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President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 33

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

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

1. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): In many previous statements on the issue of *apartheid* my Government, like a number of other Governments, has warned that a failure urgently to dismantle this inhuman system will result in dire consequences not only for South Africa itself but also for the outside world. But our words have fallen on the deaf ears of a Government which refuses to see any alternative to a policy resented by the majority of its people and universally rejected by the world outside.

2. The situation in South Africa is degrading for oppressor and oppressed alike. The intransigence of the South African Government in refusing to heed the appeals of the international community as expressed in resolutions by this Organization and in the documents of other organizations and movements all over the world, will lead to increasing violence, which cannot be in the interest of anybody, including that Government itself. It is true that during the past year the South African Government has taken certain political measures to disarm internal and external criticism of its *apartheid* policies. But these measures, intended to give the impression that the system is being changed by gradual reform, have not in any way touched the basic structure of *apartheid* itself. The overwhelming majority of South Africa's population is still being denied basic human and political rights. Only those who do not wish to face reality can claim that South Africa is moving in a positive direction.

3. We do not take issue on the belief that certain rewards can stimulate a certain development in a certain society. But we believe that if policies are entrenched deeply enough in the constitutional and legal set-up of a country, the ruling interest group is not going to change those policies just because it is being asked to do so. The long-standing commitment of the international community against the policies of *apartheid* is sadly eloquent in that regard. It is obvious at this point that only the introduction of different kinds of international sanctions can tip the scale and contribute to the urgently needed change in

those policies. That is why my Government today repeats the call for international measures which can bring about a peaceful change in South Africa, while such an option still exists.

4. My Government believes that, in order to become effective, sanctions must be decided upon by the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Sweden has repeatedly supported the General Assembly in requesting the Security Council to consider the adoption of such measures on a comprehensive scale. In 1976 Sweden submitted a text which was adopted as resolution 31/6 K and which has since been reaffirmed. In it the Assembly urged the Security Council to consider effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. This would be an important measure along the way.

5. We should not be deluded by the so-called reform programme in South Africa. The former President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, concluded after a recent visit to South Africa that there was no basis for the belief that the South African Government was prepared to accept any participation of the black majority in the political institutions of the country. In a report on his visit he warned that if South Africa did not start to deal justly and effectively with its racial problem, that failure would not only result in immense damage to its own society, but impose heavy economic, military and political penalties on societies in the Western world as well. If what is left of the 1980s does not witness real movement towards the sharing of political power in South Africa, McNamara fears that the situation there will become as great a threat to world peace in the 1990s as the Middle East is today.

6. It is our hope that a broader insight of this kind will lead to the conclusion that pressure must be applied by the international community to the South African Government before it is too late for peaceful political solutions. The Security Council and the leading Western Powers, some of which are permanent members of the Council, have a decisive role to play in this regard. They must take the lead in facing the dangerous situation created by an increasingly destabilized southern Africa and contemplate measures that can defuse this situation. In dealing with this threat to regional and international peace and security there should be no doubt about the cause of the present situation in southern Africa. The *apartheid* system is the root and constant source of the evil since it can be upheld only by repression and acts of violence.

7. There are efforts in some quarters to describe as terrorists the courageous people, black, Coloured and white, who struggle for fundamental rights that are taken for granted in any democratic society. We

find it cynical to put the terrorist label on longstanding movements like the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] in their political efforts to change South African society. They have been outlawed by the South African Government precisely because they demand recognition of the political rights of the majority. It should not be forgotten that in fact ANC is one of the oldest political movements in Africa. For more than 70 years it has waged a patient struggle to achieve equal political rights with the ruling white minority against the bulwark of oppression.

8. My Government is committed to the peaceful settlement of political conflicts. This stand of principle is not an endorsement of the *status quo*. It is the contrary. To endorse the *status quo* in South Africa would be to endorse the oppressor's continued violence, which will eventually invite general bloodshed. The Swedish Government has repeatedly urged the authorities of South Africa to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners as a first step towards establishing a dialogue with the political leaders of the majority of the country. We have urged them to do it before it is too late and violent confrontation becomes the only alternative.

9. As repulsive as the internal policies of the *apartheid* régime are its increasing actions of violence against its neighbours, which prove beyond doubt that *apartheid* is not only an internal problem but an increasing threat to international peace and stability. During the past years we have witnessed new examples of South African aggression across its borders. We find it outrageous that at this very moment South African military forces are occupying parts of southern Angola, behaving with what now amounts to routine contempt for the territorial integrity of another sovereign State. South Africa's adventurism is a frightening example of that incipient international anarchy to which the Secretary-General has called our attention.

10. It is our view that the South African defence forces should immediately leave Angolan soil. The present aggressive policies of the Government in Pretoria seem to indicate a wish on its part to create a sort of cordon sanitaire against its neighbours. The fact that this cordon sanitaire is located on territory outside South Africa gives very little hope indeed of a rapid solution of the question of Namibia. If Namibia is regarded by Pretoria as an essential part of its cordon sanitaire, the international community should not be fooled by the negotiating exercise which has now been going on for more than four years. The Defence Minister of South Africa was recently reported as saying that South African forces cannot be withdrawn from Namibia, giving precisely this kind of strategic argument. Recent developments in the area substantiate fears that the Government in Pretoria is trying to extend its influence in the area, rather than accept any limitation of it, as if continuous aggression constituted the only chance of survival for the *apartheid* régime.

