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CONTENTS

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 817

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. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon is particularly grateful to the General Assembly for agreeing to hold the debate on the question of *apartheid* in plenary meetings at this session for the first time. The participation in this debate of the authentic representatives of the majority of the South African peoples—our brothers, Mr. Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa and Mr. Sibeko of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—constitutes an important step in the development of the situation in South Africa in relation to our Organization.

2. I should like to express my appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of Mr. Leslie Harriman of Nigeria, for what it has done to eliminate *apartheid* and for its excellent report [A/31/22 and Add.1-3] which the Assembly will use in taking a reasoned decision on what action should be adopted to eliminate this scourge once and for all.

3. By referring the question of *apartheid* for discussion in its plenary meetings, the General Assembly, a democratic organ of world-wide significance, has not only solemnly decided the question of competence in respect of the consideration of these crimes against humanity, but it has also, and above all, shown that it intends to assume its full responsibilities under the Charter with regard to this subject.

4. The racial policy of the racist régime in Pretoria has now become so inhuman and so cruel that scarcely a day goes by without the international community being shocked at acts of massive violence and killings of the black population of South Africa, regardless of age or sex.

5. The Government of the United Republic of Cameroon is profoundly disturbed by the terror waged on a gigantic scale by the racist minority régime of South Africa against our brethren there, and wishes to express its deep sympathy to the victims—schoolchildren, students, workers—of those criminal actions, carried out in cold blood.

6. There are no words strong enough to condemn, to stigmatize, all the barbarous acts against our brothers of which the racist minority is guilty—a minority which has identified the destiny of South Africa with the inviolability of its privileges and with its vile interests. But the irresistible will of an entire people can never be crushed. The determination of the indigenous populations of South Africa to fight to the last drop of their blood against the criminal policy of *apartheid* and in defence of their right to freedom and self-determination is part of that irresistible will. It is by the same methods of terror that that régime is seeking to contain the dynamics of decisive political change taking place in southern Africa, and does not scruple to engage in aggression against independent neighbouring States.

7. For some 30 years now, *apartheid*, a term representing a political doctrine based on scorn and the subordination of the black man to the white man, has been rampant in South Africa. There is no need to go into the historical, political, economic and cultural background of this policy, because it is well known. There is no need to speak of the complicities involved in establishing, developing and reinforcing the criminal policy of *apartheid* on our continent. These complicities are not new; they have played an ever greater role in the past few decades. Some of the major Powers, which played a decisive part in destroying European fascism during the Second World War, did nothing to prevent the emergence of this policy in South Africa when it was introduced in 1947 by the Nationalist Party, which included former Nazis in its ranks. Perhaps those Powers felt less concerned at the time because the policy affected our continent. However that may be, in spite of the big propaganda apparatus set up by the Pretoria régime to defend *apartheid*, and in spite of the establishment of an impressive machinery of repression, the struggle against *apartheid* was organized almost simultaneously with the emergence of this doctrine and was waged at both the political and juridical levels.

8. At the political level, it should be stressed that from 1948 to 1960 the United Nations never took a stand on the subject of *apartheid*. The resolutions of the General Assembly of 2 December 1950 [resolution 395 (V)], 12 January 1952 [resolution 511 (VI)] and 5 December 1952 [resolution 615 (VII)] concerned only one segment of the indigenous population. On 30 March 1960 the Security

Council held its first meeting on this question,¹ and, since then, no year has passed without the policy of *apartheid* being condemned by the entire United Nations system.

9. Regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have also taken part in the struggle. A number of decisions have been adopted to try to force South Africa to abandon its *apartheid* policy. In 1964 in its resolution 191 (1964) the Security Council decreed an embargo on the export of weapons to South Africa. All the members of our Assembly subscribed to that decision with one exception—the United Kingdom, the primary supplier of weapons to the racists in Pretoria. On 6 November 1962 the General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII) and on 7 August 1963 the Security Council adopted resolution 181 (1963) condemning *apartheid*, and sanctions were adopted for the first time against South Africa. A committee on *apartheid*, instructed to monitor the application of these sanctions, was set up within the United Nations [resolution 1761 (XVII)]. Furthermore, at the regional level, and in particular in Africa, a general boycott of South Africa was decreed in respect of transport, trade and sports.

10. The collective struggle against *apartheid* did not take place only in regional and international organizations. It spread to the very heart of the country where *apartheid* was being practised. From the very outset, courageous men, men of goodwill, such as the late Albert Lutuli, Nelson Mandela, and a good many others, raised their voices to condemn this retrograde system. Political parties such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, banned in South Africa, are continuing their struggle underground. Turning now to direct action, it may be said that it is being continued inexorably. We know that the forces of law and order indiscriminately kill non-white populations whenever social or student demonstrations take place in South Africa. That was true of Sharpeville in 1960 and of Soweto in 1976.

11. It may be said that all action taken against *apartheid* has met with arrogant obstinacy on the part of the Pretoria Government. The country's wealth, thanks to the shameless exploitation of the majority by the minority, and because of a number of important international complicities, have so far doomed all efforts against *apartheid* to failure. This failure is due in particular to the complicity of a number of Western Powers, which have armed South Africa, have given it the technology it needs and are investing heavily there and in Namibia. Obviously they are not the country's only partners. Their role, in brief, has been to strengthen racial barriers and the exploitation of the indigenous population, as is apparent from the large profits which have been taken out of the country or reinvested to expand existing factories and create new businesses. In any event, in 1972 the Western countries provided the *apartheid* system with assistance to the tune of \$7,781 million. That figure does not take into account military and technological assistance which South Africa has always enjoyed, United Nations sanctions notwithstanding. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that, in spite of the condemnation of the United Nations, which has vigorously condemned South Africa for

its policies of *apartheid* because they are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, that country continues to maintain an arrogant attitude towards the world community.

12. Pretoria, disregarding recent condemnation by our Assembly of the independence of the so-called State of Transkei, has decided in a few months to submit to the South African Parliament the law granting independence to the second of the nine bantustans in South Africa as an act of implementation of the same policy.

13. Ever since June 1976, we witnessed another sinister aspect of these evil policies—the beginning of the genocide of the black and mixed populations of South Africa. The figures published by the racist authorities represent only an infinitesimal part of the number of women, children and old persons killed day by day.

14. Southern Africa has become an area in our continent where the situation, fraught with danger, is deteriorating constantly owing to repeated acts of aggression and acts of terror and oppression for South Africa is unmistakably responsible. The result of this has been that the situation has been aggravated, there is instability and there is a serious danger to peace in that part of the world. We wish to make a solemn appeal to those Powers which, because of their interests, have thus far not abandoned their ambiguous behaviour in this Organization vis-à-vis South Africa. We appeal to them no longer to abuse their veto powers in the Security Council, where they have opposed the application against South Africa of the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter on the pretext that peace is not threatened in that part of the world.

15. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly is considering this year the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa in a special set of circumstances.

16. First of all, the present item is now being considered in plenary meetings of the General Assembly. This alone points to the growing political significance imparted to this question by the African countries and by the United Nations as a whole. Another distinctive circumstance of the discussion of this item at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly is the extreme seriousness of the situation in the southern tip of the African continent.

17. In the course of the past year, three new factors have emerged. First of all, there has been a sharp aggravation of the repressions of the racist régime inside the Republic of South Africa. Secondly, there is the provocative activation of the raids of the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa against independent African countries. Thirdly, there was an open continuation of assistance to the Republic of South Africa on the part of those who, while they condemn *apartheid* in words, are in their actions providing it with economic, military and political support. Thus, the past year has been extraordinary concerning the *apartheid* régime in the Republic of South Africa for the above reasons, and we believe that the General Assembly, too, will make radical conclusions from these facts.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year*, 851st meeting.

18. As regards events in South Africa itself, on 16 June of this year the racist régime committed an unprecedented bloody act of reprisal against a peaceful demonstration in Soweto. After that, the shootings of demonstrators in the Republic of South Africa have virtually become a daily phenomenon. The results of this barbarous policy are hundreds of killed and thousands of wounded. Moreover, even according to official data, in the dungeons of the Republic of South Africa there are more than 100,000 prisoners languishing.

19. Scarcely anyone could doubt now that the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa will not willingly forgo its privileges and will not stop at the most cruel repressions in order to put down the opponents of *apartheid*. None other than the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, Vorster, openly stated recently that he in general could not visualize the day when the authority in the Republic of South Africa could be handed over to the black majority. In other words, the intensification of the bloody reprisals against the black population of the Republic of South Africa and the direct refusal ever to put an end to the shameful régime of *apartheid* were in fact the answer of the South African racists to the demands of the African countries and peoples and to the demands of the United Nations. This is a direct and brazen challenge.

20. It is necessary to refer to another aspect of *apartheid*, namely the policy of "divide and rule", an expression of which is the programme of "bantustanization". In accordance with this, the population of the bantustans which are given so-called independence are automatically deprived of the rights of citizenship in the Republic of South Africa. Setting up the system of bantustans, the racist authorities are striving to liberate themselves from the Africans as fellow citizens. But it is known that the patriotic forces of the Republic of South Africa reject bantustanization, justly viewing it as an outrage committed against the nationalist aspirations of the African people. Pretoria, however, is flinging a challenge to the African population of the Republic of South Africa and indeed to the whole of Africa, and pushing ahead with its forced promulgation of so-called independence of Transkei. And this is also a direct challenge to the African peoples and to all freedom-loving forces. That is why we welcome the resolution which was virtually unanimously adopted recently by the General Assembly and which rejects the fictitious independence of the fictitious formation of Transkei [resolution 31/6 A].

21. On the whole, therefore, the internal situation in the Republic of South Africa is a situation within a racist dungeon. A firm end must be put to this.

22. Now let us consider the kinds of raids that are being carried out by the *apartheid* régime outside the Republic of South Africa. First of all, one racist régime, that of Vorster, is the most reliable bulwark of another, the Smith racist régime. Very recently Vorster said that if the African majority of Southern Rhodesia were not to accept the conditions of Smith, South Africa would continue to provide assistance to its junior racist partner. This means that the *apartheid* régime in the Republic of South Africa would wish to force upon the people of Zimbabwe merely a

fictitious kind of independence, of the kind that it has given the Transkei. The racists of the Republic of South Africa, who are trying in every way to block majority rule in their own country, by their very nature cannot be the initiators of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

23. Secondly, what has happened recently for all to see was an attempt made by the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa from the territory of one country occupied by it, Namibia, to interfere in the internal affairs of another African country, Angola. To achieve these ends, the Vorster régime has, as is known, even resorted to military intervention involving thousands of troops; and the fact that the South African racists have suffered a crushing defeat in Angola should not allay anyone's fears. It is enough to recall that only recently the South African Parliament has adopted the so-called Defence Amendment Act, whereby the Government of the Republic of South Africa has obtained authorization to utilize South African troops far beyond the borders of South Africa. This means that the South African racism is preparing further raids against African countries. If we add to this the fact that, during the period 1972-1975, the military expenditures of the Republic of South Africa have doubled, it becomes entirely clear that independent Africa is faced with a genuine threat to its security and sovereignty in this régime. In other words, outside the Republic of South Africa as well, the *apartheid* régime has been highly active over the past year and has increased the threat to neighbouring countries, and not only to neighbouring African countries.

