



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*Special meeting devoted to the International Year
of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa*

1. The PRESIDENT: Twenty years ago, at its seventeenth session, the General Assembly urged Member States and the Security Council to act under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to bring to an end the system of *apartheid* in South Africa and called for the imposition of economic and other sanctions against that country [resolution 1761 (XVII)]. For 20 years, by ever-increasing majorities, the Assembly has repeated this call.
2. This special plenary meeting of the Assembly on the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa highlights the unfortunate fact that the response to those calls has not been adequate. Every United Nations resolution continues to be ignored with contempt. Every article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights continues to be trampled on in South Africa.
3. Despite this lack of success, the General Assembly has continued to call for sanctions for a simple reason: universally applied sanctions are the only peaceful means available to the world community to end the criminal system of *apartheid*.
4. The majority of Member States have voluntarily ended all ties with South Africa. Non-governmental organizations and prominent individuals have been involved in the international boycott of that inhuman régime. For a number of countries, organizations and individuals, their acts of conscience have meant considerable sacrifices in economic terms. To them all we pay a tribute today for their moral courage and values.
5. Other countries, organizations and individuals have not seen fit to act against what is without doubt the most massive and sustained violation of human rights in recent history. Because of the policy of some of its members, the Security Council has not been able to act under Chapter VII of the Charter and impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. The arms embargo the Council has imposed continues to be consistently violated.
6. Not only have important entities refused to impose sanctions on the racist régime in Pretoria, but some have actively fostered that régime. Some transnational corporations and banks play a large role in funding the *apartheid* system, and South Africa has been able to count on the overt support of international financial institutions.
7. The repercussions of allowing the cancer of official racism in South Africa to grow cannot be contained within the borders of that country. The racial conflict that is clearly building up to an explosion there will affect not only that country but the entire region and the world. As the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa declared last year: "The choice is between an escalation of conflict and the imposition of international sanctions".¹
8. The General Assembly has recognized that the international community has a special responsibility towards those struggling in South Africa for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All of us feel a kinship with those who are imprisoned, restricted and persecuted in South Africa for their opposition to *apartheid*. Such solidarity is important for those who have to face, often alone and quite powerless, the organized terror of that régime. Twenty years ago, Nelson Mandela, the outstanding leader of the national liberation movement, from the dock of a South African court pointed to the General Assembly resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa. It was evident, he said, that: "In its efforts to keep the African people in a position of perpetual subordination, South Africa must and will fail. South Africa is out of step with the rest of the civilized world." Nelson Mandela and thousands of his colleagues are still in prison. They and millions of the oppressed people in their country have been sustained by the conviction that the overwhelming majority of the world hate *apartheid* and support the struggle for its elimination.
9. This solemn meeting is a reaffirmation of our unshakable opposition to *apartheid*. On behalf of the people of South Africa, we say here that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime are imperative.
10. I now invite the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to address the General Assembly.
11. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I welcome the opportunity to address this special meeting of the General Assembly. The presentation of the awards which is to be made today has more than a symbolic significance; it marks a recognition of the contribution that persons in different vocations can make to promoting the principle of human equality, to transcending the distinction of race or colour. It is also another expression of our deep commitment to one of the basic and unalterable principles that constitute the moral foundation of the United Nations:
12. The Charter of the Organization sets forth the determination of the peoples of the world not only to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war

but also to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Those who framed the Charter knew, through vivid and tragic experience, how human society could be devastated through the practice of racial superiority. They were witnesses to the historic fact that policies of discrimination against people on grounds of race, besides being cruel and tyrannical in themselves, contained the seeds of war. In establishing the Organization, they made known the resolve of all civilized humanity that situations in which people were denied their human rights should never again be condoned.

13. This determination is reflected in the very first Article of the Charter, which includes among the purposes of the United Nations the achievement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. It is also clearly set forth in another historic and fundamental document of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Preamble to the Declaration clearly states that recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, peace and justice in the world. Another significant postulate of the Declaration which can appropriately be recalled on this occasion is that if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, it is essential that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

14. The institution of *apartheid* runs directly counter to this basic belief. It was therefore only logical that the problem created by the persistence of this system should have become one of the foremost concerns of the United Nations since its early years. A consensus has developed regarding the nature of *apartheid* which serves as the basis of our continued efforts to secure the abandonment of this system. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter, the General Assembly declared that the policy of *apartheid* was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind [resolution 2627 (XXV)].

15. In the years that have followed, competent bodies and organs of the United Nations have devoted considerable time and effort to devising measures which would be appropriate for dealing with the situation. I know that there is a great feeling of frustration and impatience over the fact that the measures so far proposed by the United Nations for bringing about an end to *apartheid* have yet to produce the desired results. However, the conclusion does not follow that little or no progress has been achieved. There exists now a world-wide awareness of the injustice and dangers inherent in the policies of racial discrimination. Moreover, it is generally accepted that the international community has an inescapable responsibility to bring about the eradication of these policies.

16. Of equal importance is the fact that the victims of *apartheid* know that they do not stand alone but have the moral and political support of the international community. We must continue to impress upon the upholders of *apartheid* that it is they who are isolated and that their policies are inherently self-defeating.

17. I should like to extend my congratulations to the distinguished recipients of the awards decided upon by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. It is gratifying that they come from both the developed and the developing countries and represent varied political persuasions. I should like to pay a heartfelt tribute to two recipients, personalities of international renown, who are no longer with us, President Houari Boumédiène of Algeria and Martin Luther King, Jr. In their different spheres of action, they each gave leadership in the struggle for human equality and made contributions to the cause which will remain enshrined in human memory. Let us on this occasion rededicate ourselves to the goal of eliminating *apartheid* and other forms of racism from human society. It is a goal for which an untold number of people have made enormous sacrifices. I am convinced that these sacrifices will prove never to have been in vain.

18. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule.

19. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: Twenty years ago, this assembly of nations appealed to all Governments, separately and collectively, to take effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa for the abandonment of its inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The General Assembly further requested the Security Council to consider mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

20. The appeal for effective action against South Africa was made when the racist régime there had proved impervious to repeated appeals and instead had proceeded to intensify and perpetuate racist domination and suppress the non-violent movement of the people. There were the notorious treason trials, the Sharpeville massacre, the banning of the people's organizations, the mass arrests and unprecedented repressive laws.

21. Despite the considerable material sacrifices involved, a great majority of Governments and peoples around the world heeded that appeal and broke off all relations with the racist régime in South Africa. Numerous public organizations and millions of men and women of conscience all over the world, inspired by the just and righteous struggle of the South African people, joined the movement for the international isolation of the racist régime and for solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa. They have given of their time, energy and talent to make it one of the most significant movements of our time. We pay a tribute to the many sportsmen, writers and musicians who have rejected offers by South Africa of enormous fees and thereby demonstrated their attachment to principle. We salute the many young people who have even risked their limbs and liberty in this movement. We acknowledge the contributions of tens of thousands of people to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the families of political prisoners in South Africa. Sanctions against South Africa are even more urgent and imperative today.

