apartheid*. My delegation is of the opinion that this conceptual clarification has become a necessity because of the turn of events in South Africa. We must put an end to the confusion which now characterizes international efforts to eradicate *apartheid*. While acknowledging that these efforts are deserving of praise, their concrete results in the field are very slim, and therefore extremely disappointing.

122. In the light of the daily occurrences and adopting a scientific and therefore objective approach, *apartheid* can no longer be considered simply as a problem of civil law or racial equality. *Apartheid* is in fact a fully fledged system of colonialist domination and slavery in its most hideous form. All the peoples of the world which have lived under colonialism and its barbarous practices of oppression and exploitation can confirm to the world that the retrograde policies being practised against the oppressed peoples of South Africa truly correspond to the colonialism of sorry memory.

123. The Fascist and racist white minority of South Africa is maintaining the indigenous populations in the most abject and inhuman political oppression. Everybody is familiar with the infamous laws on *apartheid* and it is not necessary to recapitulate them. To all these infamous laws we must add some 800 to 1,000 local regulations which form the edifice of the colonialist bastion in South Africa, an instrument of domination and exploitation of man by man.

124. The black population, the genuine creator of the accumulating riches of the soil and the subsoil of its ancestors on which they were born, is prevented from the legitimate enjoyment of the fruits of the slave labour that the whites have imposed upon it. The colonialist racist administration has done everything in its power and made all necessary arrangements to implement this bloody body of regulations: a well-trained and well-equipped police force sees to this, and bloody repression is constantly inflicted upon recalcitrant blacks. We can never speak enough of the Robben Island prison and the prison farms and the concentration camps of the white colonialists of South Africa. All the barbarous practices of the former Nazis who fled Europe after the Second World War have been perfected there.

125. Today, after the uprisings of Soweto, Alexandra, Langa, and other townships, the South African gaols house several thousand Azanian patriots, including small children. The oppressed African population in South Africa, in spite of this colonialist fortress, has become more aware of the oppression to which it is subject. This fact is most clearly illustrated by the outcome of the uprisings in June, July and August 1976 in Soweto and the other outlying towns. The struggles that we are witnessing are neither more nor less than the legitimate struggle of those oppressed by colonialism to rid themselves of the implacable chains of domination in which the exploiters wish to maintain them.

126. But *apartheid*, which is a colonialist system *par excellence*, is also, and above all, a system of economic exploitation involving the participation, as in the former colonial territories, of the Western capitalists, who are always eager for easy profits. The riches of South Africa and its people are subjected to an inequitable exploitation

which revolts men of goodwill everywhere. South Africa is the privileged area of Western capitalism. The multinational corporations with their long tentacles and concealed ramifications are there in conquered land—one wonders how much longer they are going to remain there. All the rules and regulations on labour are cleverly harmonized in order to promote capitalist and colonialist exploitation. The disparity in salaries constitutes the daily practice of the colonialist masters, who believe their domination to be eternal.

127. Thus, in social terms, the human degradation has reached such a high level of cruelty that all this constitutes for an unwitting observer a frightening and terrible nightmare world. As regards culture, the African populations have been cruelly deprived of education in order the better to undermine their awareness of themselves as rational and responsible human beings. Only a mere handful of the better-off, people with a petty feudal mentality, still enjoy the privilege of a minimum of education to make them better able to obey and serve their masters and resign themselves to colonial domination.

128. In the light of all these facts, my delegation reaffirms from this rostrum that *apartheid* is a colonialist system, and it is as such that the question must henceforward be considered by our Organization. It is only in that context that our Organization will be usefully and effectively working for the liquidation of *apartheid*. The struggle waged so far against *apartheid* of course has its merits, but it must be admitted that it has not fulfilled the legitimate hopes of the oppressed populations of South Africa.

129. The ineffectiveness of our action is essentially due to the imperfect perception that we have of *apartheid*. The conception we have had so far of *apartheid* is erroneous. That conception is an injustice to the Azanian people, which has constantly unmasked to the world the real evils it is suffering from, and it is necessary for this monumental historical error to be corrected.

130. It is indeed contradictory to find oneself in the same camp with the imperialist Powers in denouncing verbally, but without taking any concrete action, the policy of *apartheid*, when everybody knows what part the colonialist Vorster régime plays in imperialist strategy in Africa. It is thanks to the imperialist Powers that the racists of South Africa believe—wrongly, in fact—that they can so long and so insolently defy the international community. With the illegal occupation of Namibia, without forgetting the daily support given to the rebel Smith, the colonialist, minority and Fascist régime of Pretoria has shown to the world that it represents a potential threat to international peace and security. This truth has already been affirmed in several hundred resolutions of our Organization and its specialized agencies. All those who believe that they can deceive Africa by their pure formal condemnations are deluding themselves. Moral, tearful and hypocritical condemnations are no longer enough and will no longer succeed in deluding us. The peoples who love peace and justice and who steadfastly support the Azanian people, so cruelly oppressed, must mobilize and show their active solidarity.