24. And now one further point, concerning the quarters on which the heinous *apartheid* régime depends for support. In spite of all the verbal assurances concerning condemnation and rejection of the *apartheid* régime, this racist régime continues to obtain basic economic assistance, as in the past, from certain countries of the West. The weapons which the racist régime has in its possession bear the label "made in the West". The racist régime is being given political and diplomatic support by the West, as in the past. As was stated at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, A. A. Gromyko:

"But in actual fact everything possible is still being done to repress the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and of the indigenous people of the Republic of South Africa for their legitimate rights . . . Every possible method is being resorted to, from direct suppression and violence to attempts to divert the national liberation movement from genuine independence and freedom through political gimmickry and financial hand-outs.

"What is being sought from these people before the eyes of the whole world? A renunciation of their inalienable right to free and independent development, a development along the path of social progress." [7th meeting, paras. 250 and 251.]

25. Nor can we overlook another partner of *apartheid*, and here I am speaking of the mutual relations between Israel and South Africa. Incidentally, that very same Vorster proudly calls his racist régime a "bastion of the West". As for Israel, it was recently called, in that same West again, a

“firm bastion of democracy”. Let us consider, however, how relations are being developed between these two entities—if they are bastions, they are racist bastions. Detailed data on this matter are contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22 and Add.1-3]. In regard to relations between Israel and South Africa, the report in particular states that, in political terms, the collaboration between the Republic of South Africa and Israel has “aimed at driving a wedge between the African countries and between them and the Arab countries” [see A/31/22/Add.2, para. 14]. In the military sphere, Israel and the Republic of South Africa are expanding their mutual supplies of weapons and technology. In economic relations, Israel receives from the Republic of South Africa its needed raw materials, whereas South Africa is using Israel as a subterfuge for circumventing the international boycott. This is the criminal co-operation of these two racist régimes. This is further evidence of the fact that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

26. All these facts clearly show that the phase of remonstrating with the South African racists must be brought to an end. The time has come now to say “No” firmly in word and in deed to the racist South African growth on the body of Africa.

27. As to the Soviet Union, a TASS communiqué of 23 June of this year in connexion with the shootings at a peaceful demonstration of the African population in Soweto, stated the following:

“The policy of the régime in Pretoria evokes the wrath and just indignation of all honest people on earth. It represents a threat to the freedom and independent development of the liberated countries in Africa and is fraught with dangerous consequences for the peace and security of peoples.

“The Soviet people are outraged and protest against the criminal actions of the South African racists.

“The Soviet Union decisively and consistently condemns the criminal policy of *apartheid* and calls for the application of effective measures aimed at the isolation and boycott of the South African régime and for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other international organizations, who demand the liquidation of *apartheid* and all racial discrimination and the granting to the African majority of the right to live in conditions of peace and freedom.”²

28. The Soviet Union considers that it is its international duty to contribute in every way possible to the full and historic victory of the African people over the racist régimes. The Soviet Union has provided and will continue to provide comprehensive assistance and support to the peoples fighting against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The Soviet Union in the future also will do everything within its power to help their struggle to its successful conclusion.

² *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1976, document S/12117, annex.

29. We wish to remind all from this rostrum of the foreign policy programme adopted by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation for the freedom and independence of peoples, and I stress, “for the freedom and independence of peoples”. One of the basic provisions of that programme is the task involved in the total liquidation of all remnants of the system of colonial oppression and infringement of the equality and independence of peoples, and the eradication of all seed-beds of colonialism and racism. This is the programme which guided and which will continue to guide the Soviet Union in regard also to the struggle with the heinous régime of the South African racists.

30. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government and the people of Venezuela note with regret that 30 years after the debate on *apartheid* began in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the white minority, which had arrogated to itself the right to determine the destiny of South Africa, have only redoubled their violent repression against the black population of that country.

31. The United Nations cannot continue passively to witness the events in southern Africa. The South African Government is not satisfied with subjugating the black population of South Africa, who only want their legitimate and inalienable rights recognized but, in addition, it has extended its control to Zimbabwe and Namibia, creating thereby an area of great tension, which compromises the political stability of the entire world—already at a rather low level—in violation of the Charter of our Organization.

32. The establishment of the Transkei and other bantustans is only one of the extremely absurd and unacceptable aspects of *apartheid* which deserve our vigorous condemnation.

33. The date 26 October marks a new era on the part of the Pretoria Government. The sham declaration of the independence of Transkei has led to the isolation of more than 3 million South Africans who, by decision of a white minority Government, have lost their rights as citizens.

34. Venezuela wishes to give its support to the measures adopted by the United Nations in the struggle against *apartheid*. We can say here that anti-racist sentiments are part of Venezuelan tradition. That is a feeling which we have not created with laws; it is a feeling deeply rooted in our history. In our country, all racial groups have mingled freely and we are proud that we are a racially mixed country with a democratic régime, which makes it possible for each and every Venezuelan to develop his full potential without any distinction.

35. Although everything would seem to have been said on the subject of *apartheid*, the persistence of a régime of this kind—which constitutes an insult to human dignity and a violation of the fundamental rights of human beings—forces us to repeat to the end how abominable and intolerable the South African policy is for human beings who, simply because of the different colour of their skins, have been relegated to a different category by a small minority of conquerors, who disregard the rights of a people which thinks and feels like any other.

36. It is possible that the results so far achieved by our Organization cannot be perceived. All the steps taken thus far may appear fruitless because the South African régime still relies on its friends to help it to maintain the present situation.

37. It is possible that 30 years of words may have achieved very little to alleviate the suffering of a people who have been hamstrung by the impotence of the weak against the strong and the scorn of those who know that they possess the power of decision. It is possible, too, that the courage of a people, forged in the fire of repression and suffering, yet aware of their right to develop like any other human group, may prove stronger than the chains of the oppressors? It is possible that the desire of a people to live in a decorously human way may be the determining factor in their future as a social group.

38. We have entered into a number of commitments as members of the international community. During its 30 years of existence, our Organization has adopted innumerable resolutions designed to put an end to *apartheid*, to isolate the South African régime, and to make it possible for people to exercise their right to determine their own future and bring about their own development. If the balance-sheet is not now positive, it is not the fault of our Organization, nor that of the majority of the membership. What has caused this situation is a minority which fails to comprehend that human beings as such are more important than trade advantages, than profits, than economic power. They are the ones who continue to make excuses for the policy of *apartheid*.

39. If the resolutions of our Organization continue to be ignored, if the South African Government continues its policies with the support of its allies, if there is really no determination to isolate South Africa and put an end to *apartheid*, then perhaps that oppressed majority may use other means to demonstrate its desire to survive, to change the inferior status which has been thrust on them by South Africa.

40. We, the Members of the United Nations, have the grave responsibility to prevent a confrontation of major proportions which could very well turn southern Africa into a theatre of widespread conflict, whose international implications would be quite unpredictable. Consequently, all States Members of the Organization must do what is necessary to prevent further suffering on the part of the oppressed people of South Africa and to eliminate those sources of tension which endanger international peace and security.

41. In 1978 in Ghana a conference will be held on the struggle to combat racial discrimination. There the world condemnation of *apartheid* and of all forms of racial discrimination will be expressed. We expect that that conference will take decisive action to put an end to this evil. Here and now we wish to say that our Government will support that conference and participate in it in any way that we can to support the struggle against *apartheid* and to bring about its final downfall.

42. Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): May I first of all express the gratitude of my

delegation to all members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to Mr. Harriman, the Chairman of that Committee. I should also like to thank the representative of the Philippines for the efforts of the Special Committee to study the situation in South Africa and to offer appropriate recommendations to liberate the people of Azania from the clutches and the crime of *apartheid*. We must not overlook here the positive role played by Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, the Permanent Representative of Guinea, when she headed that Special Committee; she also deserves our gratitude for her devotion to her task.

43. My delegation has studied carefully the report of the Special Committee, as contained in document A/31/22 and Add.1-3, which exposes the violations of human rights in South Africa. All the information in this report condemns the régime of *apartheid* because it catalogues the violations of human rights, as well as the acts of oppression and other acts of violence being endured by the people of Azania under the Vorster régime, which is practising methods that have been relegated to the scrap heap of history.

44. This year the General Assembly is studying the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* at a time when the African continent is going through a phase that is encouraging to the just struggle of the people of Azania for peace, independence, equality and self-determination. The victories of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and the other peoples of Africa fighting against colonialism and racism have shown that the régimes that have imposed themselves by blood and steel to the detriment of justice and equality are becoming progressively more isolated, and this is reassuring evidence of the fact that the racist and imperialist forces which are trying to maintain their privileged position and to exploit the African peoples cannot continue to do so indefinitely. This is particularly true today in Zimbabwe, whose people is fighting for freedom and democracy and for majority rule. This struggle has caused Ian Smith to look for a way out.

45. When we consider the tragedy in South Africa, we see that the majority of the inhabitants are deprived of the most elementary rights, and this is due to the racist régime and its policy of *apartheid*, which is condemned by the world as a crime against humanity as a whole. *Apartheid*, dividing whites, blacks and Coloureds, is something that applies to all aspects of life—political, economic, social and geographic—and this system is applied also in the fields of communications, health, sports and education. Nor is this all, since the Vorster Government is continuing to promulgate discriminatory laws; it is showing total contempt for other races, and barbarous methods are being used to prevent black Africans from enjoying their most elementary rights.

46. The Pretoria régime has had more than one opportunity to prove its good faith by putting an end to its policy of racial discrimination. However, we do not believe that the Vorster Government intends to make any changes whatsoever in its policies to bring about freedom and justice. On the contrary, Vorster and those who support him have stated on more than one occasion that *apartheid* is the basis of the South African régime and that it will remain unchanged. Thus, the racist minority is not ready to understand that it cannot indefinitely prevent the black

majority from enjoying its right to equality, justice and self-determination.

47. Such a régime, based on the oppression of the majority by a white minority, cannot be maintained because it runs counter to the principles of freedom, equality and peace, which are international principles enshrined in the Charter itself. It cannot go on, moreover, because it is a régime which constitutes a threat to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world, as is evidenced by the attacks of the racist régime on Zambia, Angola and Mozambique.