11. As long as fundamental political rights are denied the majority of South Africa's population there will be no peace in southern Africa. We have seen no progress towards political change in South Africa during the past year. The conclusion of my Government is that the international community must increase

its pressure on South Africa urgently to dismantle the *apartheid* system. Those who are still patiently waiting for the Pretoria régime to promote or accept change voluntarily have long been proved to have been utterly wrong if they honestly expected any such development. My Government, for its part, has determinedly joined the forces in favour of change in South Africa. In our judgement, they are the forces of peace.

12. Mr. HINTEREGGER (Austria): Once again the General Assembly is embarked on its annual debate on the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government, a debate which resembles a yearly ritual, especially given the fact that no changes of significance have occurred in the problem which we are addressing. Much criticism has been levelled at the United Nations for continuing this annual debate. The critics have especially raised the issue of selectivity and have reproached the United Nations for devoting more attention to the policy of *apartheid* than to other human rights violations.

13. At the outset, therefore, let me attempt to find an answer, for ourselves as well as for the critics outside the United Nations, to these two questions; why does the issue of *apartheid* policy merit this prominent debate and why should we continue to attach the greatest importance to it?

14. In our view, it is intrinsically wrong to define the policy of *apartheid* only as a violation of human rights and thus to put it on one level of comparison with other human rights violations, which unfortunately continue to occur in an alarmingly high number of Member States of this Organization.

15. There are much deeper philosophical aspects to it which touch on the principles and basic convictions on which the United Nations and the order among nations since the Second World War have been built. Racism as the organizing principle of a society is utterly unacceptable in a world which has lived through the experience of the suffering and the devastation resulting from a theory of racial supremacy. Awareness of the consequences of this experience is predominant in the whole framework of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; it is articulated in the firm recognition of the inalienable right of all people to dignity and equality as the foundation for freedom, peace and justice.

16. We do not close our eyes to the fact that those principles are constantly being challenged and undermined in other parts of the globe as well, and we stand firm in the conviction that respect for human rights and freedoms has to be advanced wherever and in whatever circumstances violations occur. It is precisely for this reason that we have to reject firmly the system of the institutionalized violation of human rights by a Government which on another level professes adherence to democratic ideas and to a pluralistic society.

17. As far as the second question is concerned, whether it is necessary to continue this annual debate, our answer again is yes, for two reasons. First, the degree of priority which the United Nations assigns to the struggle against *apartheid* has led to a world-

wide consensus and a fuller awareness of the problem. It is very important that we continue to strengthen this awareness. As to the second reason, we should not ignore the fact that the debate in the Assembly and our unanimous voice of criticism lend moral support to all those who resist the system and fight for change, from within as well as from outside.

18. The consequences of the practical enforcement of *apartheid* increase the number of those in all ethnic groups who are convinced of the injustice and untenability of the system of *apartheid* and voice their concern. The ongoing discussion in South Africa has led to some corrections and improvements, but nevertheless the basic concept of the inhuman system of *apartheid*, on which the precarious supremacy of a minority is based, remains unchanged.

19. As has been stated in a recently published report by the Rockefeller Foundation, "South Africa: Time running out", there are no easy solutions for South Africa. The report comes to the following conclusion:

"The choice is not between 'slow, peaceful change' and 'quick, violent change' but between a slow, uneven, sporadically violent evolutionary process and a slow but much more violent descent into civil war."¹

Austria has consistently upheld the view that only solution lies in genuine power sharing and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa. To this end, a meaningful and constructive dialogue will have to be urgently initiated with the black leaders. On this basis, Austria has joined the international campaign to liberate Nelson Mandela, through direct bilateral intervention with the South African Government, and has also been active on behalf of other political prisoners.

20. At the same time, we must also address the implications and consequences of the policy of *apartheid* for the whole region of southern Africa. It has seriously jeopardized the endeavours of the international community to bring about a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia—a goal to which we are all committed. The continuing military incursions into Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have a devastating impact on the efforts of these countries to advance their economic and social development, and gravely destabilize the whole region.

21. Although the international community speaks with one voice on all the basic issues in this debate, all efforts of persuasion and argument have so far proved unsuccessful in bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. South Africa still appears assured that no action will be taken. South Africa will, however, have to accept the fact that the stability of the region as a whole and the prospects of future generations will finally prove to be more important considerations.

22. There can be no doubt that the consideration of further measures in accordance with the Charter will be pursued by the international community with a view to bringing about the long overdue change in South African policy. The Security Council has already responded once by agreeing in its resolution 418 (1977) to a mandatory arms embargo, and the question of how this embargo can be strengthened,

and how loopholes in its implementation can be closed, is now under consideration.