22. The Sharpeville massacre can never be erased from the memory of decent men and women everywhere. Yet the racist régime in South Africa continues to make fresh assaults on the conscience of humanity.

Over 8 million indigenous Africans are dispossessed of their citizenship, common nationality, land and property. The massacre of schoolchildren at Soweto and the senseless murder of miners and other workers and of innocent citizens clearly illuminate the wicked and barbaric face of *apartheid* in South Africa.

23. This inherent wickedness and barbarism of the *apartheid* régime has been extended to Namibia, where South Africa has established an illegal and immoral occupation. The people of Namibia continue to be victims of an undeclared war of aggression, subversion, terrorism and murder by the racist régime of South Africa. Indeed, all countries of southern Africa, and even the Republic of Seychelles, suffer from the degradation of the callous régime in South Africa.

24. Unfortunately, the Security Council has failed to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa because of the continued resistance of a few Governments. Sanctions against South Africa are today supported not only by the great majority of the Members of the United Nations but also by all the major religious organizations, trade unions and Olympic movements and by organizations of students, youth and women all over the world.

25. The people of South Africa, who have mobilized in unprecedented unity with a determination to destroy *apartheid*, demand sanctions. Young freedom fighters who are risking their lives for freedom in their nation demand the imposition of sanctions against racist South Africa.

26. Can we afford to fail them? Will some members of the Security Council argue that sanctions would not work in South Africa, only to impose them when their vital interests are at stake, over Poland, Afghanistan and the Falkland Islands? Sanctions are an expression of solidarity with the great national liberation movement of South Africa and its leaders, who have struggled heroically for universal human principles.

27. Sanctions are an expression of support for the struggle of the continent of Africa for redemption. Sanctions against South Africa would confirm the principle that freedom and world peace are indivisible. Above all, sanctions are the only peaceful means to meet the inescapable challenge facing humanity and the United Nations over the problem of South Africa.

28. On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which was established by the Assembly 20 years ago, I express appreciation to all those who have participated in the observance of this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. I appeal to the few Powers which continue to resist sanctions against the *apartheid* régime to join with most of humanity and to facilitate mandatory action to secure freedom and preserve peace in South Africa.

29. The only constructive, realistic and moral course today is to make an unequivocal choice between racist oppression and a democratic society in South Africa and to lend support to all those—Africans as well as people of European and Asian descent—who are daily and even hourly risking their lives so that all the people of South Africa can together, as equals, determine their own destiny. Their struggle must be considered as our own, until the philosophy

and system of *apartheid* vanish from this earth. No one can ever be secure in the enjoyment of his or her freedom until all men and women are free from oppression everywhere in the world.

30. The founding fathers of the Organization enshrined the principle of universal enjoyment of basic freedoms in the preamble to the Charter. The peoples of the United Nations should remain determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women.

31. It is in this noble spirit that I have the great honour and privilege, on behalf of the Special Committee, to recommend awards to seven eminent persons for their outstanding contribution to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa in solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa. The Special Committee deems it a privilege to recommend recognition by the United Nations and the international community of the historic contribution made by these eminent personalities to the cause of freedom and human dignity in South Africa.

32. President Houari Boumédiène of Algeria not only led his country to provide assistance to the liberation struggle in South Africa, but also took many initiatives to promote international assistance. It was under his presidency that the Summit Conference of Arab States decided in 1973 to declare an Arab oil embargo against South Africa.

33. Mr. Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council and Chairman of the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, *Apartheid* and Decolonization, has constantly campaigned for sanctions and other actions against the *apartheid* régime, in close cooperation with the Special Committee and the United Nations.

34. Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé has made a significant contribution to the campaign, formerly as Secretary-General of the Pan-African Women's Organization and Chairman of the Special Committee and at present as President of the International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Women of South Africa and Namibia.

35. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the British *Anti-Apartheid* Movement, has been tireless in his efforts for three decades to persuade the public, especially in the Western countries, to support the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and isolate the *apartheid* régime.

36. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the historic civil rights movement in the United States, repeatedly called for sanctions against South Africa and launched an appeal for sanctions, together with Chief Luthuli, in December 1962, soon after the adoption of the General Assembly resolution calling for sanctions.

37. Mr. Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa, has untiringly promoted the boycott of *apartheid* sports as an important action by the world public in support of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

38. Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, as a member of the Dutch Parliament, led the efforts for an effective oil embargo

against South Africa. He organized the Conference of West European Parliamentarians for an Oil Embargo against South Africa in 1981, and he is organizing, in co-operation with the Special Committee, a similar conference for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

39. These men and women come from different regions of the world and represent varied political and other persuasions, but they have all been consistent advocates of universal action for the elimination of *apartheid*. They represent millions of people who have given of their time and energy and made serious sacrifices to demonstrate their abhorrence of *apartheid* and their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

40. I hope that these awards—on the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) which calls for effective economic and other measures by all States against the *apartheid* régime—will promote the campaign for comprehensive, mandatory and prompt sanctions against South Africa.

41. The PRESIDENT: We come now to the award ceremony. It may be recalled that in resolution 31/6 G, of 9 November 1976, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to establish an award to be presented to persons who have, in co-operation with the United Nations and in solidarity with the South African liberation movements, contributed significantly to the international campaign against *apartheid*.

42. The Special Committee has accordingly selected seven persons for the award this year. They are: Houari Boumédiène, former President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria; Mr. Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council and Chairman of the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, *Apartheid* and Decolonization; Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé, Minister of Social Affairs of Guinea and President of the International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Women of South Africa and Namibia; the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop of the Diocese of the Indian Ocean and President of the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement; the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the civil rights movement in the United States and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize; Mr. Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa; and Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, member of the National Parliament of the Netherlands and member of the Dutch Foundation for Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

43. I request the Chief of Protocol to escort to their places on the platform the award winners and those who are here to receive awards on their behalf: Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun on behalf of President Houari Boumédiène, Mr. Romesh Chandra, Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé, the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, Miss Bernice King on behalf of her father, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Abraham Ordia and Mr. Jan Nico Scholten.

44. The PRESIDENT: I now have the honour to read the citation:

“The General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting during the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, and on the recommendation of its Special Committee against *Apartheid* on awards for ‘outstanding contribution to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa in solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa’ presents a gold medal to the late President Houari Boumédiène, Mr. Romesh Chandra, Her Excellency Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé, the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Abraham Ordia and Mr. Jan Nico Scholten on 5 November 1982.”

45. I now request the Chief of Protocol to accompany the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, as he awards the gold medals for distinguished service in the struggle against *apartheid*.

46. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, I congratulate most warmly all those who have received the award. I now invite the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston to address the General Assembly.