48. The policy of my country concerning the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa is well known and is in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment. Bahrain has denounced on more than one occasion, and in more than one international forum, this shameful policy, which is contrary to human feelings, besides being a clear violation of the concept of equality between human beings regardless of their race, colour, sex or religious and other beliefs.

49. Man cannot live by bread alone. Dignity is also vital in any society. Social injustice and inequality in South Africa, which are still practised daily by means of outdated racist laws, have led the people of that country to rebel this year, and the unexplained massacres at Soweto and other satellite cities of this major metropolis are evidence of the fact that the racist régime is not in line with the principles of progress or with the course of history.

50. Sixteen years ago, not far from Johannesburg, at Sharpeville, another massacre took place when blacks rose against racist terrorism which prevented them from travelling from one place to another without special permission. They then arose against the discriminatory laws which required authorization for travel from one place to another.

51. The events of Sharpeville were an affront to human dignity, and the Soweto massacre is a further outrage. These massacres will continue to symbolize the struggle of the people of Azania against these iniquitous and discriminatory laws, and we have to wonder when the white racist minority of South Africa will realize that a minority cannot go on oppressing and terrorizing the majority. The Vorster régime does not wish to heed the voice of reason or the condemnation by the Security Council last June. In spite of that condemnation, that régime continues its crimes in Soweto and other satellite cities against the black majority. The racist régime has been called to desist forthwith from its racist and *apartheid* practices, but these condemnations and international appeals have been completely ignored by the régime. It continues at Soweto and Alexandra to fire upon the crowds, and hundreds and thousands, both young and old, have fallen under its bullets. When we consider that all that is involved is civilians asking for their rights, the régime's genocidal intentions become evident.

52. My delegation considers that all these acts of oppression and repression by the Vorster Government against Azania, in the face of the legitimate demands of the people for justice, equality and freedom, constitute a crime against mankind as a whole. My delegation believes that mere condemnation is not likely to be enough to change the

policies of racism in South Africa. We call upon the international community, which has already acknowledged its responsibility towards the people of Azania in General Assembly resolution 3411 (XXX), dated 28 November 1975, to fulfil its obligations and put an end to the crime of *apartheid*. This is an inhuman crime, and it is necessary to formulate a work programme designed to isolate the Vorster régime and to bring about its total eradication. The most recent events in South Africa have demonstrated to what extent that régime is indeed barbarous and have proved that the policy of *apartheid*, which is a shameful policy indeed, is unacceptable in any form.

53. The alleged reforms by South Africa are merely so much propaganda designed to deceive public opinion at a time when the majority is fighting for its independence. That régime refuses to grant the most elementary rights to its people, thus contravening the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and defies the United Nations as it pursues its policy of bantustanization. The so-called bantustans for the indigenous inhabitants are in no way whatsoever a solution to the problem at hand. In fact, they constitute an extension of the Vorster régime. That régime intends to set up black reserves, black settlements, which would be ostensibly independent of the white zones. It is an alleged kind of independence and merely tantamount to a strengthening of the racist régime. The United Nations and the world community must therefore reject such a policy.

54. My delegation condemns the so-called independence of Transkei, which is merely an extension of the bantustan policy. That so-called independence of Transkei is for its part also a type of propaganda designed to maintain the racist régime. Transkei does not meet the basic requirements for a genuine State; it is identical to a bantustan and my Government will not recognize the independence of Transkei. We are happy to note the unanimous censure by the international community as a whole, as demonstrated in the resolution we all adopted on 26 October 1976 [resolution 31/6 A], when we condemned this so-called independence of Transkei. That resolution is particularly important because it reveals the true face of racism.

55. The racist régime of Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia illegally and persists in its *apartheid* and bantustan policies, despite the fact that they have been rejected by the International Court of Justice and in resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly making the United Nations responsible for Namibia and calling for the independence of that country. The Pretoria régime arrogantly refuses to withdraw from this region, thus preventing the people of Namibia from achieving self-determination. The Pretoria régime is even using Namibia as a base from which to attack other neighbouring countries—in other words, Angola and Zambia. This is not the only act of defiance of the South African régime, since it is also engaged in manoeuvres to divide the people of Namibia by holding so-called conferences, in which the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is prevented from participating—SWAPO, which is the party recognized by OAU and the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. We are happy to see that this policy has in no way influenced SWAPO and that SWAPO is resolved to fight on until the total independence of this country is achieved. We wish to

support SWAPO and the struggle in Namibia to the point where self-determination and independence are achieved.

56. It is indeed highly regrettable that the Security Council was unable on 19 October 1976—because of the triple veto exercised by three Western Powers—to adopt a draft resolution³ which would have made it possible to invoke the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, namely a total embargo on the shipment of arms to South Africa. Attempts were made to justify this veto, but my delegation believes that this was a rather unfortunate use of the veto, because it prevented the international community from meeting its responsibilities towards Namibia, quite apart from the fact that this is a matter of simple justice and peace in South Africa.

57. My delegation would hope that in the near future the Security Council will be able to agree on the application of sanctions against the South African régime under Chapter VII of the Charter, especially in regard to an embargo on arms of whatever kind. We believe that the act of supplying weapons to the Vorster régime—which is being done by certain Western countries—makes it possible for that régime to continue to practise its policy of *apartheid*. We wish to call upon all countries, particularly those which have relations with South Africa, to stop helping that country and to heed the numerous appeals of the United Nations.

58. In spite of the fact that the United Nations has condemned during the past few years this collusion which exists between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, we see that the ties between these two countries are growing. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in document A/31/22/Add.2 assures us of the close co-operation and collusion which exists between these two racist régimes, which applies to all fields—political, diplomatic, military and cultural, as well as economic. My delegation believes that this unholy alliance is a challenge whose purpose is to prevent the black majority from being able to enjoy their rights. This alliance is nothing new. It is based on alleged racist superiority. It is a policy of South Africa to prevent the people of Azania from achieving freedom, self-determination and equality and we hear the same echo in the Middle East where Israel is preventing the people of Palestine from achieving self-determination, independence and equality. It is the duty of the international community to condemn this racist alliance. We support the efforts of the United Nations and those of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the recommendations whose purpose is to put an end to the racist régime's activities in political, economic, sports, cultural and other fields.

59. Public opinion must be alerted to struggle against racism. We must bring about its total eradication and we therefore endorse the meeting which took place in Havana in May 1976 and the resolution calling on the world to redouble efforts to put an end to the racist régime as stated in document A/31/104. We ask that the aid given to nationalists in South Africa be increased so that they might be able to continue to stand up effectively to the Pretoria régime and so that the people of Azania might ultimately enjoy peace, justice, freedom in their own country, and

achieve a society where there is equality of opportunity for all and where all citizens are equal. My delegation approves of all the diplomatic initiatives, in particular those of certain countries to correct the situation in this part of the world. A further opportunity has been given to Vorster to show his possible goodwill by accepting United Nations decisions as those of the international community.

60. The victories of the black majority in South Africa prove that the end of the racist régime is at hand. My delegation is convinced that the situation in South Africa will not persist as it is for long and that *apartheid* will soon come to an end, together with racial discrimination.

61. The people of Azania, at present under the yoke of the white racist minority, will achieve freedom, dignity, equality and justice.

62. Mr. STANBURY (Canada): During the past year we have witnessed momentous developments in southern Africa. As never before, the attention of the international community has been focused on the course of events in this region as, one after another, its various problems have dominated the international scene. Most recently, Rhodesia (the future Zimbabwe) and Namibia have preoccupied us and some important steps have been taken towards the resolution of these problems. But the subject which we are discussing today is perhaps the most difficult and intractable of those which afflict southern Africa, and a measure of its fundamental importance is that this year we should be discussing the issue in this plenary forum rather than, as has been customary, in the Special Political Committee.

63. Even at this stage some question the attention devoted by the United Nations to efforts to bring about change in South Africa. Why, they ask, among all the abuses of human rights in the world, why do we here fasten so firmly on *apartheid*? The reasons merit repetition.

64. The United Nations must indeed develop and put into operation effective mechanisms for the protection of human rights everywhere. It must be the advocate of minority groups whenever they are denied equal rights, and of individuals in any country which as a general policy denies to its people basic human rights. But the United Nations is so intensely preoccupied with the situation in South Africa because the institutionalized policies of racial discrimination there have troubled the international community since the formation of the United Nations in 1945. From its earliest sessions the General Assembly has found cause to appeal to the Government of South Africa to comply with the spirit and provisions of the United Nations Charter by guaranteeing to all its citizens an equitable share in the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of their country's life. The Government of South Africa has remained deaf to these pleas; instead it has continued to develop and extend year by year *apartheid* legislation in a direction which denies, by law, to four out of five South Africans the opportunity of realizing their inherent human rights.

65. A complex web of legislation constrains the daily life of 18 million non-white South Africans. It denies to them the right to live in the cities in which they work; it denies to them the right to gain full title to their homes and

³ *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1976, document S/12211.

businesses in the substandard African cities in which they are obliged to live. It obliges African workers to commute long distances each day to their place of employment. It relegates tens of thousands of South African contract labourers to life in all-male barracks—separated for 51 weeks of the year from their wives and families; it prohibits them from bringing their families to the areas in which they work, areas in which their labour is essential to the South African economy. The laws of the land deny to them the opportunity to advance, in accordance with their capabilities, to jobs of greater interest and responsibility—those are reserved for the minority. Similarly, the laws establish wages for the African majority at levels which are tremendously lower than those for whites who are doing essentially the same work. This is *apartheid*.

66. In the last several months the victims of this demeaning and iniquitous system have risen up and confronted the Government of South Africa, and the world, with the appalling circumstances they have been required to endure for so long. On the last occasion when the reality of South Africa was put so forcefully to us, following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the international community responded with one voice in efforts to impress upon the South African Government the need to abandon its *apartheid* policies. It is our task during this session of the General Assembly to re-examine the situation in the light of the recent events in South Africa, and to decide what further steps should be taken to foster rapid and fundamental change for the oppressed majority there by peaceful means as long as that possibility exists.

Mr. Moreno Martínez (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

67. Last year, my Government, through its representative on the Special Political Committee, presented a full exposition of its views on the *apartheid* policies and practices of the South African Government, and set forth in detail its own policies in response to the unacceptable panoply of regulations, practices and attitudes prevailing in that country.⁴ We emphasized our firm belief in the inevitability of self-determination for those people who comprise the majority of South Africans, and in the need for all reasonable means to be taken to advance the development of this process.