23. As a further measure, the assistance to the victims of *apartheid* through the United Nations trust funds for this purpose should be stepped up. Austria has contributed regularly to the funds for southern Africa and will continue to do so. Also, the programmes of assistance to those countries which suffer most directly from the impacts of this policy will have to be continued as a matter of urgency.

24. In conclusion, I commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, for its efforts in the struggle against *apartheid* and the way in which the Committee deals with a heavy workload. The active role of the Special Committee also serves as proof that the United Nations continues to play a key role in our common efforts to bring about peaceful, rapid change by increasing the necessary pressure on the South African régime and by supporting the forces instrumental to such change.

25. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, on 24 September 1982, I now call on the President of the African National Congress of South Africa.

26. Mr. TAMBO (African National Congress of South Africa): At the 56th plenary meeting in commemorating the twentieth anniversary of its singularly important decision calling on all Member States to break cultural, diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Africa, this body honoured certain personalities for their outstanding role in pursuit of the world campaign in support of the struggle for the eradication of *apartheid*.

27. In paying a well-deserved tribute to certain Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals who have been in the forefront in the implementation of this decision and of the mobilization of world public opinion in that direction, speakers eloquently recalled the reasons that led to what was an unprecedented development in the history of the United Nations. The international community had come to the conclusion that the countless appeals repeatedly addressed to the South African racist régime since the inception of this world body not only had fallen on deaf ears but had also met with the persistent buttressing of the *apartheid* system. This action-oriented consensus, involving the overwhelming majority of mankind, was also predicated on the determination that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security. It was an historic decision welcomed by the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa as a response to the appeal made by their national liberation movement, ANC, in 1958, and was seen by them as the first step towards comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.

28. The conclusion arrived at by the Security Council Group of Experts in 1964, that sanctions against South Africa were imperative and feasible, further heightened expectations of concerted international action. The total isolation of the Pretoria régime would

certainly weaken it and complement the efforts of the struggling people in South Africa.

29. As we speak here on behalf of the ANC and in the name of the majority in South Africa, we draw strength, first, Mr. President, from the commitment of your country, Hungary, to the principles of freedom, justice and peace, as well as your own uncompromising opposition to the *apartheid* system. We are confident that the deliberations of this Assembly in the twentieth year of the issue of sanctions will serve to advance our common cause.

30. Secondly, we read in the Secretary-General's Report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] a timely warning that the future of the United Nations, to the strengthening of which the overwhelming majority of Member States are committed, depends on the collective implementation of decisions democratically adopted by this world body.

31. Thirdly, we speak here after a vehement condemnation of *apartheid* and a scathing indictment of the Pretoria régime's collaborators by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule. The statement that he made today at the preceding meeting enters the records of the General Assembly as one of the great landmarks of its thirty-seventh session.

32. We take this opportunity to express again our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the highly commendable work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under his illustrious leadership. His country, Nigeria, and his Government and people have been and continue to be a powerful source of strength in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

33. The situation prevailing in South Africa today continues to provoke world-wide revulsion and condemnation. Like previous years, 1982 has been marked by a series of murders of patriots, numerous arrests, sadistic torture and thousands of opponents of the régime and countless other crimes committed by the régime against our people in a bid to stamp out the revolutionary movement fighting for the overthrow of the *apartheid* system.

34. The need for a powerful international demand for the release of political detainees increases with each passing year, as patriots like 73-year-old Oscar Mpetha, 70-year-old Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, James Mange, Thandi Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and hundreds of others continue, with Nelson Mandela, to languish in jail. Six of them, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and Simon Mogorane, have been sentenced to death, and their fate hangs on the weight of international opinion. We have even reached the extraordinary situation where the police have the power to prohibit public funerals or, alternatively, to tell the bereaved what hymns to sing at the graveside, what sermons to read, what to include and what to exclude in a funeral oration.

35. Despite this enemy offensive, even because of it, the struggle for the emancipation of our country is moving apace with irrepressible determination.

36. United in their action, clear in their definition of both the enemy and the objectives of their struggle,

the workers, particularly the black workers, the youth, the women, the masses in the rural areas, students, professors and the religious community are all engaged in actions not only to block the implementation of racial policies, both in general and in detail, but also to bring down the *apartheid* system itself.

37. The role and participation of an increasing number of white patriots in the liberation struggle constitute the foundations of the new non-racial democratic South Africa which is the objective of our struggle.

38. The heroic role of Umkhonto we Sizwe in contributing to the development of this powerful movement of the people of South Africa against an inhuman system cannot be overstated. Under the inspiration of the world solidarity movement and the increasing might of the international forces ranged against racism, *apartheid*, fascism, colonialism and imperialism, our people and their army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are marching on single-mindedly towards the conquest of power and the liberation of our country.

39. The rejection by our people of the so-called reforms must be seen in this context. In this sense, the manoeuvres the Pretoria régime has resorted to, like its repressive measures and aggressive acts, serve only to deepen the determination of the people and heighten the intensity of the liberation struggle. At best, the efforts of Botha and his friends in the outside world to present the régime as an agent of progressive reform are a cynical ploy to deceive the gullible. The most persistent feature of the present-day South African political landscape is the steadily worsening crisis of the racist régime. Sandbagged police stations and military outposts, intermittent paramilitary road-blocks outside black townships, brutal and oppressive raids on black people's homes and areas—these are all symptomatic of a régime in the grip of fear and engulfed by a sea of hostility on the part of the citizens of its own country.