47. The Most Reverend Trevor HUDDLESTON: It is difficult for me to find words at all adequate to an occasion such as this. I am conscious only of the fact that, however hard I try to do so, I shall fail both in my expression of gratitude and in measuring up to the significance of this moment. I am also deeply conscious of the fact that an award such as this is not made, and should not be made, to an individual like myself for what must of necessity be such a limited contribution to such a vast challenge—nothing less, in fact, than the elimination of racism in our world. I can only say—and I do so from my heart—that I thank God for giving me the opportunity over the past 40 years to have been actively, personally and wholeheartedly committed to this cause. It is a cause that is not only worthy of a total commitment of one's human energies but demands nothing less.

48. The most compelling reason for my gratitude for this award and for the opportunity of addressing the General Assembly has been summed up for me by Barbara Ward in her magnificent and seminal work *Only One Earth*, as follows:

“Our links of blood and history, our sense of shared culture and achievement, our traditions, our faiths are all precious and enrich the world... But we have lacked a wider rationale of unity. Our prophets have sought it. Our poets have dreamed of it. But it is only in our own day that astronomers, physicists, geologists, chemists, biologists, anthropologists, ethnologists and archaeologists have all combined in a single witness... to tell us that, in every alphabet of our being, we do indeed belong to a single system... depending for its survival on the balance and health of the total system.

“... ”

“Governments have already paid lip-service to such a view of the world by setting up a whole variety of United Nations agencies whose duty it is to elaborate world-wide strategies. But the idea of authority and energy and resources to support their policies seems strange, visionary and Utopian at

present, simply because world institutions are not backed by any sense of planetary community and commitment.

“... ”

“Today, in human society, we can perhaps hope to survive in all our prized diversity, provided we can achieve an ultimate loyalty to our single, beautiful and vulnerable planet Earth.”²

49. It is the total contradiction of such a vision and such a goal that I find most deeply offensive as a Christian in the concept of institutionalized racism known as *apartheid*.

50. But it is too easy to speak in abstractions. I would rather speak for a moment from my heart. For me, at least, the battle against the monstrous evil of *apartheid* in South Africa did not begin as a battle of conflicting ideas within the whole field of international relations—though certainly it is necessary always to see *apartheid* as a massive threat to world peace and an assault on human rights. It began for me in 1943 in the streets of Sophiatown and Orlando, Johannesburg, when, as a quite young priest and pastor, I was confronted with a system so evil that it attacked the very meaning of human life, the very purpose for which, as I believe, man is created. *Apartheid*, in its application to ordinary daily life in black Johannesburg, was the daily assertion and proclamation to the African people not only of their permanent role as serfs and cyphers but as those who, by reason of the colour of their skin, must aspire to being nothing else.

51. *Apartheid* said, and says, to African children: “Your education is an education for servitude. Do not stray into green pastures in which you have no right to graze.” I quote a former Prime Minister of South Africa. *Apartheid* says to African workers: “We need your labour, black man. We must have your labour to give to white South Africa the power and the energy it needs to keep you for ever where you are—at the very bottom of the heap.”

52. *Apartheid* says to African families: “So long as you are here in our white cities, in 80 per cent of the land area of South Africa, in which you were born, you can have no security, no permanence, no peace, for you have and shall have no citizenship. Keep over there.”

53. These Africans were and are my friends—some, like Bishop Desmond Tutu, schoolchildren when I first knew them; some, like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, my contemporaries. In those great days leading up to the Freedom Charter and the Kliptown Congress that approved it, we knew what we were doing, or, at least, we knew what we were trying to do. We were appealing to the world community to recognize that *apartheid* was not, as many at that time liked to believe, a matter of South African political practice, a matter of purely local and internal concern, but an issue of world-wide significance and as much a challenge to the future of mankind as the Nazi ideology that had brought about the Second World War and as potentially dangerous.

54. So, in expressing my thanks to the General Assembly—and more particularly to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*, which have done so much in the past

20 years to make the nations of the world aware of the challenge—I speak not only on my own behalf but on behalf of all those with whom I have had the privilege and honour to be associated over the years. The award and all that has been said here today must give us renewed strength for the last and final battle for human rights and human dignity.

55. I believe that one of the strongest motives that ought to compel this Assembly to exert its greatest efforts to defeat *apartheid* is the appalling waste of human resources which is its inescapable consequence, and this waste is recognizable at every level and cannot be contained within South Africa itself. Our world, bewildered and torn apart as it is by conflicting ideologies, nationalism and, alas, religions, cannot afford any waste at any level. We need effective leadership. Yet the Government of South Africa exiles, restricts, imprisons and even kills those who are its leaders, its best leaders. We need the enrichment that comes from multicultural, multilingual, multifaith societies, such as that in which I have the privilege to live and work—the country of Mauritius and the islands of the Indian Ocean.

56. It should be intolerable to the world that men like Mandela and Sisulu, men like Beyers Nandé and women like Helen Joseph should be forcibly prevented from communicating their thoughts and ideas to mankind. This waste of life, of human ability and talent, of idealism and wholeness is an affront to the rest of mankind.

57. As a Christian leader, I bow my head in shame at the failure of the Christian church to witness as effectively as it should against what, if the faith we profess means anything at all, is a blasphemy: the blasphemy of throwing in the face of God as if it were a useless thing the crown of his creation—man “made in his image and likeness”.

58. Four years ago in this very place, the President of the General Assembly said,

“I believe that we shall have realized one of the ideals of the peoples gathered together in the United Nations when there is no need for the General Assembly to hold a meeting like this dedicated to the observance of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year. That will mean that a political régime that runs counter to all the political and cultural ideals underlying the Charter of the United Nations has been swept away.”³

59. He was followed by the then Secretary-General, who reminded the Assembly that: “*Apartheid* is not only immoral and inhuman, but it is also a grave danger to international peace and security” and that: “There is no single issue on which the Members of this Organization are more united than the one before us”.⁴

60. And he was followed in turn by the then Prime Minister of Jamaica, who posed the question:

“How does a world that produced Lincoln, Marx, Lenin, Mao and Franklin Roosevelt still stand impotent before this vicious edifice of shame and degradation?”⁵

61. All this and much more was said here four years ago; and only two weeks ago, in Johannesburg, a former United States Secretary of Defense and President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, said:

“The greatest tragedies of history have occurred not so much because of what was finally done but because of what had earlier foolishly been left undone. And if what is left of the 1980s does not witness real movement towards sharing of political power, South Africa may, and I believe will, become as great a threat to the peace of the world in the 1990s as the Middle East is today.”

62. I make no apology for quoting those speakers, for the burden of what I have to say is that the time for rhetoric is past. This place has heard great speakers, great orators, great statesmen proclaiming great truths and witnessing the great causes in the interest of world peace.

63. It would be not only an impertinence but also a folly for me to try to emulate them. My only concern is that this moment in the Assembly should be remembered not as a moment of oratory, however passionate, but as a moment of decision, a moment of action, a moment of truth. But we are entitled to ask, as Mr. Michael Manley asked four years ago: How is it that the Republic of South Africa can still stand defiant against world opinion? How is it that over the past four years South Africa has been immensely more aggressive, both in its internal repression of its own citizens and its external assaults against neighbouring States in Africa and in the Indian Ocean? What can be done by the United Nations to compel a change of direction when persuasion, diplomacy and the mobilization of world opinion have so conspicuously failed?