68. Events in South Africa since then, and particularly in the last several months, have dramatically underlined the fact that the time available for achieving peaceful change in the situation is rapidly running out. It is clear to my Government that the continuing disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa are not the results of outside instigation, as the Government of South Africa contends, but reflect the profound discontent and frustration of the majority of South Africans. The causes of this state of affairs and the need to bring about fundamental changes are self-evident. There are some signs that this truth may now be recognized by an increasing number of people within the white minority itself.

69. However, the Government of South Africa continues to be blind to reality. In October 1974, in the Security

⁴ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Special Political Committee, 963rd meeting*.

Council, the South African representative announced his Government's intention to do away with any discrimination based on race.⁵ Instead of taking steps to eliminate progressively its racially discriminatory laws and practices (as some observers had hoped it would last year), that Government instead last spring deemed it necessary to introduce even more restrictive legislation to counteract dissent. Seemingly oblivious to the continuing deterioration of its domestic as well as international position, it has obstinately proceeded with its policy of "bantustanization".

70. The most dismaying indication of the extent of the Government of South Africa's inability to understand the forces in motion in South Africa today is its handling of the disturbances which began last June and which have continued almost without a break. It is difficult for us to comprehend the severity of the measures it has taken against its own people. My Government was appalled by the violence that led to the deaths of over 170 persons, including many children, in three days. My Government can far more easily understand the frustrations and discontent which underlay this expression of massive dissent than it can ever hope to understand the cruel and insensitive reaction of the South African Government, which quite properly earned the condemnation of the United Nations Security Council and the international community. Canada considered it necessary to inform the South African Government directly of its shock at the severity of that Government's reprisals and of Canada's conviction that such developments were clearly the result of the repressive *apartheid* policies.

71. Since June, the situation has deteriorated even further. Discontent has been manifested in more violent, more frequent and more widespread demonstrations. Over 300 protesters have been killed and many hundreds more have been wounded by the agents of the South African Government. Paralleling this misuse of the civil power, that Government also has utilized massive political repression by arresting thousands of "potential" dissenters, some on very flimsy grounds indeed. The South African Government has even found it necessary to arrest several newspapermen both black and white, whose "crime", it would appear, was to report the reality of the troubled South African racial situation.

72. It is clear that the recent course of events in South Africa has ominous implications for the prospects of peace in that country. For those of us still anxious to encourage peaceful change in South Africa, there yet remains some hope that the situation may not deteriorate progressively into outright civil war. Increasingly, reports from that unhappy country indicate that important elements of the ruling minority are profoundly in disagreement with their Government's policies and are calling for reform. Despite the heavy cost in lives, the African majority is courageously refusing to submit any longer. Even those of their spokesmen to whom that Government consents to listen, the "bantustan" leaders, have clearly expressed their total rejection of the Government's policies. The growing weight of international censure is also being felt.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1800th meeting*.

73. We recognize that our hope for peaceful solutions is a tenuous one. It is quite simply founded upon the belief that the present Government of South Africa and its supporters cannot, in their own long-term interests, continue to be blind to the need to face reality. Nevertheless, we are not encouraged by statements such as that delivered by Prime Minister Vorster on 13 October 1976, rejecting calls for changes. We must intensify our pressures on the South African Government to heed the cries for justice within and without its borders.

74. We have heard during the past few weeks appeals for the true friends of Africa, and of the majority people of southern Africa, to stand up and be counted. Canadians count themselves among the true friends of Africa.

75. We try to show our friendship and concern for southern Africa in a very tangible way. Canada is one of the most important supporters of, and contributors to, the United Nations and other multilateral funds which have been established to assist the African peoples of southern Africa. Our contribution to these funds in the present year amount to more than \$800,000. Our bilateral programmes of development assistance to the countries of southern Africa, namely Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Mozambique, are now in the order of \$54 million each year and they continue to grow. In addition, Canada is one of the five or six major contributors to all United Nations, Commonwealth and other multilateral programmes which also assist the independent countries of southern Africa. We engage in this development co-operation in order to contribute to the development of these countries and to assist in their task of building societies with social and economic justice for all their citizens, societies which will stand as an affront to the racist theories of minority régimes, which suggest that stability, justice and civilization will be undermined should the majority African peoples of their countries be permitted a full and equal voice in the government of those countries.

76. Canada has also shown its support for efforts to bring about change in southern Africa by voluntarily placing, in 1963, an embargo on the sale of military equipment to the Government of South Africa, and by extending this embargo to the export of spare parts for such equipment in 1970, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

77. We also support the sports boycott of South Africa as a further mechanism to encourage change. My Government refuses any moral or financial support to Canadian individuals or teams which decide to compete in South Africa and to any sporting event held in Canada in which South African teams participate. We support this boycott because sport in South Africa, by law, is organized on a racial basis contrary to the Olympic principle. What is equally important is that we support the boycott as a means to bring the international rejection of the *apartheid* system to the attention of individual white South Africans.

78. The South African Government seeks to counter these pressures by making superficial changes to give the appearance of integration in sports, in the hope that sporting organizations will come to believe that fundamental change

is taking place. An example of the confusion which can be generated was the Olympiad for the Physically Disabled, held in Toronto, Canada, this summer. For this occasion, the South African Government gave specific permission for the sending of an integrated team to Toronto in the obvious hope that South African participation would thus be acceptable to Canada and the international community. It was clear to my Government, however, that this unique exception to the South African Government's general policy was only a further refinement of that Government's cosmetic and highly selective approach to effecting changes in its sports policy, and that this isolated example was in no way indicative of any fundamental change in that policy. My Government urged the organizers of the Games for the Disabled to understand the importance of the international sporting boycott of South Africa and to recognize that the boycott's goal was not to have the occasional multicoloured team from South Africa show up for such events, but to obtain those fundamental changes that Canada and the international community consider so necessary. Regrettably, the Olympiad organizers did not agree with my Government's position and persisted in permitting this team to participate. Hence, my Government decided that it was obliged to withdraw its support for the Games and directed these funds, instead, into sports programmes for the physically disabled people of Canada. It is noteworthy that, in the event, many delegations felt obliged to withdraw from those Games when it was clear that a South African team was to participate.

79. Since that time, the South African Government has made some further concessions in this area of its *apartheid* policies. However, it is very obvious that these concessions are much like those of the past, largely cosmetic and still far from adequate. Anyone with any doubts about this has only to look to the arrest this month of eight white South African sportsmen who dared to defy their Government's segregationist sports policies by playing on the same team with black sportsmen.

80. At the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, the Canadian Government was a sponsor of the draft resolution relating to the sporting boycott of South Africa.⁶ It would hope to be able to continue to support United Nations initiatives on this subject. We have taken note of the suggestion that the Special Committee against *Apartheid* explore the possibility of drawing up a convention against sporting contacts with South Africa. We would recommend that any working group appointed by that Committee explore all options, including that of a declaration which might be designed to command the widest possible support while not entailing the delays, complexities and pitfalls of an international legal instrument.

81. In the same spirit, the Canadian Government has made clear its firm rejection of the bantustan policy of the Government of South Africa. We cannot accept a system which allocates to 80 per cent of the population of South Africa rights in only 13 per cent of the territory, and which spuriously represents this as "self-determination". For this reason, my Government does not recognize the independence of the Transkei. To do so would legitimize the

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 53, document A/10342, para. 20.

perverse policy of *apartheid*. My Government adheres to the position that all South Africans have the right to share equally in the political, social and economic development of their country.

82. My Government has noted that the leaders of nearly all of the other "bantustans" in South Africa have also rejected the independence of the Transkei. We welcome this action, as we welcome their further rejection of the whole concept of *apartheid*. In the face of such complete opposition, we believe that the South African Government will have no other choice but to recognize that its policy of "separate development" is bankrupt.

83. The Canadian Government has urged the minority in South Africa and their Government to accept the fact that fundamental change in South Africa is inevitable and that the time period in which such change can be brought about by peaceful means is very restricted. The events of the past year demonstrate visibly that the time remaining for effective peaceful change is growing shorter day by day. We believe that our individual and collective efforts must be intensified and harmonized; we believe that no opportunity should be missed to expose the Government of South Africa and its electorate to unanimous and relentless international pressures which demand action and change. Change is bound to come. South Africans of all races must face up to that fact and develop a new relationship. If conditions of chronic turbulence which risk deterioration into civil war, with its attendant toll of human tragedy, are to be avoided, change must take place, not 10 years hence, not five years hence, but now.

84. Mr. UMBA-DI-LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination proclaimed and institutionalized by the Government of South Africa is one of the greatest outrages and tragedies of our time. How is it possible for mankind today, which has overcome major diseases and has so proudly reached the moon and other planets, to remain powerless and unresponsive to these barbaric acts and violations of human dignity? Admittedly, mankind has never been without blemish, but we are surely justified in thinking that certain monstrous acts should no longer be possible in the twentieth century, especially when committed by those who claim to come from a democratic and humanist civilization. Moreover, one would have to go back very far in history to find such indescribable conduct. Indeed, what difference is there between the behaviour of the régime of Pretoria and that of ancient Rome, when human beings were thrown to wild beasts in the arena? But at least in ancient Rome the colour of the skin was not used as a criterion to decide who should be thrown to the beasts. One cannot but conclude that mankind in this area and, regrettably, in other areas as well, has only regressed. That must be our conclusion as we compare the atrocities of South Africa to the acts committed by the Nazi régime in the modern age. Must we not think that the proponents of *apartheid* could easily have been the very persons who cheated the gallows at Nuremberg?

85. Perhaps it would be best to begin at the beginning. What is truly the issue? Some benighted souls would have it that what is at issue is the apparently harmless theory of the separate development of the races. That theory, though,

is worthy of condemnation, for it implies that there is one superior race which must be safeguarded for it might be bastardized by contact with an inferior race. When one is familiar with the frightful realities behind this ignominious term of *apartheid*, then one is entitled to wonder whether it is not some terrible dream. The term means the denial of the black man; it signifies racial discrimination, sordid exploitation, brutal repression and much, much more.

86. South African propaganda has long bent over backwards to get people to believe that its régime is no worse than any others and that the blacks in South Africa were far better off than the blacks in other African countries. First of all, that is not true. But even if it were, why should the standard of the black in South Africa be used in assessing the conditions of blacks in other African countries; why not that of the whites in South Africa? After all, whites and blacks live in the same country there. In any case, we know that these assertions are a lie and that South Africa is a hell for the blacks.

87. As long as there was only seething anger there that did not break out in violent action, South Africa could well proclaim that the blacks in the country did not want any better conditions and that protests against its criminal policies were only provocations by outside agitators. In reality, the system of repression created by the racist authorities was so harsh that it was not possible for the majority to speak out in protest; or rather, they did protest, but the news black-out was such as to make us depend on leaks for the bits of information we received.