40. The International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa is coming to an end; but the demand for mobilization stands at its highest.

41. ANC, together with the majority of the people of South Africa, deeply appreciates the efforts deployed by the United Nations and the international community in general to put maximum pressure on the *apartheid* régime in support of our liberation struggle.

42. Certainly, the past 20 years have witnessed a growing isolation of the *apartheid* régime. To that extent, the international community, through its consistent pursuit of the purposes clearly spelt out in General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, on sanctions has succeeded in weakening the Pretoria régime. But we have to face up to the reality that over this period of the struggle for mandatory sanctions the régime has succeeded in defying world opinion on a whole series of issues.

43. Faced with the determined resistance of the oppressed and exploited masses inside South Africa, the régime has externalized the conflict through a strategy of overt and covert aggression, including a campaign of destabilization, against the neighbouring States. These crimes against independent African

States have received direct and indirect encouragement from various quarters in the West.

44. In this regard special mention must be made of the role of the incumbent United States Administration, which has declared itself an ally of the racist régime. Emboldened by the assurance of United States support, the racists aborted the Geneva Conference on Namibia held from 7 to 14 January 1981, unleashed a wave of atrocities against the Namibian people, invaded the People's Republic of Angola and continue brazenly to occupy portions of its territory; they are openly training, equipping, financing and arming counter-revolutionary gangs to spread terror and mayhem in various countries in southern Africa and they are still deeply enmeshed in conspiracies to stage a mercenary *coup* in Seychelles. No country in southern Africa is secure against the Pretoria régime's harassment and aggression. As a matter of stark reality, Pretoria has turned our whole region into a war zone.

45. There is another important dimension to the declared alliance between Washington and *apartheid* Pretoria. We refer to the insistence by both on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola as a pre-condition for the independence of Namibia. It is, however, heartening to note that this demand has been disowned by France and other members of the Western contact group. But the United Nations keeps silent on this issue, at the risk of being seen to condone conduct which amounts to the holding of the Namibian people by Pretoria as hostages whose release to self-determination and independence is conditional upon the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between two sovereign States on terms dictated or approved by racist Pretoria and its ally.

46. The parallels between the Middle East and southern Africa are as clear as they are sinister. The onslaught on Lebanon, the huge massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians, the attempt to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and the Palestinian people—all of which were carried out with impunity by Israel—have been followed minutely and with unconcealed interest and glee by the Pretoria racist régime, which has plans to perpetrate the same kind of crime in southern Africa in the expectation that, as in the case of Israel, its allies will enable it to get away with murder.

47. It would seem obvious that we must make a more determined and united effort to persuade and compel those countries that continue in their support, encouragement and defence of the *apartheid* system to terminate their ignoble relations with the *apartheid* régime.

48. In the first instance, we must give maximum encouragement to the anti-*apartheid* movements in these countries, as well as to other organizations and groups that have joined in the struggle to rid the world of racism.

49. Secondly, such solidarity movements within these countries should be encouraged and, where possible, assisted to expand their activities so as to reach out to the broad masses of the people who, through their organizations and in the greatest pos-

sible numbers, can then themselves begin to impose sanctions against South Africa.

50. Many important initiatives have already been taken in this regard, including consumer boycotts and the withdrawal of investments and accounts from companies and banks that have dealings with South Africa. The heroic resistance by the people of New Zealand to the racist rugby tour of their country earlier this year gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for the isolation of the *apartheid* régime in the areas of sports and cultural activities. In Australia, workers have refused to handle South African imports and exports and ships or aircraft. The expansion and intensification of these forms of popular pressure will force reluctant and collaborationist Governments to act in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

51. The overwhelming majority of oil-producing countries have imposed an oil embargo against *apartheid* South Africa and yet, thanks to the activities of the oil companies, that commodity continues to reach South Africa. We cannot over-emphasize the need for effective measures to ensure that United Nations Member States, committed to the struggle to end *apartheid*, do not continue to oil the machinery of *apartheid*.

52. Thanks to the support of Western countries, racist South Africa continues to enjoy membership of various international bodies and specialized agencies, among them the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. Accordingly, South Africa still benefits from such membership, as the recent case of the IMF loan demonstrates. The decision by IMF to grant Pretoria a loan of \$1.1 billion, in defiance of a resolution of the General Assembly [resolution 37/2], emphasizes the need for the expulsion of the racist régime from IMF.

53. In our struggle we seek not only to liberate ourselves but also to contribute to the world-wide struggle for independence, democracy, social progress and peace. In the coming period we shall require even more support from the Organization, from its Member States and from the millions of people throughout the world who form an important second front in our continuing offensive.