64. I believe that we can at least make a start by refusing to accept the word of any representative of any nation who begins what he has to say by affirming: “Of course, my country is totally opposed to the inequity of *apartheid* ...” These words have been proved to be the certain prelude to the assertion that sanctions will not work.

65. One of the chief reasons why we are still so urgently in need of an effective, all-out sanctions policy against South Africa is that the West, and more particularly the Powers with the use of the veto in the Security Council, have so perfectly mastered the art of double-talk. Great Britain, my own country, has led the world in this form of hypocrisy. For years it has declared its abhorrence of *apartheid*. For years it has used its veto to prevent any effective action against it. “Sanctions do not work”. Yet, when it is a matter of a war in the South Atlantic, the first act of the British Government is to call upon its allies, sometimes very reluctant allies—the United States, the European Economic Community, the British Commonwealth—to impose immediate and comprehensive sanctions against Argentina.

66. “Sanctions do not work”. So we shall spend years and years in negotiating with the South African Government over its illegal occupation of Namibia, knowing full well that South Africa will use every possible excuse to escape from the negotiating table because it has no desire or intention to make such negotiations fruitful. “Sanctions do not work”. So we will accept the constant, openly defiant consequences of the South African policy of destabilization: the massive air and ground attacks against Angola and the occupation of its southern provinces; incursions

into Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana; two attempted *coups d'état* in the past few months in Seychelles; and all the violence and terror that accompany these assaults—with appalling loss of life in defenceless villages and yet another tide of refugees pouring across frontiers and into hungry lands.

67. “Sanctions do not work”. And so we are prepared to read of the mass removal of people in their own land to dumping-grounds and bantustans where there is no future and no hope. We are prepared to accept the imprisonments without trial; the police interrogations with torture; the deaths in police custody of men like Steve Biko and Neil Aggett; and the murder by letter-bomb of Ruth First, one with whom I had the privilege of working.

68. “Sanctions do not work”, because those who have the power to use them have not the will to use them; because the lure of investment in South Africa is and always has been infinitely more attractive than the desire for justice and human rights. “Sanctions do not work”, they will say, because their effectiveness will punish the Africans far more immediately and disastrously than those who rule them. It is better, therefore, they say, to insist on standards of employment and invest in those companies which enforce them. But do not disinvest; that gives you no leverage at all. This is a very strange argument. It is like the keeper of a brothel calling for support so that he does not have to turn his employees out on the street.

69. At a recent conference in London I said:

“We are in the last phase of the conflict between those who believe in human dignity and the rights of man and those who support and sustain a racist ideology which totally denies these things. A choice against an effective sanctions policy is a choice for *apartheid* and can be nothing else. If the West cares about peace in our world, it must act now to root out the cancer of racism represented in its most extreme form by *apartheid*, and such action is within our competence.”

70. If we choose rightly, and if we choose now, we can be certain that we shall be contributing to a future for our world in which justice and peace will be infinitely more secure. But we cannot avoid the choice; and we dare not delay to make it.

71. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, who received the award on behalf of Houari Boumédiène, former President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

72. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great honour and a special privilege for me to receive today, on behalf of the Algerian Government, the gold medal awarded by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to one of the eminent sons of Algeria, President Houari Boumédiène, for his contribution to the international movement for sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

73. In accepting this symbol of recognition of one of its sons, Algeria wishes to pay a heartfelt tribute to all the men, women and children of South Africa who lost their lives because they resisted oppression and racial discrimination and simply because they expressed their aspirations to freedom, dignity

and justice. President Houari Boumédiène used to say that the only real heroes of the historic process of liberation are those who have struggled and are still struggling for the exercise of their inalienable rights.

74. Because it suffered colonial oppression in all its forms and paid a high price for its own liberation, the Algerian people has always supported the struggle of peoples under colonial and racial domination, particularly that of the South African people.

75. The system of *apartheid*, which has so rightly been condemned as a crime against mankind, constitutes a challenge to the universal conscience. Hence, it is only natural that the South African people, which has embarked upon a long struggle of national liberation and against racism, should find by its side all peoples and all men that cherish peace and justice. This ceremony, which in a way symbolizes the support for the struggle of the South African people, should nevertheless remind us that the universally rejected system is being perpetuated thanks largely to the support it is receiving from abroad. This fact should strengthen our faith and our commitment to continue steadily to increase the ranks of those who support the struggle of the South African people and to make the allies of the *apartheid* régime fully realize the grave responsibility they accept in supporting that régime directly or indirectly on any pretext. We should all think of the millions of human beings who in South Africa today are enduring the contempt of others and living in fear and despair simply because they are black. We should all think of the brothers and sisters whom other human beings consider to be inferior and treat accordingly, denying them the minimum of justice. And we should all ask ourselves whether our Governments or ourselves are not in part responsible for this situation.

76. Our peoples and our Governments have on other occasions in history reacted against injustice and against racism, thanks to the appeals of men of good will who found within themselves the necessary means of awakening consciences and thus bringing to bear the moral potential of mankind.

77. This ceremony today will make its own contribution to meeting the appeals of those few individuals of good will.

78. In conclusion, we should like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee for having constantly denounced the support received by the *apartheid* régime and for allowing the struggle of the South African people to be voiced and to reverberate throughout the entire international community.

79. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon Mr. Romesh Chandra.

80. Mr. CHANDRA: At this moment, in all parts of the world, there are hundreds of millions of ordinary women and men who seek to prevent the destruction of this world, who work for peace and for the prevention of a nuclear war. They see the struggles of all peoples as part and parcel of one struggle, the struggle to save this world and to build a new world. I have the honour to receive this medal on behalf of these hundreds of millions of ordinary people who believe in peace and who seek to give their support to the efforts of the United Nations for peace, for independence, for justice, for social progress.

81. This ceremony is taking place at a moment when the liberation struggle inside South Africa is reaching new heights. We are not here to speak only of the horror of *apartheid*, for that is known and has been spoken of in these halls hundreds of times. We are here to speak of the fact that today, as never before, the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress [ANC], of their liberation movement, are carrying out new attacks on the *apartheid* system and are mobilizing their forces for the final assault. This year we celebrate not only the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, but also the seventieth anniversary of the founding of ANC. We look back at all the sacrifices made and remember the martyrs who have given their lives for the freedom struggle for South Africa, for their people, for the struggle that is vital for all peoples of the world. The struggle against *apartheid* is a vital part of, and indissolubly linked with, the struggles of all people for independence, for justice and, above all, for peace.

82. The World Peace Council, which I have the honour to represent here, brings together hundreds of millions of people in 137 countries of all continents. This medal will be an inspiration to all to redouble their efforts to put an end to the obnoxious system of *apartheid* and to ensure what is necessary for the ending of *apartheid*: the imposition of sanctions, mandatory sanctions, comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. There is no other way.