88. Then the bubble burst and there was Sharpeville. But people of ill will said that that was but an isolated event, easily understood in the life of a country, and certainly not apt to recur. Soweto, with the suffering, tears, killing, repression and bloodshed which came in its aftermath, finally removed the veil. Now, no excuses can any longer be accepted. The truth must be faced squarely: the racial policies of South Africa are odious. They are so reprehensible that even certain South African whites of average honesty are now obliged to fight it at the cost of their lives and freedom. No better proof can be found of this than those whites who are fighting against their own Government to denounce its wrongdoings against the blacks.

89. It would be superfluous for me now once again to try to describe in detail a situation which is so familiar—a situation which the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the principal bodies of the United Nations have condemned time and time again.

90. Furthermore, the report presented by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, a report which my delegation fully endorses, is sufficiently eloquent in this connexion. The revelations of this report, and everything that we had already known before reading the report, can only repel us. There is only one appropriate conclusion: the situation must not be allowed to continue.

91. A beleaguered South Africa, hemmed in on all sides, had agreed to alter its policies. But what is a promise by South Africa worth? How can a country be so two-faced as to promise change and then go ahead with the bantustan plan? Fortunately, the international community, or at least

part of it, remained lucid and vigilant. It formally rejected the sham act of independence and, when confronted with the fait accompli, refused to countenance the deed. So it was that an overwhelming majority adopted here on 26 October 1976 the resolution on this subject, although certain abstentions and reservations are very much to be deplored. How can the very principle of the bantustans be accepted?

92. First of all, this is unjustified Balkanization of South African territory, which is not the sole property of the racist authorities in power. Secondly, the whites have seized for themselves the most important and fertile land so that these phantom States are, in fact, reservations where human beings are herded like beasts of burden.

93. Finally, by setting up these bantustans, South Africa has made it abundantly clear that it has created a category of lesser men who are to be denied the advantages of full citizenship simply because they have black skin.

94. The United Nations has perceived this situation correctly, and in the face of the obstinacy of the South African authorities, it has decided to put pressure on South Africa by means of a series of measures and machinery aimed at isolating and weakening it in an attempt to bring it to reason and to force it to heed the dictates of justice. Still it is frustrating to see South Africa still blithely flouting the international community. In his statement in July last in the Security Council on the subject of the South Africa commando unit which killed 40 human beings in Zambia,⁷ the Egyptian delegation totalled the number of times that South Africa had been condemned by the United Nations for its criminal policies. The number of condemnations was impressive.

95. Yet South Africa continues to trample underfoot these warnings and condemnations because it does not feel isolated or weakened. Not only has trade with the country been encouraged, but, what is more, its military might has been strengthened and consistently sustained by the most powerful countries in the West. Why should the obstinacy of the racist authorities in the circumstances not be made that much more stubborn?

96. Those Powers who get around or violate the resolutions of the General Assembly do so for reasons which are all too easy to imagine. The financial interests in South Africa go hand in hand with business interests in the West and they stand to gain a good deal by prolonging the injustice and sordid exploitation in South Africa, the better, obviously, to prosper.

97. I should like to buttress that assertion with the following facts. Very recently some news causing considerable scandal has been added to the already large number of atrocities committed by South Africa. It was learned that, with the complicity of the Department of Health of the racist Government, a South African company was using the mentally ill to produce, at prices far below the competition, articles for certain Western companies. Not only were those individuals obviously not receiving any

salary, but they were forced to sleep on the ground and, what is more, they were poorly taken care of, the only therapy that they received being shock treatments. When those reports were made public and world public opinion was aroused, the South African Government decided that anything regarding the mentally ill was confidential and the publication of that kind of information would be punishable severely.

98. As is obvious, Western companies who are involved in such doings are hardly concerned over the democratization of South Africa. They are in fact fishing in troubled waters and, what is more, their policies are short-sighted, for they fail to realize that, over the long-term, their policies are doomed to failure.

99. Scarcely a week ago, in the Fourth Committee, a draft resolution on foreign private interests which could curb the process leading to the independence of colonial States [A/31/301, para. 8] was adopted. Some delegations voted against the resolution saying that it might discourage private investment in the third world, which, it was asserted, needs foreign capital. That is sophistry pure and simple, and cannot be accepted. It is true that the newly independent States need assistance and foreign capital, but always provided that their political systems and independence be respected.

100. The example that I have just mentioned shows that neither the means nor the ends of certain questionable investments, contrary to the interests of public order and human dignity, can be accepted. We accept and we seek only capital that is part of the social and political context determined by our Government. On the other hand, any assistance and any investments which are part of racist policies and part of exploitation or which will bring us only grief are to be rejected out of hand. We know that peaceful means will elicit nothing good from the racist authorities in Pretoria. We do, however, believe that the Western friends of South Africa perceive that the policies of *apartheid* are in fact a dead-end street. That is why we would ask them once again not to continue to encourage, wittingly or unwittingly, South Africa in its crimes.

101. Even if, as has been said, money does not smell, there is at least some morality in business. And South Africa constantly violates the fundamental and elementary principles underlying the so-called liberal humanitarian civilization of the West. We doubt that South Africa will ever show good faith in the question of Namibia. Yet Namibia is but a stage and there can be no peace and coexistence with South Africa as long as the policies of *apartheid* continue, as long as the majority has not recovered its rights.

102. Further to that, obviously my delegation fully subscribes to the conclusions of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* as set forth in its report.

103. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): It is regrettable that, instead of being able to achieve consensus on a subject which calls for such consensus, it has again this year not been possible to do so because of the injection by the Arab delegations of irrelevancies into the debate and of a discordant note which is the invariable result of their interventions. Not only are they busy tearing each other and the Middle East apart,

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1945th meeting.*

their various agreements notwithstanding, but they will not be satisfied until they tear this Organization apart too.

104. The African world has been striving to achieve a modicum of consensus on the issue of *apartheid*, but the Arabs, with their traditional approach of disdain towards the African world, have chosen to prejudice any prospect of achieving consensus on what is close to the hearts of the Africans. Driven by their old rivalries, hatreds and illogical and immature approaches, they have ignored the interests of the African world in order to advance their goal of the destruction of a Member State, regardless of whether such action prejudices moves against racism and racial discrimination. Why should they care, since many of them have written into their constitutions principles and laws based on racism and racial discrimination and laws which, when applied in some of their countries, discriminate, amongst others, against Jews, against women and against blacks? Small wonder therefore that in their inevitable exercise in hypocrisy, they see in the struggle of the black people merely an opportunity to pursue their own narrow and destructive aims in this body.

105. Last year they succeeded in alienating a considerable and important part of the world from any association with the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and they continue to do so this year. It is the Arab countries that have launched an attack on Israel in this debate and, therefore, introduced the irrelevancies.

106. Those who raise their voices in this debate against us are the very countries which have not the slightest interest in advancing the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in this world.

107. Many African leaders and writers are very concerned about this new exercise in neo-colonialism by a number of Arab States, whereby they attempt to impose their will in matters irrelevant to the African world on the Africans and whereby they make promises which are never honoured, proffer blandishments which never materialize, issue veiled threats which are a violation of national sovereignty against countries which fought for that sovereignty, and behave in international conferences such as this one as if they owned the place, without regard to national feelings, national dignity and national sovereignty.

108. Each and every one here knows what I mean. Many representatives seated here today have spoken openly about their feeling of frustration when this occurs.

109. This situation has been noted by many leading and important Africans. Thus in *West Africa*, a periodical published by African intellectuals, I read an article saying: "It seems that the Arabs identify with the black Africans only because of their votes in the United Nations and other conferences".

110. Discussing the Arab-African relationship, the *Zambia Daily Mail* not so long ago commented acidly: "This is a tacit example that the Arabs, our former slave masters, are not prepared to abandon their horse-and-rider partnership". And in dealing with the subject which we are now discussing in the United Nations the *Times of Zambia* has labelled Arab behaviour in this respect as "the big Arab let-down", and let-down it is if you only knew the facts.

111. The position of my Government with regard to *apartheid* has been stated time and again and it remains unchanged. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, Mr. Yigal Allon, stated our position before the General Assembly on 7 October 1976, in unequivocal terms:

"Racism and racial discrimination, in any guise, including *apartheid*, are abhorrent to my country and my people. The basic tenets of Judaism are irreconcilable with any form of racism and racial discrimination."
[22nd meeting, para. 148.]

112. We are the people who brought to the world the concept that God created man—all men—in His own image. We are the people who brought to the world in our Bible the ideal that "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". We are the people who announced to the world "And thou shalt proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof", a proclamation engraved on the Liberty Bell of the United States. We are the people who brought the principle to the world that "One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you".

113. The Jewish people is proud of the fact that the founding father of modern zionism, Theodor Herzl, was one of the first to speak out in this world on racism in Africa. Long before it became fashionable to speak of the misfortune of the blacks in Africa, he wrote in 1902, I repeat "in 1902", in his classic book *Altneuland*:

"There is still one problem of racial misfortune unsolved. The depths of that problem . . . only a Jew can fathom. I mean the negro problem. . . . Think of the hair-raising horrors of the slave trade. Human beings, because their skins are black are stolen, carried off, and sold. Their descendants grow up in alien surroundings, despised and hated because their skin is differently pigmented. I am not ashamed to say . . . now that I have lived to see the restoration of the Jews, I should like to pave the way for the restoration of the Negroes."⁸

This was written in 1902 by the founder of modern political zionism and it leads one to wonder who else came out in support of the Africans 74 years ago?

114. What did the Arab States—who are so fond of attacking Israel now—what did they do in 1902?

115. You know as well as I do.

116. We are a multiracial people of all colours, hues, and backgrounds, whose religion can be freely adopted by all, regardless of their race, colour or sex, and it lies not in the mouths of those racist régimes and despotisms, which engage in their interminable diatribe against Israel in this forum, so much as to mention the word "freedom". It is beyond them—they would not understand its meaning!

117. The enemies of Israel in this Organization have repeatedly singled Israel out for special treatment on the

⁸ See Theodor Herzl, *Old-New Land ("Altneuland")* (New York, Bloch Publishing Co., 1941), p. 170.

question of its links with South Africa. This treatment is nothing but discrimination against Israel, and it is not justified both in view of the facts and in view of the established practice of the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies.

118. Israel's relationship with South Africa is nothing we wish to hide, for it is based on the belief, shared by many other countries, that the process of dialogue, of exchanges of views, of talking and of endeavouring to influence and convince is the only method to bring about a settlement of conflicts and disputes. Not only has this method been adopted in most cases of conflict around the world and has proved successful, but these very days we witness how much progress can be made in bringing peace to southern Africa through the process of dialogue and of negotiations.