131. Now that we know what the evil is, our Organization will have to do everything in its power better to assist the

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress of South Africa, the genuine representatives of the Azanian people, who are increasingly more aware and convinced of the fact that their total liberation from the age-old chains of *apartheid* will be done through the armed people's struggle, which must be organized and intensified in order to make the ignoble white usurpers whom the imperialist West has dumped on our continent realize where the truth lies. The mendacious propaganda of the South African racists that they were the first to occupy the territory is the purest deceit. My delegation reiterates its unremitting condemnation of all countries which help to strengthen the ignoble system of *apartheid* through trade, economic, technical or military aid and the provision of nuclear war *matériel*. My delegation denounces also the attitude of the French Government which, in spite of widespread criticism, maintains its contract to deliver nuclear reactors to the bloody colonialist régime of South Africa, taking refuge in a specious argument concerning trade. My delegation, with equal force, denounces the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, the Zionist entity of Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy for their collaboration with the bloody colonialist racists of Pretoria. Let them remember that history always proves that the people who struggle for their national independence have right on their side. My delegation demands that the General Assembly require the Security Council to take the necessary measures in order to impose a formal and effective embargo on the delivery of weapons to the colonialist régime of South Africa.

132. Mr. BRONNIKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is common knowledge that the question of the policy of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for 30 years. During all those years the Byelorussian SSR, basing itself on Lenin's foreign policy principles, fully supported the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence, consistently and steadfastly defended the adoption of decisive measures aimed against the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa, and against the inhumane policy of *apartheid* it practised. Acting in keeping with the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of peoples, adopted by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we shall continue to strive actively for the solution of one of the most crucial international tasks, that of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and infringement of the equality and independence of peoples, and of all hotbeds of colonialism and racism.

133. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22 and Add.1-3] before the General Assembly contains important information attesting to the continued criminal policy of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa and confirming the particular importance and timeliness of the issue at hand.

134. The reasons why the racists engage in lawlessness in southern Africa are clear. Whatever the representatives of some Western Powers state, the *apartheid* régime in the Republic of South Africa was and remains the favourite protégé of imperialism and colonialism. This is why they so obstinately protected it and continue to protect it from the

just wrath of the African peoples. It is no secret that the imperialist Powers cast the South African régime in the role of the bastion of their supremacy in southern Africa, overtly and covertly supporting it. Undeniably without this assistance the racist régime would have collapsed long ago.

135. In our time we are witnessing the historic victories of the African peoples in their struggle for their freedom and independence, attained through the moral and material support of socialist countries and of all progressive forces in the world. The times when imperialism and colonialism could dictate their will are forever gone, and irreversibly so. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique as well as the proclamation of independence by other African peoples has promoted the creation of a new situation in southern Africa and has placed on the agenda the question of the full liberation of this continent and of a general offensive against the racist régime of the colonialist minority in Pretoria and Salisbury.

136. The demand to put an end to the supremacy of the racists in southern Africa is being voiced today with particular vigour. It is a powerful expression of the imperative requirements of the times.

137. In circumstances when there is an over-all shift in the balance of forces, when the role and influence of States which were recently colonies and semi-colonies is growing stronger and when Africa has shown itself capable of dealing with the remnants of colonialism and racism, there have emerged in the West some—if I may so put it—"well-wishers" and "defenders" of the interests of African peoples who have hastened to advance "new doctrines" proposing "new ways" of solving problems in southern Africa. But in these proposals may clearly be discerned echoes of a long-discredited policy, consisting in making some concessions of form while in fact fully retaining the substance.

138. Engaging in manoeuvres, the forces of imperialism attempt to salvage their shaky positions, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies, to contain the growth of the national liberation movements and to prevent the implementation of progressive socio-economic transformations in the independent countries of Africa. These forces feverishly seek a way to perpetuate the existence of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa and nurture highly dangerous plans for the creation of a South-Atlantic military bloc with the participation of the Republic of South Africa.

139. In this connexion may I cite the well-founded words of Agostino Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, who during this recent visit to the Soviet Union said in one of his statements:

"Imperialism is endeavouring to manoeuvre in order to break the will of the African peoples, prevent their achieving the social changes in keeping with the times in which they live, and turn their territories into the usual zones of influence of the capitalist countries of Europe and America."