83. We in the World Peace Council have on every occasion taken the liberty of condemning those who are responsible for the continuation of the *apartheid* régime. It is perhaps because we tell the truth clearly and unambiguously, and have done so for many years, that again and again those responsible for collaboration with the *apartheid* régime have slandered the World Peace Council, labelled us, attacked us.

84. We are all against *apartheid*; we all fight against it. The struggle has reached a stage when the continuation of the *apartheid* régime threatens the whole of mankind. It threatens the front-line States. Parts of Angola are occupied; Mozambique and Zambia face repeated aggression. Seychelles has been attacked again and again. The *apartheid* régime threatens the countries of the Indian Ocean. And, above all, as a consequence of the nuclearization of South Africa, the armaments buildup of the *apartheid* régime has become a vital part of the world-wide armaments buildup which threatens mankind with destruction.

85. How can this régime continue in the face of its people's upsurge, in the face of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of its people? The *apartheid* régime continues because the United Nations is unable to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions despite the will of the overwhelming majority of Governments.

86. Who stands against the imposition of sanctions? Who vetoes the sanctions? Who continues to provide the South African racist régime with military, economic and financial assistance in increasing amounts and has done so for all these years? Let us be quite clear, for clarity is necessary. The report of the Special

Committee against *Apartheid* to the General Assembly [A/37/22 and Add.1 and 2] this year once again makes it clear which Powers, which multinational corporations, which financial and economic interests are responsible for the continuation of this abominable situation in South Africa and stand in the way of imposing the sanctions which are called for by the whole world.

87. The report of the Special Committee rightly points out that certain Western Powers and the countries that go along with them—above all, Israel—are responsible for feeding, strengthening and keeping alive the South African racist régime. On this day, I should like to say on behalf of the peoples of the world that we consider that these actions of collaboration are actions that are crimes against the people of South Africa and against all those who seek to prevent the destruction of this world through nuclear war.

88. The Special Committee has rightly emphasized the fact that the co-operation between the United States and the South African racist régime has grown. The Reagan Administration has “celebrated” the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa by increasing United States co-operation with South Africa. It did not vote for a single one of the resolutions on South Africa at the last session of the General Assembly. It was alone in voting against the resolution condemning the attacks by South Africa against the front-line States.

89. On behalf of hundreds of millions of people everywhere, we join the appeal of the Special Committee to the peoples of the countries which collaborate with South Africa to ensure that their Governments do not continue their opposition to sanctions and their criminal and barbaric support of the South African *apartheid* régime.

90. I should like to say one word as an Indian. I come here on behalf of the World Peace Council, but I am proud to belong to a country which imposes a total and complete boycott against South Africa. I am proud to belong to the land of Mahatma Gandhi, who threw his heart and soul into the struggle for the freedom of the people of South Africa.

91. We are glad that we were the first to impose sanctions. Today, the overwhelming majority of countries have joined India in these actions against the racist régime. However, these sanctions are not effective so long as there is continued assistance by Western countries and Israel—military, financial and economic assistance by the big companies and corporations of those countries—to turn South Africa into a nuclear Power.

92. We are here not to talk only of the torture and the hell that prevail throughout South Africa or to speak only of the heroic Nelson Mandela and all his courageous fellow fighters inside the prisons. We have come, above all, to talk of the way in which the whole of South Africa can not only be liberated, but can also contribute effectively to the cause we uphold. We are here in the presence of the leaders of the liberation struggle and liberation movement of South Africa. May I say that their place is here in the seats reserved for delegates—and not in the places marked for observers—for they represent the people of South

Africa. They are here in this Hall, and they should occupy the seats marked for their country.

93. Let me say one final word. So many years have gone by since the *apartheid* régime began its evil work. How many millions of African people have been removed from their homes, have been arrested? Thirteen million were arrested under the Pass Laws; seven million are now being deprived of their rights of citizenship through the so-called bantustans. How many have died inside the torture chambers?

94. Who is responsible for what the United Nations has called a crime against humanity? Who shares in that responsibility through abetment, through co-operation and collaboration? I charge the Governments that prevent the enforcement of sanctions and collaborate with the South African régime with participation in this crime against humanity. They are guilty of this crime.

95. This session of the General Assembly has the honour of recognizing the role played by a man called Martin Luther King, who belonged, and belongs and shall always belong to that same United States whose Government is responsible for collaboration with the *apartheid* régime. Martin Luther King marches with all the world and with the real United States. The United States of Martin Luther King marches with the peoples of the world for sanctions and against the crimes being committed by the United States Administration which has no right to speak on behalf of the American people.

96. The world is changing. Each country is changing. The criminals will be brought to justice, sure enough, and the day will come—it is not far off—when we shall win and shall stand together with the liberation movement of South Africa to celebrate the day of victory, the day of freedom—their freedom, which is our freedom—the victory of their struggle, which is our struggle. We are part of the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa.

97. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé.

98. Mrs. MARTIN-CISSÉ (*interpretation from French*): On the occasion of the award of medals to eminent personalities in international affairs and to my humble person, it is a joy and a moral satisfaction for me to express sincere appreciation on behalf of the people and Government of Guinea for this great honour.

99. I take this opportunity to greet the representatives of the various countries present at this meeting and to reaffirm my determination to continue to strive with all my energies, with the support of all those of good will, for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, in particular in South Africa, where it is practised in such horrifying conditions.

100. I congratulate the United Nations, which, through its Special Committee against *Apartheid*, has organized this solemn meeting for the award of medals, and I wish to pay a tribute to those who have been struggling for the liberation of that part of Africa still dominated by the odious system of *apartheid*.

101. I also thank all governmental and non-governmental organizations that have consistently lent their

total support to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

102. We know that, despite the repeated demands of the international community, the South African régime is attempting, through violence, forced exile, second-rate education and other indescribable acts of barbarism, to perpetuate its domination over the black people of South Africa.

103. We applaud the courageous struggle for freedom and independence that is mobilizing the South African and Namibian peoples, which are faced with repression and barbarous racist domination. We also applaud the determination of gallant freedom fighters, whose actions are showing once again that no weapon, however sophisticated, and no régime, however repressive, will bring to its knees a people determined to fight for its independence and freedom.

104. This fight by our brothers and sisters in South Africa and Namibia is part of the process of implementing the principles of equality, freedom and independence enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

105. How, were it not for the support of certain Powers, could the *apartheid* régime have been able to flout for so long the resolutions of the United Nations and pursue its policy of terrorism and savage repression against the black peoples of southern Africa? How can we any longer allow a racist minority of 4 million whites to impose such brutish laws on 20 million Africans, who have been dumped into bantustans, virtual reservoirs of cheap and abundant labour, living below the poverty line?

106. We must use all the means at our disposal to help fight and finally eliminate *apartheid*, that shame of the twentieth century.

107. By its massive and flagrant violation of fundamental human rights, by its illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of outright aggression against neighbouring African States, the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is a constant threat to international peace and security.

108. I wish to convey my sincere appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*, which for many years now have been playing a major role in the struggle against this scourge, forcefully mobilizing international public opinion against the hateful crimes of the *apartheid* régime.