54. We cannot close without addressing a special world of support and solidarity to the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the people of Namibia, to the PLO and the Palestinian people, to the POLISARIO Front² and the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, to the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the people of El Salvador, and to FRETILIN³ and the people of East Timor, as well as to all other peoples struggling for their national liberation. We affirm our solidarity with the front-line and other independent States in southern Africa.

55. Our common experience with these fraternal peoples and our common commitment to the cause of liberation, independence, social progress and peace must inevitably mean that we suffer together. But, equally, a victory on one front reinforces the struggle and ensures victory on other fronts. Nothing can break the solidarity that unites us.

56. During this coming period, perhaps more than ever in the past, we shall, Mr. President, depend on your support and encouragement, as well as the support and encouragement of the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and all the other officials of the Organization.

57. Together, we have the ability to defeat those who subvert the United Nations, its decisions and the Charter. The *apartheid* régime stands out among such subversive forces. We have a joint responsibility to work for its eradication.

58. Our common victory is certain.

59. Mr. BOUZAYEN (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Again today, as it has done since 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations is discussing the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa and its effects on peace and stability in the region.

60. We have listened with great interest to the introduction of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and I should now like to say how much we appreciate the sustained efforts and most careful work done by the Committee, which, faithful to its task, is mobilizing all its human and intellectual resources in order to involve international public opinion in the struggle for the elimination of *apartheid*.

61. I have the pleasure, furthermore, of paying a tribute to the freedom fighters and to the people of South Africa, who, courageously and with commitment, under the auspices of the liberation movements—ANC and PAC—are organizing the resistance and waging the liberation struggle on all fronts, both at home and abroad.

62. My country, Tunisia, follows with sympathy and interest the development of the struggle and spares no moral support or material assistance in the rehabilitation of the South African people and the triumph of moral values.

63. Since 1946 the international community, either within the United Nations or in other bodies, has had to express first its concern and then its anxiety at the racist, inhuman and retrograde practices of the Government of Pretoria.

64. Many recommendations and resolutions have been adopted. Many appeals have been made to South Africa to persuade it to give up its discriminatory practice and to put an end to its policy of challenging the universal conscience. Practical measures, if not taken, have at least been envisaged to assist the South African authorities to break out of their isolation and to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

65. Time is passing and debates are repeated, but unfortunately without any progress or encouraging signs in Pretoria's attitude. The years go by and in this case seem much alike. The South African authorities, on the contrary, very often act counter to the recommendations of the international community and continue to strengthen further and cement more firmly the foundations of the *apartheid* system.

66. More than ever they regard the black South African as a second-class citizen, damned by his skin, devoid of all rights. The colour of his skin predestines

him to the status of slave, to be shaped or worked at will and exposed to the rigours of oppression, exploitation and repression.

67. The South African régime has made of the black South Africans a vagrant people living on the fringe of a prosperity and a development for which they are principally, if not entirely, responsible.

68. The régime of exclusion to which this people is subjected is reminiscent of the most sombre episodes of the evil feudal system and of the work camps of unhappy memory. The self-styled masters' scheme is to keep this people in an environment of which terror, violence and repression are the foundations.

69. Without wishing to give vent to visceral pessimism or to be overdramatic, I must say that the end of the torture is hardly perceptible and the tunnel seems unending. The butchers are not slackening their grip. On the contrary, they are bent on tightening the screws and on devising refinements to their methods aimed at hastening the extinction of the black South African people. For this purpose they seek unrestricted co-operation with the reactionary régimes of the world which share their political philosophy and stifle the legitimate aspirations of peoples to freedom and dignity.

70. The Special Committee's report highlights various aspects of these alliances. We associate ourselves fully with the denunciation and condemnation of these relations, this axis established both with the Israeli torturers and with the transnational corporations. The methods made famous by the Axis forces are even more highly developed and widely used against black South Africans, whose inborn offence is the colour of their skin. The principles of equality, liberty and dignity are not applicable to these people, and when they suddenly react and decide to resist or to demand treatment in accordance with their human condition in the land of their ancestors, which was developed by the sweat of their brow, their wary present-day masters deny them any right to liberty or dignity.

71. Their history is marked by moments of heroism which bear the name of Sharpeville, of Soweto. Despite all this, the South African people has decided to live in freedom and dignity. They are organizing their resistance and under the banner of their leaders and their liberation movements they claim what is due to them and defend their rights. Intimidation and repression merely strengthen their will to struggle and to bring closer the hour of their release.

72. The fight for survival those people have waged against the forces of evil is irreversible. The assistance and the commitment of their brothers and friends is theirs for all time. The neighbouring front-line countries will in no way be intimidated by the acts of aggression and destabilization of the South African authorities.

73. The heroic resistance of the South African people daily gains them new sympathizers and attracts new partisans to their noble cause, because their fight is valiant and their cause is just. They are fighting to rid our planet of the roots of an evil which the community considers to be a crime against humanity.

74. This struggle will not slacken as long as the rights of black South Africans are not recognized and their status as free men restored. It has lasted for 30 years already and will continue until final victory is won. It enjoys the unlimited and unconditional support of peoples that cherish justice, tirelessly persist in their endeavors to put the Republic of South Africa outside the international community and impose on it, following the arms embargo, economic and cultural sanctions.