119. The Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, elaborated on this principle in an interview with the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* on 30 April 1976:

"The State of Israel is following a clear line of principle—we maintain relations in the international arena with every State without regard to its domestic régime. Of course, Israel reserves for itself the right to consider and appraise different régimes according to our own moral scale of values. We maintained full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union without regard to its domestic régime, in spite of its policy of oppression towards its Jewish community. . . . If, tomorrow, Syria should want to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, we shall not tell the Syrians that, as long as there is no democracy in Syria, we shall not maintain diplomatic relations with them. More than once, Israel has undergone the experience that, in the international constellation, there have been countries which preferred to maintain relations with us under-the-counter . . . I am persuaded that, within the international constellation, relations ought to be above board, and that each State ought to maintain relations of discourse with every other State without reference to its domestic régime, its way of life or its social outlook. Only on such a basis is it possible, in this world, to carry on a dialogue which will better the chances of peace and keep the chances of war at a distance."

120. We must ask ourselves the simple question; Are we to adopt the politically immature and obstinate attitude of the Arab countries, which believe that peace can be achieved through acrimonious debates, or are we to employ that very method that has brought peace to most of the world, namely, the method of dialogue and persuasion?

121. If you wish to discuss visits by South African officials, so be it—but let us discuss all visits to all countries in all continents. If you wish to publish United Nations reports on visits by South African officials, then report on all visits to all countries in all continents, including visits by Arab delegations to South Africa. Let us not be selective because this is dishonest and my delegation is determined not to allow this dishonesty to continue without the record being set straight.

122. If anybody here suggests that the visit of a national leader automatically implies the acquiescence of the host

state in the political, social or economic policies of the visitor, then I fear we may all find ourselves in a rather awkward, embarrassing and untenable situation—all of us without any exception.

123. The same despicable principle of selectivity and discrimination also has been applied to the question of Israel's trade with South Africa. Despite the fact that the majority of the countries represented in this hall actively trade with South Africa, it is Israel that is accorded special treatment in this body and in United Nations reports.

124. Let me quote last month's issue of the monthly newspaper of the United Nations Association in an article entitled "Who Trades with South Africa":

"The list of nations which currently trade with South Africa is as long as, and in many cases identical with, the roll call of states which have proclaimed their hostility to the apartheid régime. As indicated above it includes all manner of countries, rich and poor, communist and non-communist . . .".⁹

125. There exists, believe it or not, as you are all aware, a United Nations report which is totally devoted to Israel's relations with South Africa. Why does there exist a special report only on Israel's relations with South Africa? Why are there no special reports on the relations with South Africa of each of the countries mentioned in the Khalifa report?¹⁰ Is it because they are of less consequence? Surely not. The absurd singling out of Israel is the result of the political witch-hunt against Israel which has caused such widespread revulsion the world over, wherever men are free to speak.

126. My delegation is determined not to allow such a double standard to continue, and if this Organization hopes to be regarded in any way as serious, then there is no room in it for such hypocrisy.

127. According to the latest available statistics, the foreign trade of South Africa totalled over \$US 12 billion last year. Of this huge sum Israel's share was less than two fifths of 1 per cent—I repeat, "two fifths of 1 per cent"—infinitely smaller than the share of Arab and many other countries. If two fifths of 1 per cent warrants such extensive reporting in United Nations documents and speeches, then let the same treatment be accorded to all South Africa's trading partners—without exception—on a basis proportional to that accorded to Israel.

128. If trade in the magnitude of two fifths of 1 per cent warrants a report of 29 pages, then what would you say to the trade of the groups represented in this hall with South Africa which dwarf in their scope Israel's share? I am not making unfounded allegations here. Since last year's unwarranted attack on us we have thoroughly researched the subject and discovered a picture of international double-faced hypocrisy which defies all description and which is mind-boggling.

⁹ See "Who Trades with South Africa . . .", *The Inter Dependent*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (October 1976), pp. 1 and 6.

¹⁰ See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/371.

129. We reject out of hand the unbelievable cynicism and duplicity which is reflected in the statements made by some of the Arab representatives here.

130. Thus, for example, one of the parties which has taken the initiative in condemnation of Israel has this year been the Iraqi delegation. The Iraqi Government, devoted as it is to the dignity of man and human rights as reflected in the public hangings of Jews in the main square in Baghdad for the amusement of the citizenry, and as reflected in the brutal hanging of a Dutch Jew who had come to give medical help to the Kurds (the Dutch Foreign Minister publicly expressed the disgust of the people of the Netherlands at this barbaric act), this Iraqi Government which supplies oil to South Africa has had the effrontery to initiate moves here against Israel because of our commercial relations with South Africa which are open, which we do not deny and which we have indeed never denied.

131. It is unbelievable and utterly incredible that a country which, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit's *Special Report*, 32 dated July 1976 at page 18, is one of the suppliers of South Africa's fuel, supplying as it does oil from the Basra fields according to the report, has the brazen audacity even to show its face here, never mind about initiating action against a Member State on the subject of trade with South Africa.

132. The attitude of the Iraqi Government to the question of racism and racial discrimination and *apartheid* and the freedom of men would be a huge joke were it not so utterly tragic.

133. This is a country the brutal record of which in respect to the treatment of the Kurdish minority has been brought before the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, a record which reveals a most terrifying picture of savagery and inhuman treatment. Only last week on 27 October 1976, Amnesty International issued a public international protest about the torture and execution of over 250 Kurds on various occasions in prisons and camps in Iraq. The report describes the death as a result of torture of four schoolboys, aged 14 or 15, after being arrested for distributing political leaflets in Zakho province between July and August this year.

134. The Iraqi Government is engaged in destroying the Kurdish people, but because of the double standard obtaining in this Organization, the issue is ignored here and the Iraqi delegation feels free to prepare resolutions condemning racial discrimination. We have not heard a word about the Kurdish minority in Iraq. We have not heard a word about the Syrian Christian minority, which for years has been tortured and hounded and oppressed in Iraq. Not a word about the oppression of the Turkmen minority in Iraq, about which the Turkish *Son Havadis* of 6 May this year wrote:

"The Turkmen in Iraq are under terrible oppression. Our brothers in Iraq endure cruelty . . . They treat us as slaves. They apply torture to us. There were 5 million Turks in Iraq and now there is only 1 million left. The Turks cannot be applied a Hitler-like racism policy. . . ."

135. The Bahai religion has been banned in Iraq. This is the Government whose representative—representing one of

the most brutal régimes in the world, which has for so long ignored the principles of human dignity and freedom—as its tankers load oil in Basra for South Africa, joins to condemn trade with South Africa. How hypocritical can one be!

136. One of the most vicious attacks in this connexion was made by the representative of Egypt. This attack is incidentally in violation of agreements freely entered into by Egypt a year ago with Israel and the United States. The Egyptian behaviour in the United Nations over the past months in violation of this agreement must surely be a revelation for those who believe that it is possible to make further advances with Egypt on the assumption that it will honour its international agreements. While my Egyptian colleague feels free to attack so vehemently Israel's South African relations I read with interest a report published in the *Sunday Times* of South Africa some months ago:

"South Africa is believed to be building closer ties with Egypt. A senior Government official has made several secret trips to Egypt in recent months and Cairo is mentioned as one of the Arab cities to be visited later this year by a top level South African delegation . . . Covert ties between the two countries have strengthened markedly since Cairo's break with Moscow . . ."

137. Indeed only two months ago on 26 August 1976 I read in *Al Gumhuriya*, published in Cairo, that the Minister of Education of Egypt, Mr. Mustafa Kamal Hilmy, had decided not to send any more Egyptian teachers to South Africa because of the South African policy. In other words, before that date two months ago there were apparently no problems.

138. Perhaps representatives will be interested in details of package tours to Egypt being offered in South Africa as part of the increased tourist trade between the two countries.

139. This double standard does not apply only to Iraq and Egypt. It applies to many other Arab countries. In general, you will discover that the more vehement their attack on Israel, the more vulnerable they are on the subject.

140. I read with interest an article in the South African weekly *Financial Mail* about the various Saudi Arabian bids to the Reserve Bank in Pretoria for gold purchases and the negotiations which have been going on for some time in this respect.

141. The distinguished British writer on African affairs, Colin Legum, described in a most revealing article in the London *Observer* some time ago the visit of a Saudi Arabian trade mission to Pretoria and the various subjects under discussion. According to the well-informed South African weekly, *Financial Mail*, the open flaunting by Saudi Arabia of the economic and diplomatic boycott ordered by OAU is only the tip of the iceberg of developing relations between South Africa and Arab States.

142. This problem was raised by none other than President Nyerere, as reported some time ago when he was addressing a press conference with a visiting group of black American newspapermen. Among other things, he said: "This is basically the Arab problem . . . They buy gold,

most of which comes from South Africa . . . This is Arab money and most of it goes to South Africa . . .”.

143. Or take Kuwait, the principal shareholder in Lonrho, Ltd.—or the London and Rhodesian Corporation to give it its full name—is the Kuwait corporation known as Gulf Fisheries. In addition to this company's holdings, members of the royal family of Kuwait have individual stockholdings and the son-in-law of the ruling Prince of Kuwait sits on the board as does a member of the United Arab Emirates. Of this Kuwaiti-controlled company, 7.4 per cent of the turnover and 16 per cent of the profits derive from its activities in South Africa.

144. I have noted the remarks this morning of the representatives of the Soviet Union with their unwarranted attacks on Israel and the Jewish faith. Their anti-Semitic prejudices blind them on this issue too. But this does not change the fact that they, too, are guilty of this exercise in hypocrisy. In their customary manner, they conveniently ignore an increase in trade between South Africa and the Communist bloc by over 13 per cent between 1974 and 1975. And according to the June 1976 issue of *Africa*, on page 41, one third of the Soviet Union's diamond output is marketed by South African concerns.

145. I could go on and on. Much material is now available on this subject, including South African trade journals and *Direction of Trade*, published by the International Monetary Fund. I see no purpose in spelling out the vast amount of information published on this subject as it is as available to you and to everybody else as it is to us. It must be obvious that in mounting this attack on Israel, the Arab States who live in glass houses are engaging in their time-honoured pastime of throwing stones.

146. You are witnessing here one of the most disgusting exhibitions of double talk, two-faced duplicity and unashamed hypocrisy. If you do not wish to engage in the cynical practice of selectivity and discrimination being practised here then you must open all the books for all to see, and publish all the trades of all the blocs with every country. The most blatant example of this kind of hypocrisy is the allegation of Israeli arms sales to South Africa. I urge each and every one of you to open the *Military Balance*¹¹ on pages 44 and 45 and read the list of tanks, artillery, aircraft, destroyers, and submarines that comprise the large and modernly equipped armed forces of South Africa. It is quite evident that it is not Israel that supplied them.