109. Once again we repeat Africa's urgent appeal to its friends and to all those of good will to increase their moral and material support for the liberation movements in southern Africa and for the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], with a view to intensifying the armed struggle and speeding up the liberation of that part of our continent from the régime of *apartheid*.

110. In conclusion, I should like to express my great appreciation to our brother Mr. Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and the other members of the Special Committee, and to Mr. Reddy, Director of the Centre against *Apartheid* and all his colleagues for this great honour done to my humble person, to my country, the People's

Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, and to my Government.

111. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Miss Bernice King, who received the award on behalf of her father.

112. Miss KING: It is a great privilege and honour to stand before this Assembly today and to accept this prestigious award to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On behalf of my mother, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the King family and the Board of Directors of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change, I am proud to accept this award to my father. I accept the award secure in the knowledge that he would be deeply gratified to be recognized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and by this Assembly, the highest deliberative body in the world.

113. Martin Luther King, Jr. was profoundly concerned about the tragic suffering inflicted on his black brothers and sisters in southern Africa. Indeed, he was one of the very first American leaders to call for sanctions against *apartheid*. In 1962, he was a co-sponsor, with the great Chief Albert Luthuli, of the appeal for action against *apartheid*. In addition, he was one of the first prominent Americans to support the Special Committee against *Apartheid* when it was founded in 1963.

114. My father believed that *apartheid* was a vicious cancer, eating away at the soul of humanity and destroying our hopes for a world community. In 1965, at a benefit for the American Committee on Africa, he spoke of *apartheid* as medieval segregation and a sophisticated form of slavery, in which the dignity of the human personality is defiled and world opinion is arrogantly defied. Sadly, 18 years later, this description still fits perfectly.

115. But Martin Luther King, Jr. did not simply feel despair about *apartheid* and let it go at that. Instead, he called for a vigorous international, non-violent campaign against *apartheid*. He called for strong sanctions to challenge the legitimacy of *apartheid*, and he proposed far-reaching, non-violent direct action. As he said at the 1965 benefit for the American Committee on Africa:

“Have we the power to be more than peevish with South Africa but yet refrain from acts of war? To list the extensive economic relations of the great Powers with South Africa is to suggest a potent non-violent path. The international potential of non-violence has never been employed. Non-violence has been practised within national borders in India, the United States and in regions of Africa, with spectacular success. The time has come fully to utilize non-violence through a massive international boycott which would involve the USSR, Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany and Japan.

“Millions of people can personally give expression to their abhorrence of the world's worst racism through a far-flung boycott. No nation professing a concern for man's dignity could avoid assuming its obligations if people of all States and races adopted a firm stand. The time has come for an international alliance of peoples of all nations against racism.”

116. My father's words and the challenge he laid before us are as relevant today as they were in 1965. The day is fast approaching when people of good will all over the world will rise up in non-violent solidarity with freedom fighters in Africa. With this unshakable commitment, we will forge a glorious new era of justice, peace and equality for freedom-loving people everywhere.

117. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Abraham Ordia.

118. Mr. ORDIA: It is with the utmost humility that I accept this award, not only on my behalf but also on behalf of the Government and people of my country, Nigeria, whose anti-*apartheid* policies and activities are well known and recognized and without whose support and encouragement my humble efforts and contribution to the struggle would have been impossible. I also accept the award on behalf of the sportsmen and sportswomen of Africa, who have made sacrifices and have suffered and will continue to suffer until the abominable evil of *apartheid* and racism is totally eradicated from the face of the earth.

119. I thank the Assembly most sincerely for this very great honour, and I am deeply grateful.

120. *Apartheid* has been most appropriately condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity.

121. The youth of Africa are resolutely resolved that no sacrifice will be too great in the pursuit of human dignity and equality. We love medals; we love gold medals; but we believe that justice, fair play, friendship, and equality based on human dignity in conformity with the Olympic principles are even more valuable than medals.

122. It has now been 22 years since racist South Africa last participated in the Olympic Games. The year was 1960 and the venue Rome. That country was expelled from the Olympic Movement in May 1970 for its *apartheid* policies in sport. Has it shown any signs of remorse, any signs of change? The answer is no. Therefore, South Africa must remain isolated so long as sports in that country fail to conform to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and so long as *apartheid* remains the official policy of that country.

123. In a desperate effort to free itself from isolation in international sports, South Africa is spending millions of rands every year to buy competitors at home and abroad, making mercenaries of otherwise fine sportsmen, both amateurs and professionals. When the story of the present scandal is written—a basic salary of £80,000 for one cricketer or one Rugby player, plus extensive fringe benefits; gold and diamond bracelets and necklaces; presents for wives—the former Muldergate scandal will be reduced to insignificance. Gary Player, South Africa's greatest export commodity in golf, is also using this corrupt method to buy credibility for *apartheid*.

124. Grave concern must be expressed here over the increasing number of sports bodies in several countries which continue to have sporting exchanges with racist South Africa in flagrant violation and utter defiance of the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports [*resolution 32/105 M, annex*],

and over the failure of the Governments concerned to take firm action to prevent such exchanges. In this connection, mention must be made of the South African Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand and the United States in 1981. The gallant anti-*apartheid* movement of New Zealand mounted an unprecedented demonstration against the tour, as a result of which several of the demonstrators are now languishing in gaol and several more are still being tried by the New Zealand Government. Let us pay a tribute to the gallant New Zealand anti-*apartheid* movement. I salute its members and pray that their sacrifices will not be in vain.

125. I call upon the international community to take concerted action without further delay against such violations of the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports. Without international sanctions, even after the recent scandalous and controversial South African Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand, the prospect is for ever-increasing links in the years ahead. The New Zealand Rugby Football Union has firmly indicated its desire to make a return tour to South Africa in 1985, a year before the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, Scotland, and the Government has declared that it will not stop the tour. There is, however, some hope that the Commonwealth Games Federation Code of Conduct, adopted in Brisbane, Australia, on 6 October 1982, will tighten the noose around South Africa's sporting neck so tightly, once and for all, that total strangulation will occur, and that before long any Commonwealth nation found guilty of taking part in sports with South Africa will be excluded from future Commonwealth Games. This third-party principle is one which millions believe is necessary if South Africa is to be totally isolated in sport.

126. The biggest international sporting renegade now is rugby football. I am aware that, over the next three years, France, Great Britain and New Zealand all intend to persist in maintaining active rugby sports relations with South Africa. On this matter, I hereby serve notice that our patience is running out. We have had enough. Those who continue to defy United Nations resolutions and the Gleneagles Agreement will reap the whirlwind.

127. I urge the General Assembly to proceed expeditiously to adopt the draft international convention against *apartheid* in sports [*A/37/36, annex*], which incorporates this third-party principle. It is our uncompromising conviction that the very meaning of a convention in the struggle against *apartheid* will be totally lost unless the third-party principle is adopted and incorporated as an integral part of the final formulation of the draft convention.