75. We should like to say to the Government of Pretoria once again that if it does not change its mind and decide itself to put an end to the *apartheid* system, the combat which has shaken the stability and security of that territory may soon spread to our whole continent in a general assault on the forces of evil and plunge the entire Republic into a vortex. It will make coexistence and the building of a multiracial society difficult, if not impossible.

76. We wish to offer our encouragement to the vital forces inside South Africa which, shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed and the freedom fighters, seek reform. We continue to hope that these forces will manage to reverse the trend and make the South African authorities realize that survival lies in the integration of the continent that is theirs and in their commitment, without any hidden reservations, to a democratic multiracial society and the building of a prosperous Africa, of which they would very soon be the primary beneficiaries.

77. The future of their children, the prosperity of their country, can be guaranteed only in an African context, and their identity can be affirmed only within an African framework. It is high time that they finally listened to the voice of reason and took the hand which has so often been offered to them by the continent of Africa in a gesture of brotherhood, generosity and reconciliation.

78. Their interest and that of their partners lies in going beyond narrow mistaken racial prejudice and in a commitment to building a free, democratic and multiracial society.

79. Neither the strengthening of military capacity and of the forces of oppression nor the propagation of the so-called bantustans can serve to restore to the Republic of South Africa its balance, stability and security.

80. Only the recognition of equality, freedom and respect for the rights of all can guarantee its economic and political invulnerability, and its continued existence within a continent willing to forget the past and to mobilize all its resources to commit all its children to the work of building a prosperous, united, brotherly Africa. It is not too late. There is still time to act.

81. Mr. GONZÁLEZ CÉSAR (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish once again to express my delegation's appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its perseverance and in particular for the fresh initiatives it has taken to give practical effect to the resolutions of the United Nations against the racist enclave of Pretoria.

82. Over the years the fight against South African racism has become one of the main points of defining and testing our system. Not only does it enable us

to record the advances of contemporary awareness of the validity of the principles we support, but also the obstacles preventing them from being implemented.

83. On several occasions we have seen here how the virtually unanimous sense of repugnance towards the institutionalized practices of discrimination and South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States has met with the systematic opposition of well-known minorities which, by overriding votes and vetoes, show racist complicity over and above the defence of material interests.

84. In the most recent instance, despite the resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority in the Assembly [*resolution 37/2*], which opposed the granting of international credit facilities to South Africa; the financial agency of the United Nations which granted them not only ignored but indeed flouted what was certainly a political decision. Although the formal nature of that decision is no doubt limited, its significance is fundamental for the survival of the system.

85. We have heard the argument that the bodies of the United Nations should not be politicized. While it is true that a distinction must be made between technical elements and political elements and that the decision-making independence of each agency must be respected, the agency which authorized the credit to South Africa is not a private bank, nor a national bank of any given State, but a multilateral agency. However, because of a peculiar and anachronistic structure concerning the taking of decisions—all of them inevitably political—the expressed sentiment and spirit of the resolution, which came as yet another in a long series of those adopted in civilization's long march against the barbarous system of *apartheid*, was thwarted.

86. It has been clear that, despite the enthusiastic and prolonged efforts that led to the setting up, under resolution 421 (1977), of a Security Council Committee responsible for ensuring the arms embargo against Pretoria, time has for the same reasons proved it to be ineffective. The Permanent Representative of Mexico, Mr. Muñoz Ledo, who chaired that Committee, said on 20 September last during consideration of its report in the Security Council:

“The motives and reasons which led the Security Council to impose an arms embargo on South Africa and subsequently to renew it remain valid and have become even more so. The *apartheid* régime continues to deny fundamental rights to the majority of the population and cruelly to persecute its opponents. Abroad, acts of aggression are repeatedly carried out against neighbouring States and, at the same time as the independence of Namibia is being held up, additional conditions are being imposed on its people, which, if accepted, may result in the withholding of its independence.”⁴

87. The deterioration of the situation in southern Africa, particularly because of strategic ties which have little or nothing to do with the intrinsic justice of the causes of the African liberation movements, calls for fresh measures, both to broaden the scope of their application and to enhance their effectiveness. Such actions are collective and individual.

88. My Government, through the appropriate State services, has taken all the necessary measures to

give effect to the resolutions of the thirty-sixth session, ensuring that we avoid any kind of link with the Pretoria régime, and will do the same with those adopted after we have completed our consideration of this item.

89. Mexico, which does not sell oil, nor will sell oil or oil by-products to the Government of South Africa, was pleased to see the initiative taken by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to convene a conference of all countries committed to the oil embargo against South Africa, so as to make it more effective. We hope that such a praiseworthy initiative from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Mr. Maitama-Sule, will be successful.

90. Not only for reason and justice which are on our side, but for the good and very survival of our Organization, I should like to reaffirm the unswerving support in my country, both in the Government and in the broadest sectors of public opinion, for the just struggle carried out by the South African patriots to achieve the dignity, independence and freedom inherent in every human being.

91. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and rebels against all fundamental religious and moral values. The perpetration of this practice has resulted in untold suffering for the majority ethnic population of South Africa. As just mentioned by the representative of ANC, there have been ever-increasing arrests, detentions, torture and bloodshed imposed on those who dare to oppose *apartheid*. In this connection, before I proceed further, my delegation again joins its voice to the call being made to save the lives of freedom fighters and the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa.

92. The members of the international community have, in the Assembly in particular, raised their voices in unison time and again, calling upon South Africa to terminate its policies and practices of *apartheid*. We have also called upon South Africa to respect the inalienable birthright of freedom, dignity and equality of the majority of its population. However, all these appeals of the international community and of all other concerned men and women the world over have gone totally unheeded by the régime in Pretoria. On the contrary, we hear of further perpetration of the practice of *apartheid*, not only in South Africa itself but in the international Territory of Namibia, occupied by South Africa, as well.

93. Since all our appeals have fallen on the deaf ears of Pretoria, the measures against South Africa need to be intensified in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Here it is very important to harness the co-operation of those Member States that still have economic, political or military ties with South Africa. Without their co-operation the efforts of the international community will be diluted or nullified and South Africa will have little reason to heed the call of this body.

94. There is no other way but to use all possible forms of pressure on South Africa to make it see the folly of the policy of *apartheid*. In this context my delegation supports the fervent appeal of the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* made at the 59th meeting for approval of the recommenda-

tions of that Committee. It was also in view of this that my delegation voted in favour of the resolution requesting IMF to refrain from granting any credits or other assistance to South Africa. We hope that each such measure will add to the weight that will finally break the back of the policy of *apartheid*.

95. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa has been before the General Assembly for several decades now. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by the international community demanding an immediate end to the ignominious system of *apartheid*, the Pretoria authorities have even further strengthened and expanded this system.

96. Under the impact of the increased struggle of the South African people and the universal condemnation of the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime in Pretoria has, as the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* indicates, recently resorted to various stratagems and cosmetic adjustments, which have, however, in no way altered the purport of the policy of *apartheid* since they were aimed only at deluding world public opinion. Just such a manoeuvre was the hue and cry raised about the creation of so-called bantustans, which in fact boiled down to the enforced relocation of the indigenous African population in particular areas and its being deprived of its rights in its own country.

97. The Pretoria régime has systematically perpetrated acts of aggression, terrorism and provocation against neighbouring independent States and continues to occupy neighbouring Angolan territory in order to destabilize the political, social and economic situation in those countries.

98. The Security Council has frequently condemned the aggressive acts of Pretoria against independent neighbouring States as representing a serious threat to international peace and security. In 1977 it adopted resolution 418 (1977) imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. Nevertheless South Africa is persisting in its aggressive policy and has considerably increased its military potential.

99. According to data contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the military budget for 1982-1983 envisages an increase in military expenditure of 24 per cent in comparison with the financial year 1980-1981. The numerical strength of the South African armed forces has risen by 46.5 per cent since 1979.

100. Particularly threatening to peace in Africa and indeed throughout the world is the fact that the Pretoria régime, with the help of certain Western countries, is developing its own nuclear potential.

101. It is logical to ask why it is possible for the racist Pretoria régime to get away with this behavior. That régime has continued brazenly to challenge the will of the overwhelming majority of States and the demand of world public opinion that an end be put to the policy of *apartheid*, which has been branded a crime against humanity, and that the occupation of Namibia and aggression against neighbouring States cease. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* clearly points out, the reason is to be found

in the fact that the co-operation between Western States and Israel and transnational corporations with the racist régime has been growing apace. It is precisely because of the economic, financial and military assistance provided by States members of NATO and Israel that this final hotbed of colonialism and racism persists.

102. According to the report, despite the decision of the General Assembly, prominent Western Powers, "particularly the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland—have greatly increased their investments" [A/37/22, para. 314]. The major trading partners of the Pretoria régime—the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan—have considerably increased their trade turnover.

103. My delegation would like to emphasize in particular the development and expansion of relations between the United States and South Africa. According to statistics for 1981, the United States of America has become the leading trade partner of South Africa. Financial and credit relationships have grown. The United States is on the verge of resuming its co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field, in violation of the United Nations ban.

104. United States complicity with the racist régime in the political field has been made particularly clear through its use of the veto to prevent the Security Council from adopting comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

105. In view of all this, my delegation fully shares the conclusion reached by the Working Group of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that the United States of America is "the main protector of the *apartheid* régime against any effective international action" [*ibid.*, para. 330]. A blatant example of this was the recent decision of IMF, which is controlled by the United States, to grant the racist régime in South Africa a sizable loan of \$1 billion. The Mongolian delegation strongly condemns that decision of the International Monetary Fund as an act of defiance of the United Nations and the demands of world public opinion.

106. The maintenance of that citadel of racism in South Africa is important to the West not only because it serves as a guaranteed source of mineral raw materials and of cheap labour of the indigenous population of South Africa. The preservation and strengthening of the racist régime serves first and foremost the far-reaching economic, political and strategic interests of the West. Imperialism needs racist Pretoria as a counterpoise to independent African States and as a military and strategic bridgehead from which to carry out aggression and expansion.

