



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 124

United Nations Conference on Succession of States in respect of State Property, Archives and Debts: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Canada, the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, who wishes to speak on a point of order.
2. Mr. KIRSCH (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It appears that in regard to the item on the United Nations Conference on Succession of States in respect of State Property, Archives and Debts, some questions have arisen about the financial implications of the conference proposed for next year.
3. I believe it would be wise to defer the Assembly's consideration of that item for one or two days to enable delegations to obtain clarification on the financial implications of the Conference.
4. I would request the General Assembly to agree to defer its consideration of this agenda item.
5. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to the request of the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, that the consideration of this item be deferred for one or two days.

It was so decided.

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

6. Mr. SILOVIĆ (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): According to the definition given in article 1 of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted on 30 November 1973 at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, "... apartheid is a crime against humanity and . . . inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination . . . are crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting

a serious threat to international peace and security". [Resolution 3068 (XXVIII).]

7. The General Assembly proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa [resolution 36/172 B]. That international event, to which a special meeting of the General Assembly was devoted on 5 November 1982 [56th meeting], is to continue until the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and should make its own contribution to the preparations for and the work of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to be held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983. Thanks to the efforts made, the question of apartheid is being approached this year with even greater urgency than in previous years; this is testimony to the effectiveness of concerted action by Governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations and other institutions and the public in general aimed at eliminating apartheid from the world.

8. Since its beginnings and particularly since it was instituted as an official ideology, the policy and practice of the system of government in South Africa, apartheid, have increasingly become instruments of violence and oppression. This has become clear in recent years, especially since the creation of the bantustans, which are nothing but reservoirs of cheap labour for the benefit of the industry of the white racists, and in which the inhabitants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, become foreigners in their own land. The exploitation of the majority of the population has reached such proportions that that majority is now considered to be part of the profit machinery, not part of the human race enjoying the inalienable right to equality and human dignity. At the same time, all the information at the disposal of the Special Committee against Apartheid shows that, together with the spread of terror, oppression, detention and intimidation in South Africa, resistance on the part of the majority of the population is also growing. The representatives of the people and those fighting for the rights of their people are persecuted, denounced as foreign spies; they are the victims of terror tactics and many are executed in suspicious circumstances. The apartheid régime is without any doubt gradually moving towards a serious crisis, and in its panic is trying desperately to hold on to its threatened positions. Logically, the next step should be its total collapse in the face of the people's resistance and the condemnation of the international community, which that régime stubbornly defies and disregards.

9. This development will come about more quickly if the outside factors which support the apartheid régime understand that the only thing they can do

at this time, for the complete destruction of a phenomenon which runs counter to the principles forming the basis of the international legal order and the entire life of the international community, is to end completely all co-operation with the racist minority Pretoria régime. It is now that a decisive effort must be made to break off the activities of foreign economic and other interests in South Africa, especially the activities of the transnational corporations, and to end foreign capital investments in the South African economy and the international loans which serve to strengthen the *apartheid* system. We must purposively observe the arms and oil embargoes, as well as the discontinuance of cultural, sporting and all other relations and contacts with South Africa—that is, comply with all the demands thus far made by the General Assembly and those that will be made in the draft resolutions on *apartheid* which will undoubtedly be adopted after this debate. The sooner the countries which maintain economic and political co-operation with South Africa give their long-term interests priority over the policy of quick profits at any cost and begin to consider their future interests and co-operation with the peoples of Africa, the better it will be for them as well as for South Africa.

10. The freeing of political detainees and of fighters against *apartheid* is a problem to which the entire international community and our Organization should devote themselves fully. In the United Nations we have often heard statements in defence of human rights in certain countries of the world. But certain champions of human rights should be even more sensitive to this problem since it concerns the violation of the rights of peoples. Hundreds, thousands, of political detainees have been condemned, with or without due process, and among them are some who have been languishing in South African gaols for more than 20 years. That is the case of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the liberation movements, those who await execution for having struggled against *apartheid*, the three young men whose fate prompted the General Assembly at the beginning of this session to adopt an appeal for amnesty [resolution 37/1]. All of them, and their people, hope to see the dawn of freedom.