147. In conclusion, if this issue is to be raised, it must be raised in respect of everybody. Let us receive a full account of all trade, investment, tourism, gold purchases, oil supplies, visits and diplomatic and other relations, overt and covert, before passing judgement. Let us open all the books for all to see and let us publish reports on all trade by every bloc. Let us cease this ugly practice of selectivity and discrimination. If this Organization is to have any credibility, this exercise in international hypocrisy must stop.

148. Hypocrisy is a boomerang and those who throw it should not be surprised if it returns to haunt them.

¹¹ *The Military Balance: 1976-1977* (London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1976).

149. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): For 30 years now, the General Assembly as well as the other organs of this Organization and the specialized agencies of the United Nations have been discussing the question of *apartheid* and have been adopting decisions each year condemning the atrocities and the monstrous policy of *apartheid*, which is not only an outrage to human conscience but also constitutes a genuine threat to peace and security. The international community has been expressing its growing indignation at the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa. Last year our Assembly adopted a large number of decisions, particularly those contained in resolution 3411 (XXX) of 28 November 1975, and these decisions denounce and firmly condemn the Vorster régime and the countries which collaborate with it.

150. But far from submitting to the will of the international community, the racist régime of Pretoria continues to flout the pertinent resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and those of the various United Nations organs by perpetuating its repressive policy and its criminal actions against the vast majority of the black population of South Africa. The racist régime is becoming ever more deeply involved in its criminal policy of *apartheid* by extending it beyond the borders of South Africa, thus dangerously threatening peace and security in this part of the world.

151. Since last year the consequences of this inhuman policy of *apartheid* have assumed new proportions, thereby increasingly exposing the international community to a situation which at any moment may precipitate further bloody clashes, thereby disturbing international peace and security.

152. This year the examination of the question of *apartheid* in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly clearly shows the great preoccupation of the international community in the face of this grave situation. Our Assembly has before it several reports by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which not only contain an account of its activities but also information on the practices of *apartheid* endured by the black population of southern Africa. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to this Committee, specifically to its Chairman and all its members for their laudable efforts to eliminate the scourge of *apartheid*.

153. My delegation is greatly preoccupied by the aggravation of the situation in South Africa as a result of the most barbarous policy of repression of the racist régime of South Africa against the innocent persons and the opponents of *apartheid*. During the past few months the Vorster régime has carried out its diabolical plans of bantustanization whose purpose is to divide in order to rule, to exploit and to massacre the black population of South Africa and to destroy its national unity with the object of perpetuating the domination of the white minority.

154. The artificial independence which the racist régime of Pretoria has just given to Transkei and will ultimately be giving to other bantustans, under the Status of Transkei Act, apart from the fact that it is a colossal political hoax, is clear evidence of the will of Vorster to apply to the limit

the criminal policy that he is pursuing. My delegation vigorously condemns this proclamation of independence and would in no way wish to recognize this phantom State. My delegation has already had occasion clearly to state its position on this question by becoming a sponsor of the draft resolution adopted last week by our General Assembly as resolution 31/6 A and which condemned and vigorously rejected the proclamation of independence of Transkei.

155. Now, it may perhaps be useful and not too late to recall to Vorster and his henchmen that the proclamation of the shameful independence of Transkei—which may be followed by that of a certain number of other Transkeis—would in no way resolve their problems. The only honourable course for them is to put an end once and for all to their abominable policy of *apartheid*, a policy condemned by mankind as a whole.

156. Wherever a population is subjected to oppression and exploitation, the struggle is a strong one. The case of Soweto is the best example. We all know that for some considerable time now the racist régime of South Africa has inflicted indescribable sufferings upon the black population of South Africa, either by transferring it forcibly in order to place it in the service of the racist minority or foreign interests, or by inflicting discrimination upon it for the simple reason that it is of a different colour, or, again, by arresting and savagely persecuting innocent Africans.

157. Yet the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their freedom is a just and legitimate one and the Pretoria régime itself seems to be perfectly aware of this since, in the face of increasing victories of the freedom fighters, the national liberation movements and the anti-racist organizations, it has been forced to make a number of concessions to the councils of the so-called bantustans. But this is a grotesque manoeuvre aimed at lulling the watchfulness of the fighting people so that it may have its hands free to perpetuate the criminal policy of *apartheid*. In any event, the South African people is not deceived and its struggle against oppression will assume a far greater dimension and will have the support of all the peoples who love peace and justice.

158. For its part, my delegation approves and vigorously supports the legitimate struggle waged by this people for its inalienable right to self-determination and independence and firmly supports the movements fighting against *apartheid*.

159. For many years, appeals and exhortations have been addressed to the South African régime urging it to put an end to its policy of *apartheid* and to apply to the black population of South Africa a more civilized policy. At the same time, appeals and exhortations have also been directed to certain Western countries and to certain other countries asking them to stop collaborating with the racist régime of South Africa and to co-operate with the United Nations in its effort to eliminate *apartheid*. Only last year our General Assembly, in its resolution 3411 (XXX) of 28 November 1975, reiterated its appeal to the same countries.

160. What is regrettable, however, is that this appeal was not heeded by these countries which, although they solemnly condemn *apartheid*, continue to collaborate with

the South African racist régime in the most diversified fields, in particular in the financing and development of the capacity to produce the most modern weapons in South Africa. This collaboration, as my delegation sees it, merely consolidates and institutionalizes *apartheid* in South Africa. In acting in this way, these countries have consciously been bringing grist to the racist mill, which is at the end of its resources, in order to help it perpetuate its domination and most barbarous oppression of the overwhelming majority of the South African population.

161. Such actions are not without serious danger for front-line African countries, as well as for other independent countries of the same continent. My delegation, which has always vigorously condemned the policy of *apartheid* and has lent its firmest support to the struggle of the peoples in this part of the world for dignity and national independence, will again associate itself this year with other delegations in energetically condemning the odious policy of *apartheid* and denouncing the countries which collaborate in its survival.

162. The acts of violence committed by the racist régime have assumed such magnitude that we would be remiss in our duty were we to remain indifferent or passive. The massacres of schoolchildren and of innocent persons at Soweto and in other parts of South Africa, the mass repression, the arrests and arbitrary detentions as well as the acts of aggression against the international territory of Namibia and against independent front-line African countries committed by the racist régime of Vorster are a serious threat to peace and security in this part of the world.

163. In view of this escalation of violence and threats against the oppressed people and against sovereign States of Africa, it is a matter of urgency that our Organization should take the necessary measures to put an end for all time to the serious threat of war posed by the policy of *apartheid* of the racist South African régime.

164. To this end, the International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa which was organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* at Havana last May recommended a number of measures which are now before this General Assembly for consideration [see A/31/104].

165. My delegation wishes to congratulate the Special Committee on having taken the initiative to organize this seminar, whose results are to be found in the text of the Declaration and Programme of Action of the Seminar, a text which has already captured considerable international attention, especially at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU. The results of the work of the seminar, in the opinion of my delegation, are a mortal blow to the racist régime of South Africa; those results therefore call for very careful consideration by our General Assembly.

166. Moreover, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last August at Colombo, likewise adopted a number of vigorous decisions regarding the policy of *apartheid*, thus unequivocally reflecting the determination of peoples who love freedom

and justice to eliminate for all time this abominable policy, which is a blot on the dignity of mankind.

167. OAU, for its part, has also vigorously condemned the racist South African régime and has adopted even firmer measures against it.

168. From the foregoing, it is apparent that the international community wants to strike a decisive blow against the odious *apartheid* régime. Our General Assembly will surely, this year, adopt the same attitude as the other international bodies concerned. As far as my delegation is concerned, we shall support all actions aimed at the complete and rapid elimination of *apartheid*. We thus approve all the measures recommended by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which are submitted for our consideration.

169. On numerous occasions, our country has stated most clearly our position with respect to the criminal policy of *apartheid*. Thus, in his address to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Mr. Souphanouvong, President of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, stated:

"We vigorously denounce the authorities of South Africa, supported by the imperialist countries, in their practice of repression and racial discrimination against the black populations of Africa. We firmly support the national liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and others."

170. Only recently, on 5 October 1976, our Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Phoun Sipraseuth, stated the following from this rostrum:

"We condemn the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, which is now savagely persecuting the African people, and we protest against the imperialists, who, in collusion with the *apartheid* South African régime, are seeking to delay the granting of autonomy to the peoples of South Africa." [17th meeting, para. 105.]

171. It is obvious from these statements that the dangerous situation prevailing in South Africa and in southern Africa is the result of the actions of the imperialists to perpetuate colonial domination. At all international gatherings, the imperialists are on the side of the racist South African régime and on the spot they are providing this régime with the most modern and sophisticated weaponry. The triple veto cast in the Security Council at the time of the vote on the draft resolution recently submitted by the African countries proposing the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa is the clearest evidence of the collusion of the imperialists. This veto, which comes at a time when the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is winning greater and greater victories in the history of the fight of the African peoples for freedom and justice, puts the proponents of *apartheid* and the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists collaborating with them in an international situation which is more difficult than ever before. On the spot they are reacting in an extremely brutal way by savagely persecuting innocent populations, as happened at Soweto.

172. But the people of Laos, together with all other peoples who love freedom, justice, and progress in the world, will always be on the side of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and elsewhere who are fighting for their just cause. The cruel oppression now being inflicted upon the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe cannot extinguish the tradition of struggle of those peoples for their independence and dignity. It will merely provide greater encouragement to this struggle in order to isolate and totally defeat the Fascist South African régime and the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists.

173. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): *Apartheid* is a Fascist system in its substance and in its flesh. That is why it has always called forth unanimous condemnation on the part of the United Nations. However, with the exception of the vigorous action of the national liberation movements and the many resolutions adopted against it by the United Nations to arouse world public opinion, there has been nothing concrete to prevent that system from being set up in southern Africa. Quite the contrary, *apartheid* has spread. Today it is a monster which has extended its tentacles to Zimbabwe and Namibia. It has as guinea pigs tens of millions of human beings subject to a system approaching slavery because the colour of their skin is not the same as that of the white supporters of the régime in South Africa. It is the worst form of aggression that the world has seen since the end of the Second World War. One must consider, then, the whys and wherefores of the system. How is it that a system apparently condemned by everyone has none the less become a challenge to the United Nations?