But these efforts are doomed to failure.

140. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in August last, expressed in its Political Declaration a profound concern regarding the fact that

“...the situation in southern Africa continues to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security notwithstanding the favourable conditions that now exist for the complete elimination of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in the region.”  
[A/31/197, annex I, para. 47.]

141. Indeed, despite the numerous decisions of the United Nations known to all, the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues to provide extensive support to the racists of Southern Rhodesia. The inhuman policy of *apartheid*, condemned by the international community as a crime against mankind, continues to be developed. The racists have taken practical steps to set up bantustans, ignoring the decisions of our Organization. The General Assembly has proceeded correctly, having once again a few days ago decisively condemned the creation of bantustans and having rejected the proclamation of the fictitious independence of the so-called Transkei.

142. The inhuman *apartheid* régime is one of the most outrageous anachronisms of our time. We cannot accept the fact that the South African racist régime cruelly suppresses all expression of the popular masses of South Africa for national independence and against *apartheid*. Lately, repression has been intensified. This is confirmed by the bloody events in Soweto and other parts of the Republic of South Africa. By virtue of the notorious terrorism law and a number of other repressive laws in effect in South Africa, thousands of militants for civil rights of the African population are languishing in the racist régime's gaols. The recent wave of new arrests and persecutions of the black leaders and other opponents of *apartheid* attest to the fact that the racists in the face of the growing nation-wide struggle against the existing system of racial suppression and lawlessness stop at nothing. According to incomplete information, hundreds of thousands are languishing in the gaols and concentration camps in that country.

143. The United Nations, the non-aligned countries and wide circles of international public opinion rightly point out that political, military, economic and other co-operation extended by a number of Western Powers encourages the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa and enables it to continue perpetrating its crimes. The question of the scope of this assistance and its dangerous implications for the African continent has been repeatedly debated in the United Nations. Data attesting to such co-operation were cited, for instance, at the International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, held from 24 to 28 May 1976 in Havana. The participants in the seminar came to the conclusion that “the major Western Powers . . . bear a major responsibility for helping to sustain the *apartheid* régime”. [A/31/104, annex I, para. 4.]

144. According to *The New York Times* the investments of American monopolies in the economy of the Republic of South Africa over the past 10 years have increased from \$500 million to \$2 billion. Moreover, it is expected that the numerous arrangements concluded over the past two years will result in a further significant increase in capital investments in South Africa in the coming year. At present about 500 American monopolies are operating in that

country. Economic and military co-operation between Israel and the Republic of South Africa, which is turning the co-operation between those two countries into a kind of racist-Zionist alliance, is increasing at an especially fast pace. From the documents that we have at our disposal it can be seen that over the past 10 years the co-operation between Israel and the Republic of South Africa has increased more than tenfold.

145. With the support of imperialist forces and Western monopolies, the racist régimes in southern Africa are increasing their military potential, attempting to keep the peoples of that region under their domination by force. Thus the racist Smith clique in Rhodesia has, over the past year, increased its appropriations for the army and punitive detachments by 40 per cent and its appropriations for the police by 23 per cent. In the present fiscal year the military budget of the Republic of South Africa has increased by 36 per cent and the South African army continues to receive fighter planes, bombers, tanks and armoured cars and other modern military equipment from Western countries. Even more alarming is the report of the real danger that the South African racists may come into possession of nuclear weapons.

146. The increase in the military potential in South Africa leads to intensification of the aggressive encroachments of the racist régime. Everyone is aware of the criminal efforts by the South African racists to prevent the victory of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique for independence. They are continuing their aggressive attacks against those countries and also against Zambia and other independent African countries.

147. There is a growing awareness today that without the eradication of the policy of *apartheid* the final liberation of Africa is impossible. Therefore, it is no coincidence that in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly there has been a wide-ranging debate during which virtually all delegations have resolutely demanded the termination of *apartheid*. Now, as never before, it is important that all who are opposed to imperialism should take a united stand. It is essential to use all available possibilities for the adoption of new decisions to encourage the further development of the decisive struggle against the criminal *apartheid* régime in the Republic of South Africa.

148. The Byelorussian people, like all the Soviet peoples which made a decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitler's fascism, of which the South African racists are kindred spirits, unswervingly supports those who fight for their freedom and against *apartheid* in South Africa and actively participates in solidarity campaigns with the peoples of South Africa. The Byelorussian SSR is a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports proposals promoting the cause of the struggle against colonialism and racism, for the strict implementation of United Nations decisions regarding the embargo on trade with racist régimes and for the severance by all States of relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa and, above all, for the complete cessation of supplies of weapons to it.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*