128. For us, the continuing oppression of our brothers in South Africa under the policy of *apartheid* is a persistent and painful preoccupation. However much pride we take in the economic, political and even sporting achievements of our own people, we live daily with the knowledge that very close to home, our kinsfolk are rated and treated as second-class citizens, or non-citizens, in their own country. For us, Africans, who have won independence and the right to decide our own destiny, who face a lack of economic development but have the right and opportunity to take an active and responsible part in world

affairs, the discrimination which denies such rights to our fellow men is a continuing shame and tragedy.

129. For us, opposition to *apartheid* is not a political tactic. Our policy is not a garment that we can put on and take off to suit our convenience. It is a moral value which is central to our pride in our own independence and our kinship with the black people of South Africa.

130. Sporting contacts and international sporting competitions generate good will. The South African Government knows this. It hopes that international sports tours and the achievements of its sportsmen will generate enough international good will towards the white minority in South Africa to remove any international pressure for change. It is our duty, however, to maintain and increase the pressure for change so that the black people in South Africa can enjoy the freedom and dignity which is as much their birthright as it is ours. That is why the isolation of South Africa in international sport has come to be so important to us. Our policy is not one of violence. It does not cost the lives of black or white. It does not threaten the livelihood of black or white in South Africa. It merely seeks to deny the comfort of international good will to a Government which, by virtue of its policies, is not deserving of that good will.

131. Finally, may I pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its vital work, under the able and dynamic leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule. I thank the Committee for recommending us for this award. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Centre against *Apartheid* and its director, Mr. Reddy. That body has done tremendous work and will continue its work until *apartheid* is totally eradicated from the face of the earth.

132. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon Mr. Jan Nico Scholten.

133. Mr. SCHOLTEN: I should like to offer my sincere thanks to the General Assembly for presenting me with this award. My thanks go also to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for having recommended me. I am indeed deeply moved by this honour.

134. My work on sanctions could not have been done without the close co-operation of political friends in the Netherlands in my own party, the Christian Democratic Party, and in other parties, as well as the co-operation of non-governmental organizations such as the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and the working group Kairos—Christians against *Apartheid*—and I should like to share this honour with all of them.

135. However, the people who are really important on this day are still the voiceless ones, the hungry ones, the angry ones—the broad mass of South Africans who suffer under and resist *apartheid*. Let us never forget that the final aim of *apartheid* is the maintenance of the privileged position of the white minority and black exclusion by means of oppression. We must always remember that it is they, the oppressed of South Africa, and not we who are in the front line of the struggle for liberation and freedom; and when one day justice, freedom and peace triumph in South Africa, it will have been their work and their victory, not ours.

136. But in their fight they have called for our support and we should be prepared to give that support whole-heartedly. On this issue there can be no hesitation. This appeal for support provides a crucial test of credibility for those people and countries that profess their belief in human rights.

137. The fight against *apartheid* is a spearhead of the wider struggle for justice, equality and human dignity in the world. Among other things, the report of Amnesty International for 1982 lets us see that we are confronted with an enormous challenge. If there is one thing that has become clear to me, it is that the political ideology of *apartheid* and the economic system within South Africa are working hand in hand and, therefore, if we want to combat *apartheid*—that inhuman system sustained by internal oppression and external aggression—if we want to beat that system, we have to cease providing economic assistance to South Africa. Then we must impose economic sanctions, and we must do so urgently. The domestic situation in South Africa grows steadily worse. Furthermore, South Africa steadfastly refuses to agree to the United Nations proposals regarding Namibia, and we all know that Africa is not free so long as Namibia and South Africa are not free. After the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Zimbabwe, the fight goes on. *A luta continua*.

138. The Security Council has already imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, and it is essential that it should be rigorously enforced. But the other key area is that of oil. Oil is the one vital raw material which South Africa does not possess. As a result, the Republic has to import nearly all of its oil requirements. Unfortunately, certain members of the Security Council have thus far vetoed the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo, despite the many appeals of the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity, the South African liberation movements and many other bodies. We are still waiting for a firm stand by the Security Council. I fully support Archbishop Huddleston when he says that those who have the power to impose sanctions and who are refusing to make use of this last peaceful instrument are, in fact, protecting the system of *apartheid*.

139. It is important to remember that the arms embargo against South Africa was implemented on a voluntary basis by more and more countries before it was finally made mandatory by the Security Council. The same thing can happen with oil. And that is why almost every oil-exporting country in the world has declared that it does not permit its oil to go to South Africa. This voluntary oil embargo has caused South Africa considerable difficulties. The Republic has had to establish various complex and secret schemes at great expense in order to obtain its needed oil. But the very existence of these schemes proves that the oil embargo is not working as well as it might.

140. For the oil embargo to become the success it can and must be, two things have to happen. Most importantly, Governments of Western countries in which oil and shipping companies are based must act to prevent their companies from taking embargoed oil to South Africa. But a few oil-exporting countries that say they observe an oil embargo against South Africa will need to act rather more firmly than

they do at present in order to ensure that companies that purchase their oil do not take that oil to South Africa. Some oil-exporting countries claim that such action is difficult. So it is. But other countries, such as Nigeria, have shown by their fine examples that "difficult" is not the same as "impossible".

141. Later this month, some colleagues and I will be acting as hosts to a European conference at The Hague on sanctions against South Africa. This conference will discuss also the need for increased aid to the front-line States so that they can reduce their economic dependence upon South Africa. We very much appreciate the assistance we have received in connection with this conference from the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule.

142. But even more important is a conference on an oil embargo against South Africa to be attended by oil-exporting and oil-transporting countries. If such a conference can lead not just to resolutions but also to firm and co-ordinated action, then the oil embargo has the potential to become a far more potent weapon against *apartheid* than it is at present. I repeat: we do not just need resolutions; we need action.

143. The longer the world community delays taking action on this, the more bitter will become the strife in South Africa before it and its people are finally free. If we seriously want to promote freedom in South Africa, if we are determined to limit the sacrifices inside and outside South Africa, if we accept our responsibility and duties, then we have to act.

144. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Oliver Tambo, to make a statement.

145. Mr. TAMBO (African National Congress of South Africa): Over the past three decades, the *apartheid* régime has emerged as a vicious oppressor and a ferocious exploiter of the peoples under its domination, an aggressor bent on military conquest in southern Africa. In South Africa, as the régime continues its fight for the survival of the *apartheid* system, the brutality of its repressive measures reaches new levels, while in the rest of southern Africa, especially in Namibia and in the People's Republic of Angola, its acts of aggression constitute a flagrant breach of peace and security, which obliges the Security Council to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

146. The international community and especially the peoples immediately affected by the criminal practices of the South African régime demand this action. The impediment to the enforcement of sanctions is, as is well known, the infamous role of one or two permanent members of the Security Council which see it as their bounden duty to protect the *apartheid* régime as it perpetrates its crimes against the peoples of South Africa and southern Africa.

147. The recent decision of the International Monetary Fund to grant a massive loan to the Pretoria régime serves the same purpose of strengthening the régime by subsidizing its programme of violent repression and armed aggression against the countries and people of southern Africa, including the Indian Ocean islands.