11. The international community hopes that thanks to its efforts the discriminatory laws through which the South African *apartheid* régime rules will be abolished. It cannot and will not be satisfied with superficial reforms of a system which, by its nature and character, is unacceptable to today's civilization. It demands that a democratic system be established in South Africa, based on the equality of all citizens, irrespective of the colour of their skin, their race or their political or religious opinions. Chiefly, what the international community demands is the application of and respect for universally adopted standards and principles.

12. The non-aligned countries are united in their struggle against *apartheid*, and they will not relinquish it. They have been committed to the complete elimination of the *apartheid* system, racism and racial discrimination since their First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961. As at General Assembly sessions, the question of *apartheid* is always on the agenda of non-aligned conferences and the non-aligned Movement is determined to ensure the elimination once

and for all of this infamous practice. To that end, the non-aligned countries are ready to initiate and support action for the implementation of sanctions against South Africa. That is the only effective means of compelling South Africa to abide by the decisions and principles of the United Nations. Convinced that they are working for a just cause, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries give decisive support to the liberation movements in southern Africa, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], in order to enhance the effectiveness of their struggle against the common enemy.

13. Yugoslavia, in accordance with its non-aligned policies, has always been committed to the elimination of the *apartheid* system of South Africa and to the transformation of that part of the world into a region of peaceful coexistence of races and mutually beneficial co-operation. We are convinced that, with the support of the international community and the effective national liberation struggle of all patriotic forces in southern Africa, the policy of *apartheid* will once and for all be eliminated from the world and will remain in the memory of future generations as a shameful blot on the conscience of mankind—a blot created by historical circumstances, but which must disappear if we wish to guarantee freedom, human dignity and progress in all regions of the world. For no people can be free unless all peoples are free.

14. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): Thirty years ago the General Assembly had to deal for the first time with the problem of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

15. Ten years later, in 1962, it decided, in the light of the worsening situation in South Africa, to establish the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Since then the Committee, today known as the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, has carried out constant and useful activities to unmask and condemn the crime of *apartheid*, and has helped to organize the resistance of the world public to all forms of open and hidden collaboration with Pretoria.

16. My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule, for his tireless efforts, and to pay a tribute to the Centre against *Apartheid* for its active and imaginative work under the experienced guidance of Mr. Enuga S. Reddy. We all still have a vivid impression of the important 56th meeting of the General Assembly, devoted to the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa during this session, on 5 November, which culminated in the unequivocal call for the adoption without delay of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. My delegation expresses its appreciation and congratulations to the personalities who received awards for distinguished service in the struggle against *apartheid*.

17. Three decades of discussion and action have not yet eliminated *apartheid*, but they have contributed decisively towards mobilizing various forces for the struggle against the policy of *apartheid*. The resistance movement in South Africa has assumed new dimen-

sions and has grown on an unprecedented scale. All attempts by the racists to break the resistance struggle—be it with so-called reform offers or by brutal oppression—have failed. On the contrary, the struggle of the South African people, led by the ANC has been intensifying. Hence, this year's report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* can state: "The situation in South Africa during the past year has been characterized by the further development of organized resistance by all segments of the population". [A/37/22, para. 353.]

18. The actions against the racists inside the country are backed by a world-wide movement of solidarity which is growing in strength and includes the German Democratic Republic. World public opinion is unanimous in its belief that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be eliminated. All Pretoria's reform plans aim only at consolidating and extending the power base of the rulers. For the 20 million black Africans there remains nothing but the cruelty and inhumanity of everyday life. A feature of that life could be seen only recently—early in July—when the South African police shot dead eight miners who, together with their fellow workers, had demonstrated for higher wages.