174. We hold that *apartheid* is a Fascist policy—an assertion which is easy to prove. It is clear that Nazi Germany and South Africa had very close ties. Many documents, German newspapers and studies by researchers published within the United Nations have provided absolute proof of the nature of those so-called privileged ties.

175. There is more than just a resemblance between the two systems. There are identical views in the way the two systems regard the black man. In the powerful, mythological empire that Hitler dreamt of building from Africa to Europe, the blacks were only to provide labour for the prosperity of the empire. We would note in passing that this concept of the black man's role did not come from Hitler. History has taught us that many even big countries largely owe their economic prosperity to the labour of millions of black slaves kidnapped from Africa. Today, this phenomenon continues, although in more subtle forms. The deterioration of the terms of trade is but a euphemistic way of describing the exploitation of the peasants and workers of the developing countries by the industrialized countries. Is this so far from Hitler's theories?

176. But let us return to the subject of *apartheid*, since that is the question at hand. The social system, then, in South Africa has given a certain role to black men and any others resembling them, however slightly. This is the identical role in the myth created by Hitler. In South Africa, in Zimbabwe and in Namibia non-whites have but numerical and operational value. They have a licence number; they are beasts of burden. They are not entirely animals however, because in spite of their serfdom, they

remain thinking persons. We will return to this point. Let us say in summary that there is no need to juggle statistics or to set forth again in detail how they have been humiliated to appreciate the shameful prosperity of the whites and the wretchedness of the blacks due to *apartheid* in South Africa.

177. Starting in 1937, Nazi Germany established diplomatic relations with South Africa. Documents printed by the United Nations show that those relations came about as a result of a legation being set up in Pretoria and consulates in Bloemfontein, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Windhoek. In exchange, the Union of South Africa had a legation in Berlin and a consulate in Hamburg. To this one might add that, as in Hitler's Germany, Nazi cells were functioning in the Union of South Africa and in South West Africa. That shows the very special nature of the relations existing between Pretoria and Berlin.

178. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two capitals was merely the outward expression of co-operation going back to 1934. It was then that the Nazi Party had established relations with a Fascist organization in South Africa known as the Broederbond or League of Brothers. Malan and Verwoerd were among the most active members of that association. Hitler sent Count von Durkheim Montmartin to that organization to negotiate regarding the possibility of putting South Africa on the side of the Nazis in the event of a world-wide conflict.

179. The proponents of the system of *apartheid* are then, properly speaking, Nazis. Their political system shows this, both in form and in substance. A few examples taken from Notes and Documents No. 12/76 of the United Nations deserve special mention:

"The Nazis had designed an 'arbeitsbuch', an employment book, for their colonies. This book was compulsory for Africans.

"The book was divided into three parts, giving information on the employment, taxation and the health of its possessor. In south Africa, 'every African who has attained the age of 16 years must be in possession of a Reference Book'."¹²

180. The Nazi law stated in article I, paragraph 1:

"For the employment of workers and on the instructions of the governor, an employment book shall be introduced for all male (non-white) workers who have reached the age of 16 years . . ."¹³

181. Not only then is there agreement as far as age is concerned in the two cases, but, more particularly, the two are identical in their discriminatory nature. Lastly, both laws were directed against non-whites. The only difference is that the Nazi booklet was kept by the head of the undertaking; the Verwoerd régime required that the non-white worker carry the booklet at all times.

¹² See A. Kum'a N'dumbe, "Relations between Nazi Germany and South Africa" in Notes and Documents of the Centre against *Apartheid*, No. 12/76 (May 1976), p. 12.

¹³ *Ibid.*

182. Likewise, two Nazi decrees regarding land ownership in the colonies allowed whites to acquire land and to guarantee their rights by entry in the land registry. That right was denied the blacks, so that they could not own land.

183. In South Africa, the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and other acts stipulated that no African could acquire land in freehold in any part of South Africa.

184. There is no need to give you further examples of this. Let me simply say that the laws on marriage, labour and racial segregation are virtually a facsimile of Hitler's legislation for his German colonies. The Fascist dictator was not able to put his plans into effect. However, today his spiritual heirs in South Africa are executing his plans in his name.

185. A serious theoretical question arises, however. In opposing fascism, were the Western Powers fighting to recover liberty and democracy, or was their quarrel with Hitler the fact that he was inflicting on other whites a treatment reserved for blacks? Considering the open and massive aid given to South Africa today, that question seems particularly relevant. It is here, in the United Nations, that the United Nations must answer it.

186. It is a fact that by their partiality and hypocrisy, their concern to condemn South Africa in words while at the same time helping it to strengthen its military and economic potential, certain countries—which claim, moreover, to be "friends of the Africans"—have already answered the question. Their choice lay between the blacks and the whites, and quite naturally they have chosen the whites. Is it a mere coincidence that the countries that have acted in this way are European countries? In truth, the Fascists in South Africa are not alone. They have many counterparts throughout the world, particularly in Europe and the United States. That is the only logical conclusion we can draw from the refusal of the Western Powers to combat fascism with armed force simply because it is practised in Africa, against non-whites.

187. Worse still, when the question arises of adopting sanctions against South Africa, if only symbolically, those same nations simply use their veto. That happened very recently in the Security Council. When the possibility was considered of excluding South Africa from the United Nations, the measure provoked a triple veto, whereas only one would have sufficed. This solidarity in favour of South Africa deserves to be analysed.

188. The history of the relations between Africa and the Western Powers has always been marked by certain anomalies. A moment ago I mentioned the question of slavery. But another example should be mentioned, as it exemplifies the whites' contempt for the blacks. We all remember the Stanleyville airlift, conducted on the pretext of freeing a few European civilians whose lives were allegedly in danger. The result was a slaughter of the blacks, who despite their courage had to face heavy artillery with a few spears.

189. A few years later a similar operation could not be conducted against Rhodesia, because this time a white

minority had unilaterally seized power. Yet how many human lives could have been saved!

190. In July 1976, the International Olympic Committee, controlled by the Western Powers, preferred the withdrawal of nearly all African countries from the Olympics to the exclusion of one country whose practice in the matter of sports encourages the South African régime.

191. Africans, then, have a lesson to learn, both political and cultural. In fact, Africa now understands that its salvation will not come from abroad. It must rely in the first place on its own resources. That is the significance of the heroic struggle of the national liberation movements. In Zimbabwe, in Namibia, in South Africa, blacks are resisting and dying every day—men, women and children. They all wish to be part of the great historical movement. They wish to cry out together: "Weep no more, my beloved country! "

192. This source of enthusiasm, of excitement, must not be suppressed by disseminating propaganda which serves the designs of the imperialists more than it does the African cause. Among the fashionable slogans of that kind today we might mention the term "dialogue". It might be replied that sooner or later there will be negotiations, meaning dialogue, as the Zimbabwe affair now suggests. But would that stage have been reached without armed struggle? On the other hand, would it have been enough to preach dialogue with Hitler to restore peace? It remains that all those who, by the magic of words, can persuade the Fascist Vorster to abolish *apartheid* will have rendered an invaluable service to mankind.

193. Only struggle liberates.

194. At the cultural level, Africans must appreciate one fact, and that is that the racists no longer have any scientific authority to justify their actions, and that simply because their skin is black does not mean that Africans are biologically inferior to other human beings, wherever they may live.

195. In that connexion, 22 scientists from 17 countries who met in Moscow in 1964 under the auspices of UNESCO stated:

"The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any civilizational level. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributable solely to their cultural history."¹⁴

196. These arguments are not new. They are well known to everyone. If Westerners do not bear them in mind, it is because they are racists.

197. It is also true that to the crassest form of racism must be added the imperialist Powers' need to safeguard their interests, based on petty economic calculations. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of the Congo, Conrad Théophile Obenga, stated on 28 September:

¹⁴ See *Four Statements on the Race Question* (Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1969), p. 47.

"Zimbabwe is the primary world producer of chrome and possesses important copper, manganese and gold resources. It is in any case symptomatic to read in the relevant documents of the United Nations that almost half of United States investments in Africa are actually in South Africa." [8th meeting, para. 235.]

198. The accumulation of these investments has thus inevitably contributed to the development of *apartheid*, and hence to the prosperity of the whites at the expense of the non-whites in south Africa, and that is what is reprehensible.

199. It is also true that the West wishes to be present everywhere in Africa, not out of humanitarian sentiments, but out of anti-communism. By disregarding the interests of the majority of the people in South Africa or by trying at any price to impose their own form of society, the imperialists are clearly making a monumental error.

200. Their erroneous stubbornness has the consequence not only of destroying any hopes to build a multiracial society in South Africa set up by the majority as everywhere else in the world but also of threatening the security of the entire continent.

201. As long as South Africa remains what it is, meaning an important base of imperialism, and as the majority has not attained power in South Africa, as long as the NATO countries continue to help South Africa in all areas, including the nuclear field, the security of the African continent will be in jeopardy.

202. During the early stages the Fascist régime in South Africa, which is trying to build its nuclear bomb on the sly, will yield to nuclear blackmail. During the second stages its army of mercenaries will not hesitate to bring war to the independent African countries.

203. The question of *apartheid*, then, is not confined to the liberation of an oppressed people. That question is directly related also to the security of the African countries. For that reason it is an issue of paramount importance to the entire continent and indeed to peace throughout the world.

204. *Apartheid* is but nazism. Not only have Vorster and his clique collaborated with the German Fascist party, but their methods of government are based throughout on Hitler's policies. Hitler and his collaborators used the so-called purity of the Aryan race to justify the genocide of the Jews. Today his spiritual heir, Vorster, succeeding Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd use the so-called superiority of the white race to justify the genocide of the blacks.

205. Vorster has applied Hitler's policies, however, with a few alterations due to the specific special conditions in South Africa. Unlike Hitler who was in something of a hurry to finish his job and thus used the most expeditious procedures such as gas chambers, Vorster and his clique are acting with circumspection for fear that the disappearance of cheap labour might spell the downfall of the economy.

206. As mentioned in a study published under the auspices of the United Nations in South Africa, genocide

means slow murder by various means, and keeping the percentage of the non-white population at a "reasonable" rate. But, in spite of these precautions, the awakening of the conscience of the non-white population and their revolutionary ability have posed a heavy threat to the Fascist, racist régime and for that reason Vorster and his clique have been busy acquiring the most sophisticated weapons in order to strike a balance of fear.

207. The defeat of Hitler's Germany, then, deprived German fascism of a privileged ally. But South Africa today

is supported in its evil designs by most of the Western Powers, which, incidentally, used African troops to help crush Hitler's fascism—not the least of history's paradoxes.

208. The courageous example the freedom fighters have offered to all mankind deserves our praise. All of Africa and the democratic peoples of the world are at their side to bring about the triumph of justice and freedom.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.