148. The central message of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa is that the allies of the South African *apartheid* régime must no longer be allowed to go unchallenged by the international community. Today, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the 1962 resolution on sanctions, we meet to honour some of the outstanding representatives of that community, who, by their devoted effort and initiative over many years, have contributed to the growth and development of what has now become a powerful world movement for sanctions. This is therefore an historic event, in which the African National Congress [ANC] feels privileged to participate. We are grateful to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for inviting us and to you, Mr. President, for calling upon us to make a statement.

149. By the act of conferring awards on President Houari Boumédiène of Algeria, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the honoured guests who are here today in person, the General Assembly recognizes them as authentic representatives of the spirit of 1945, which gave birth to the Organization. For our part, we know them as outstanding champions of the cause of freedom from colonial and racist domination, of freedom from exploitation and war, and as resolute campaigners for effective international action against the *apartheid* system.

150. It may be of interest to recall that in 1955, in South Africa, at a famous Congress of the People—a Congress which adopted the famous Freedom Charter—held at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, which was attended by one of the recipients of the high award today, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the people of South Africa gave him their highest award, known as *L.twalandwe*, for his outstanding contribution to our liberation struggle at the time. His presence here today as the recipient of yet another award testifies to the consistency of his involvement in the struggle for human justice. His record is in varying degrees the record also of the other recipients of awards today, whom we have known for many years.

151. By this act, the General Assembly, in the name of united humanity, is calling for many millions more of the class of those who are being honoured today. Equally, this ceremony, held in the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, constitutes a pledge by the world community to work ever more vigorously for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* South Africa. We—the African National Congress, the liberation movement in South Africa, the oppressed masses of that country—for our part pledge that those efforts will be more than complemented by the temper and tempo of the liberation struggle inside South Africa.

152. On behalf of ANC and the popular masses in our country, we sincerely congratulate the distinguished fighters for freedom, justice and peace who have today become holders of the United Nations special award. We wish also today to express our deep appreciation for the support and assistance that our struggle enjoys from the United Nations and its Member States, from non-governmental organizations and from people around the globe. Thanks to that

support, *inter alia*, our people, united in action, have become mighty in struggle. A new and democratic South Africa will yet be born. Our common victory is certain.

153. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. Nyati John Pokela, to make a statement.

154. Mr. POKELA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): At the very outset, may I, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] the custodian of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, sincerely thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for extending an invitation to me to be present and to say a few words at this ceremony for the presentation of awards to notable men and women hailing from different continents for their worthy and commendable role in mobilizing world public opinion and calling for international action against the fascist, racist, colonial régime in *apartheid* South Africa.

155. May I be allowed also to take this opportunity sincerely to thank the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the wise, dedicated and able leadership that he has provided to the Special Committee, particularly during 1982, the international year of mobilization for sanctions against the fascist, racist, colonial South African régime.

156. We should also like to commend the Centre against *Apartheid*, especially its energetic Director, Mr. Enuga Reddy.

157. We have gathered here today to honour selected men and women for their principles and worthy contribution to mobilizing world public opinion and support for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions in the military, economic, financial, political, sports and cultural fields against a régime that has persistently pursued a policy which the international community has correctly branded as an affront to the human conscience, a crime against humanity and a very real and serious threat to world peace and security. Those who have spoken before me have already described eloquently the role these worthy recipients have played in publicizing and assisting our just struggle. Consequently, all that we of PAC would like to add here is that we are convinced that their respective involvement and contribution stemmed from their deep and sincere commitment to the sacred and lofty principles of justice and freedom and total liberation of mankind from all oppressive, repressive, exploitative and racist régimes and systems.

158. However, while we rightly acknowledge and appreciate the valuable contributions made by these worthy recipients, it is the view of PAC that it is of equal importance to duly acknowledge from this rostrum and to thank the millions all over the world who, in one form or another, are daily opposing the racist régime in South Africa.

159. The ever-growing action of workers, either collectively or individually, to boycott the handling of *apartheid* goods; the withdrawals of deposits by institutions and individuals from banks operating inside *apartheid* South Africa or facilitating loans to the racist régime; the establishment by groups or indi-

viduals of popular lobbies to put pressure on their respective Governments and companies to separate themselves from South Africa; the refusal by principled sportsmen and sportswomen to be bought by the temptation of 30 pieces of silver; the refusal by the ordinary but aware housewife to buy any *apartheid* product: all this constitutes, in the view of PAC, the crux and cornerstone of the international campaign against the diabolical and inhuman system of *apartheid*.

160. PAC, being a mass-oriented organization, would like, through you, Mr. President, once more sincerely to thank and call on the dedicated and justice-loving millions of the world to intensify their principled campaign, because such actions are important contributory factors to and a source of encouragement in the waging and intensification of the just struggle of our people to win national and social liberation.

161. I should like, on this vital subject of sanctions, once more to stress the declared position of PAC. The use of the sanctions weapon can be effective only if it is applied collectively and comprehensively. Although this is and should be our aim and objective, we must at the same time be realistic. In this world of divided interests, one must and does encounter obstacles in the campaign and struggle to impose collective and comprehensive sanctions against such fascist, racist and colonialist régimes as those in occupied Azania and occupied Palestine. The obstacles come mainly from the imperialist Western Powers, because the two racist and fascist entities are their illegitimate offspring and act as outposts and springboards for imperialist military aggression and economic interests. Given this objective reality, therefore, we must make it abundantly clear to those imperialist Powers that their call and claim for a peaceful solution to the problems of Azania and Palestine are a sham if at the same time they are not prepared fully to employ the one weapon at their disposal, namely, a comprehensive and mandatory military, economic and cultural boycott of racist and oppressive régimes. In fact, their military and financial commitment to those régimes has been on the increase. For instance, United States investments in South Africa have increased in the past decade from just \$US 1 billion to \$US 2.63 billion. In 1981 alone, United States investment rose by 13.1 per cent. The persistent refusal by the Western Powers to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions should not lead us to frustration. Rather, it should act as a clear signal to us that we should resolutely pursue our own path and method of struggle to achieve our national and social liberation and that peace-loving and democratically minded peoples the world over should be called upon to redouble their support for the path chosen by the oppressed and dispossessed peoples and their national liberation movements to achieve their national and social emancipation.

162. In conclusion, on behalf of the thousands who were massacred or have died at the hands of the fascist enemy, the thousands who still languish in prison, especially on the infamous Robben Island where I served a full 13-year prison term, the millions of oppressed, exploited and dispossessed Azanians, and on behalf of PAC, we heartily congratulate all the recipients of this award for their invaluable contribu-

tion and support and say to them that the decisive fight against the fascist, racist and colonialist régime in occupied Azania has begun, but that the war is not yet over. And until that arduous war is over and the people have won, we urge them to keep the lofty banner of struggle flying high.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa* (A/CONF.107/8), para. 226.

² Barbara Ward and René Dubos, *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.), pp. 219-220.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 30th meeting, para. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 13 and 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 28.