19. The brutal torture and murder of the trade union leader, Dr. Aggett, again made it clear for the whole world to see that the racists want to destroy anybody who stands for justice and human dignity in their country. Such a domestic policy is terrorism raised to the level of State doctrine. What is more, with the backing of its imperialist accomplices, Pretoria wants to turn back the clock of history in the entire southern part of the African continent.

20. A key element of this plan is the continued illegal occupation of Namibia. South Africa makes every effort to block resolution of the question of Namibia, which must be solved on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It wants to gain time in order to install a puppet Government. In this way, the Namibian people is to be turned into a vassal of the racist régime for many years to come. Besides the ruthless exploitation of Namibia's resources, the occupation of the country, illegal under international law, goes hand in hand with the growing militarization of public life. Namibia is being used as a staging area of the racist army for aggression against Angola and other neighbouring sovereign States. The insidious invasion of the Republic of Seychelles by mercenaries should be seen in that context. The aim is to create a situation of instability in the region.

21. South Africa not only attempts to halt the process of revolutionary change but wants also to force the front-line States to cease showing solidarity with and assisting the national liberation movements in southern Africa. The South African rulers regard the aggravation of the international situation, which is sought by those in imperialist circles, as a widening of their scope of action and as encouragement to engage in aggressive adventures against free African States. The aggressive course of confrontation pursued by the racist, Fascist régime in Pretoria is fraught with grave dangers to peace not only in Africa but in the whole world.

22. Such a policy of internal and external State terrorism can be pursued only with direct assistance from the most aggressive imperialist forces, which are openly allying themselves with the racists in Pretoria, using South Africa as a stronghold against historical progress in that part of the world. A reflection of this in our world Organization is the voting of those forces on the relevant resolutions. It can also be seen in the growing collaboration with the racists in almost all fields. On this point, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* notes with special concern that the United States has "become the main protector of the *apartheid* régime against any effective international action". [*Ibid.*, para. 330.] This conclusion in the report, which is based largely on the debate on this agenda item during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, is complemented by up-to-date information on material assistance afforded to that racist régime. According to *The New York Times* of 3 November 1982, the value of American investments in South Africa rose by 13.3 per cent in 1981, to \$2.63 billion.

23. Another revealing piece of information is provided by the statistics on South Africa's major trading partners contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. My delegation has noted with indignation that the IMF will grant Pretoria a credit of \$US 1.1 billion. This is a gross violation of basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations; it shows disregard for the resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes of States Members of the United Nations and is an act of defiance of the world Organization.

24. Collaboration in the military and nuclear fields as assumed particularly dangerous dimensions. It is widely known that for many years those in the ruling circles of South Africa have been striving to obtain control of nuclear weapons. Therefore it is all the more alarming to see that leading imperialist States provide them with the required technologies and installations. World peace is thus jeopardized for selfish expansionist interests. The international community cannot and must not look on at this development without taking action. Resolute steps on the part of the United Nations are needed to call a halt to this situation.

25. The German Democratic Republic maintains no relations whatsoever with South Africa. It advocates that the Security Council impose comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. This position is fully in line with the purpose of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The German Democratic Republic is devoting special attention to the preparation of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which we expect to make a vital contribution to the struggle for the eradication of the evil of *apartheid*.

26. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the German Democratic Republic has continuously worked with others on the broad-based political-diplomatic front for the elimination of *apartheid*. The International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid*, held in the capital of

the German Democratic Republic, Berlin, from 31 August to 2 September 1981; provided important guidelines for joint action against *apartheid*. They remain of topical interest. It is worth recalling here the solidarity in terms of direct material assistance that my country has been providing to the oppressed South African people and its legitimate liberation organization, the ANC, which this year can look back on 70 years of selfless struggle. Our support goes also to the front-line States suffering from constant acts of aggression by the racist régime. The German Democratic Republic will continue to do all it can to show solidarity with the South African people and assist it in its struggle.

27. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

28. The members of the Community have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned *apartheid* in South Africa. The concept of separate development on a racial basis is contrary to the principles of equality and justice to which our countries firmly adhere and violates the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The *apartheid* system is based on racial segregation, discrimination, exploitation of human beings and repression. *Apartheid* is a fundamental denial of human rights which has caused the majority of South Africans immeasurable suffering in the interest of ensuring economic and political domination by the minority.

29. The Community strongly deplores the grave injustice done by the Government of South Africa to the majority of its citizens by denying them their basic political rights and participation in the ordering of their own society. The 10 member States are deeply concerned that the opportunities which still exist for peaceful change in South Africa are being lost.

30. Freedom of political expression is, in our view, vital to the democratic process. The recurring political trials, the number of political prisoners in South African gaols and the deaths in custody testify to the systematic and ruthless repression which is imposed on many of those who are working for a just and equitable society. Nelson Mandela and others have now spent more than 20 years in prison. The members of the Community reaffirm their support for those imprisoned because of their opposition to *apartheid*. They again call on the South African Government to release immediately and unconditionally all those who are imprisoned for their political beliefs; they urge the Government to permit open political debate among all South Africans on all social, economic and political matters.

31. The members of the Community condemn the bantustan policy of the South African Government. They have not recognized any of the bantustans. Through this device blacks are denied their South African citizenship and are assigned to so-called homelands. Large numbers of people have been moved from one part of the country to another against their will and without regard for their interests and wishes.

32. The Government of South Africa alienates the vast majority of its own citizens and makes them strangers in their own country. Black South Africans

have contributed greatly by their labour and skills to the development of their country. They have done so despite the lack of adequate opportunities for promotion to skilled and managerial positions and wages commensurate with those paid to white employees for similar work. This exploitation of the majority violates every concept of social justice. These policies show how shallow is South Africa's claim to represent democratic values.

33. The Community continues to believe that fundamental change in South Africa is necessary and inevitable. It will not be satisfied with mere modifications to the system. The entire system of *apartheid* must be eliminated and give way to a Government based on purely representative democracy. All the efforts of the international community should be directed towards this goal. This makes it necessary to maintain channels of communication with South Africa.

34. With regard to the particular forms of discrimination against black workers in South Africa, the members of the European Community adopted in 1977 a code of conduct for subsidiaries of companies doing business in South Africa. These companies have continued to respond in an encouraging way to the standards set by the code.

35. The members of the Community will maintain pressure to promote the process of peaceful change in South Africa. They will continue to examine ways in which their collective weight may be used to influence the Government of South Africa.

36. The United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*. The member States of the Community remain ready to assist in this endeavour. Furthermore, they remain committed to strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

37. The Community continues to support and contribute to the many United Nations organizations that help the victims of *apartheid* both inside and outside South Africa. It deplores any recourse to violence in the region. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in southern Africa must be respected. The European Community and member countries reiterate their readiness to contribute to efforts designed by the States neighbouring South Africa to strengthen their regional co-ordination and self-sufficiency in the economic sphere, such as, for example, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

38. The members of the Community feel that encouragement should also be given to those non-governmental organizations, including Churches, trade unions and other groups, which are in close contact with South Africans who suffer under *apartheid*. Their efforts have been especially useful in increasing public awareness of the abhorrent nature of *apartheid*.

39. In the field of sports, the Community adheres strictly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination. It rejects any kind of *apartheid* in connection with sports. It will continue firmly to discourage any sporting contacts which would have the effect of perpetuating racial discrimination.

40. Change in South Africa is inevitable. The European Community strongly condemns the policy of *apartheid* and will continue and intensify its efforts to influence South Africa to end the system of *apartheid* and establish a society with freedom and justice for all.

41. Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania): The Romanian delegation is participating in the present debate in the firm belief that the abolition of the policy of *apartheid*—which is based on the most degrading methods of oppression and racial exploitation and which blatantly attacks the very foundations of freedom, human dignity, law, justice and peace—and the creation of conditions enabling the people of southern Africa to participate freely in shaping their own future, represent two major imperatives of international life which must be duly reflected in the adoption of effective measures by the General Assembly at its current session.

42. The developments that have recently taken place in South Africa and in southern Africa in general require, in the Romanian delegation's opinion, decisive intervention by the United Nations in order to eliminate a very dangerous hotbed of tension which seriously affects international relations. As is emphasized in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the policy of oppression carried out by the Pretoria authorities against the majority African population—which finds external expression in the colonial domination and ruthless repression of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and in continuous acts of aggression against independent neighbouring States—represents not only a source of national conflict and animosity but also a serious threat to tranquillity in the area and to international peace and security.

43. South Africa's system of institutionalized oppression, which poses such a serious threat to peace and raises the theory of racial supremacy to the status of law, depriving the African population of the most elementary political and social rights, the ruthless exploitation of the majority population by a racist minority, the forced relocation of the native population and the establishment of bantustans on tribal grounds, denying the native population its inalienable rights and citizenship, have been stigmatized and condemned in the most forceful terms by the whole international community.

44. The resolute rejection of this scourge has found expression in the fact that the policy of *apartheid* has been rightly qualified by the United Nations as a crime against the human conscience and dignity, absolutely incompatible with the norms and principles of international law which proclaim the equality of men irrespective of race, colour or faith. Needless to say, such a policy is in blatant contradiction with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations in connection with the situation in South Africa and southern Africa.

45. The measures adopted by the United Nations, to which my country has made an active contribution, have fostered the mobilization of the efforts undertaken by the international community to eradi-

cate the anachronistic system of *apartheid* and to increase assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination and injustice and for freedom, national emancipation and a democratic society based on universal suffrage without discrimination. But, as has rightly been emphasized by other delegations despite the consensus achieved at the United Nations with regard to the policy of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, despite the growing resistance movement in South Africa against the policy and practices of *apartheid* and for democratic change—a movement which involves ever wider categories of the population, including progressive sections of the white community—and despite the continuous intensification of the struggle for equality and social justice, we are witnessing an ever-increasing fundamental dichotomy between a small power-usurping minority and the majority African population, which has been deprived of the most elementary rights and freedoms. We are witnessing an escalation of acts of repression and aggression and a strengthening of racist rules, sometimes achieved in a disguised manner through so-called constitutional measures, which are designed to mislead international public opinion as to the true nature of *apartheid*.

46. Moreover, the internal tension in South Africa, which is a consequence of oppression, is still being aggravated by the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the brutal repression of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and by imperialist manoeuvres to impose a neo-colonial solution on this international Territory, in defiance of the will of the Namibian people and the demands of the United Nations—all this with the obvious aim of ensuring the continuing exploitation of that people and of Namibia's natural resources.

47. In pursuance of its aims of exploitation and domination in the area, South Africa is increasing its military capability, including its capability in the nuclear field, and is escalating its acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring independent States. Such actions of force are meant to hinder the efforts of the African peoples to consolidate their political and economic independence and to worsen the international political climate even more, and represent an increasing threat to international peace and security. We believe that this dangerous course should be stopped before it is too late by means of resolute action by the United Nations in order to eliminate the *apartheid* policy and its unforeseeable consequences.

48. The Romanian delegation believes that the consensus reached by the United Nations regarding the criminal nature of the *apartheid* policy and its harmful consequences for tranquillity and stability in the area and for international peace and security and the unanimous determination to act for the elimination of this policy have great significance for the efforts made by the peoples to put an end to the old relations of domination and oppression and to achieve their right to a free and dignified life, their national freedom and independence.