107. Speaking of United Nations efforts designed to abolish the system of *apartheid*, the Mongolian delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which makes a considerable contribution to the mobilization of world public opinion and of international efforts to implement sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

108. My delegation supports the recommendations of the Special Committee that effective steps be

taken to put an end to the *apartheid* régime, particularly by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, and its outright condemnation of those Western Powers which stubbornly refuse to implement the decision of the United Nations that co-operation with South Africa be ended in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields.

109. In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation states once again that it stands fully behind the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and against imperialism and racism.

110. Mr. NAWAZ (Pakistan): The International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa is being successfully observed throughout the world. This is therefore an appropriate moment to assess the effectiveness of the international community's efforts, mounted 30 years ago, to put an end to the abhorrent *apartheid* policies of South Africa, to recall the obstacles that have frustrated the realization of that noble objective, and to evaluate the means of overcoming them.

111. After having given close consideration to South Africa's *apartheid* policies for 10 years, the General Assembly, on 6 November 1962, in its resolution 1761 (XVII), appealed to Member States, separately and collectively, to take a series of concrete measures to bring about the termination of *apartheid*. Thanks to the international campaign pursued under the guidance of its Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the United Nations can legitimately claim some gains.

112. During the past three decades world public opinion has been successfully mobilized in support of the anguished demand for the eradication of *apartheid*. The General Assembly has declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity. Many Governments, including that of Pakistan, have imposed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa without waiting for the Security Council to decree them. In fact the principle of sanctions against South Africa now enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the world community, including some Western States which had opposed resolution 1761 (XVII). The Security Council is coming under increasing pressure to shed its reluctance to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Inside South Africa the struggle for equality and freedom has developed into a cohesive force energizing all sections of the underprivileged who constitute an overwhelming majority of South Africa's population.

113. On the other hand, it is a regrettable fact that *apartheid* is far from having been eradicated. Despite the efforts of the international community, the *apartheid* régime, employing ever greater racist repression within and aggression without, remains entrenched in South Africa. During the past 30 years, over 3 million Africans have been uprooted from their homes, about 13 million have been arrested for violation of the despicable "pass laws", and 7 million have been deprived of citizenship in their own land. Thousands of unarmed men, women and children have been killed or maimed during gruesome massacres in Sharpeville, Soweto and Kassinga. Over 5,000 people have been held in custody, where they are subjected to sophisticated and brutal torture, resulting in cruel

death for many. The movement of thousands of men and women has been restricted under banning orders.

114. The scourge of *apartheid* has started to cast its baneful shadow across the frontiers of South Africa. The *apartheid* régime has been increasingly engaged in acts of aggression and destabilization directed against the neighbouring independent African States of Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia. Recently, it was involved in mercenary aggression against Seychelles. Indeed, its mounting military build-up and expanding nuclear plans pose a real threat to international peace and security.

115. Since its inception, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been emphasizing that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, are the most appropriate measures for the international community to adopt in order to secure the elimination of *apartheid*. This view has been repeatedly endorsed by the overwhelming majority of mankind as represented in the General Assembly.

116. It is a matter of great regret and concern to us that some powerful Western nations with vested interests in the continuation of the *status quo* in South Africa have ignored this clarion call of the international community. The arguments employed by them to justify their opposition to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa are not convincing, to say the least. Their attitude, coupled with the restrictive interpretation that they place on the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa instituted by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and their continued political, economic and military collaboration with South Africa encourage that racist régime to persist in its intransigence and defiance of the international community.

117. These acts of commission and omission have seriously eroded the authority of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council which remains paralysed. It is the earnest wish of my Government that those Powers would harmonize their policies with the call of the General Assembly and participate without reservation in international action for the eradication of *apartheid*.

118. Pakistan's commitment to the early elimination of *apartheid* is strong and immutable. We were among the first nations whose voice against that evil system was heard in the portals of the United Nations. We voluntarily severed all and every kind of contact with the Pretoria régime. We have fully participated in the efforts of the international community to rid South Africa of this racist and oppressive system. We will continue to extend all possible moral and material support to the liberation movements in their heroic struggle for freedom, equality and human dignity.

119. Accordingly, the Pakistan delegation fully endorses the recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report submitted to this Assembly. I take this opportunity also to reaffirm that during its forthcoming term as a member of the Security Council Pakistan will concert its efforts with other like-minded Member States to press the Council into adopting meaningful and effective measures against South Africa to remove the blemish of *apartheid* from the face of the earth.

120. The situation in South Africa has indeed reached flashpoint. To quote from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we are faced with "... an inescapable choice: a choice between racism and respect for the dignity of men and women; a choice between collaboration with the *apartheid* régime and friendship with the great majority of Governments which abhor *apartheid*; a choice between a bitter past and a secure future". [A/37/22, para. 344.] Pakistan is unreservedly committed to the latter choice.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *South Africa: Time running out*, Foreign Policy Study Foundation, Inc., (University of California Press, 1981), p. XXIV.

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year*, 2397th meeting.