49. The debates carried out over the years, as well as the constant worsening of the situation in southern Africa, which threatens world peace and security

even more, prove however that the measures taken so far are insufficient as long as they are not accompanied by effective actions likely to put an end to racist and colonialist domination in that part of the African continent, as well as to any other manifestations of the imperialist policy of domination and use of force. This is why the appeal which was launched 20 years ago by the General Assembly [resolution 1761 (XVII)] to impose mandatory economic and other sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria, and which has been reiterated on the occasion of each debate on *apartheid*, has become more pressing than ever before, now during the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

50. In my delegation's opinion, attachment to the cause of peoples' freedom and independence, to the establishment of equitable relations based on respect for the fundamental principles and norms of international law, require the United Nations to take more resolute action to extend the consensus already achieved to the taking of practical steps towards the attainment of the common goal, which is the eradication of *apartheid*. Such an approach would be in line with the obligation solemnly assumed by the General Assembly in regard to the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and the fight of the Namibian people to achieve national independence and would help put an end to any acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States.

51. In order to attain this goal it is particularly important that all States intensify their political, diplomatic and economic actions against the promoters of the *apartheid* policy and display the political will to take concerted action in the interests of peace, co-operation and social progress. Of course we cannot overlook the great responsibility incurred by the countries which continue co-operating with South Africa in spite of the repeated calls of the United Nations to put an end to such co-operation, and which by so doing encourage, in one way or another, the perpetuation of racist and colonialist policies and practices on the African continent.

52. Romania condemns most resolutely, as it has always done, the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, the illegal occupation of Namibia, the repeated aggressive acts of the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring independent States, and demands the cessation of all acts of infringement of their sovereignty and of all attempts to destabilize southern Africa.

53. In the spirit of its consistent policy of repudiation of any acts based on force and aggression, of militant solidarity with the peoples which fight against foreign domination for freedom and independence, Romania speaks and resolutely acts for the final liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, for the achievement by the majority population of South Africa of its right to freedom, equality and social progress, for speedy accession to independence for Namibia and for the people of Namibia freely to choose the path of its future development, and we firmly support the aspirations of the African countries to develop in full freedom and independence without any outside interference.

54. As President Nicolae Ceausescu once more recently emphasized, Romania has always paid particular attention, within the framework of its foreign policy, to the development of its friendly and co-operative relations with the countries of the African continent and firmly supports the efforts of the African peoples completely to abolish the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies, consolidate their national independence and freely achieve their economic and social progress.

55. Consistently supporting the just struggle of the majority population of South Africa to abolish *apartheid* and achieve its right to a free and dignified life, the Romanian people actively supports, both materially and morally, the struggle waged by the ANC and by other national liberation movements in southern Africa to eliminate racist rule and to promote the cause of freedom and progress.

56. Together with the other progressive forces of the contemporary world, the Romanian people asks most resolutely that an end be put to racist repression in southern Africa and that the patriots who are detained in South African gaols be set free without delay.

57. The feelings of solidarity with and support for the struggle of the African peoples to secure their legitimate right to be the sole masters of their destinies have found their expression in the joint documents which have been adopted by Romania with many African States and which have been reaffirmed during meetings of President Nicolae Ceausescu with the leaders of liberation movements from the African continent. This consistent position has been reaffirmed from this rostrum and before the Security Council each time the questions of southern Africa have been debated and has found its reflection in the support given by Romania to the United Nations in its efforts to eradicate *apartheid* and colonial remnants.

58. As it has stated in the past, the Romanian delegation advocates the implementation of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and the adoption against the racist régime of resolute steps and actions based on the Charter, including those provided for in Chapter VII, that would compel South Africa to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations, lead to the eradication of *apartheid* and put an end to colonialist remnants and racist domination on the African continent.

59. We are firmly convinced that the struggle waged by the oppressed population of South Africa to fulfil its aspirations for freedom and justice will fully succeed. It is the duty of the United Nations, in pursuance of its high responsibility, to act in such a way as to bring closer the moment when the cause of liberty and justice will prevail in that sorely tried area, to the benefit of the concerned peoples and of peace and security throughout the world.

60. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): The year 1982 was declared International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. This resolution signifies that the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa has become one of the most vital issues on the agenda of this body. The resolution also signifies that the Member States of the United Nations want above all action

in order to bring an end to the system of *apartheid* in South Africa. It is the view of the majority of Member States that concerted action must be taken against the racist régime which has been defying the will of the international community so stubbornly for many years.

61. *Apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity, is the most brutal form of racial discrimination. It is rather astonishing that, in our time, when the struggle against racism has been successful in many parts of the world, such an anachronistic form of racial discrimination should exist in one country. The system of *apartheid* is not simply a remnant of the past; it is a remnant of the past which has significance inside South Africa as well as outside the country in the international sphere.

62. It would be a mistake to consider the system of *apartheid* simply as a case of the violation of human rights. Yes, it is true that *apartheid* is the brutal mass violation of human rights of the vast majority of the population of South Africa, but in fact the system of *apartheid* is more than that. The humiliation of many millions of people is connected to an even more deep-rooted cause which is inseparable from colonialism and imperialism. This is the economic exploitation of the victims of *apartheid*. We cannot ignore this factor in the analysis of the racist régime in South Africa. We cannot ignore the fact that the so-called separate development, bantustanization and the pass law system are designed to ensure a cheap labour force for the benefit of the racist white minority régime and for the foreign economic interests which are also present in South Africa.

63. It has been repeatedly emphasized in the United Nations that without the help and collaboration of its Western allies the Pretoria régime could not defy the will of the international community and could not even survive. That is why many resolutions of the General Assembly have called for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Since 1977, with the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), a mandatory arms embargo has been imposed on South Africa. The Security Council, by its resolution 421 (1977), established a committee to monitor effectively the arms embargo.

64. However, in spite of all these efforts, collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa not only continues but is intensifying in all fields, including the economic, cultural, scientific, sports, military and nuclear fields. It is most deplorable and deserving of censure that certain Western States and Israel are taking steps towards the intensification of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The latest example of this collaboration is that, according to press reports, the United States has delivered shipments of arms to the South African police. Such steps constitute clear violation of United Nations resolutions, at the same time contributing to the tension in the southern part of Africa, where the Pretoria régime is the main source of tension and the major destabilizing factor, with its constant aggression against Angola and other front-line States. The acquisition of nuclear capability by the Pretoria régime would contribute to the further deterioration of the situation in southern Africa.

65. The year 1982 was marked by the intensification of the struggle by the liberation movement in South Africa. Many actions were initiated and carried out by the trade unions, supported by the Coloured working masses, and also by representatives of the white population. These are the manifestations of growing discontent against the white minority racist régime. The régime has responded with the intensification of suppressive measures and growing brutality. Death sentences have been imposed on members of the ANC.

66. The repressive measures, and above all the death penalties, have brought a vigorous reaction from both world public opinion and the United Nations. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted resolutions calling for the death penalties to be revoked.

67. Under pressure from the international community and the opposition forces inside the country, the racist régime of South Africa has taken some steps towards so-called evolutionary changes in its rigid system of racial discrimination. It has written a new Constitution in order to promote such changes, but the fact is that this new Constitution totally excludes the exercise by the black population of social, political and economic rights, and uses divisive tactics by giving very insignificant rights to the other groups of the Coloured population.

68. In the view of my delegation, however, the system of *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated totally. The pass law system, as an important element of *apartheid*, cannot be reformed. It cannot be maintained at all. It too must be eradicated totally, together with the whole system. Only a genuinely democratic society based on majority rule can be acceptable both to the people of South Africa and the international community.

69. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has intensified its activity in connection with the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The Committee has made efforts to mobilize world public opinion to demonstrate solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa by organizing conferences, seminars and consultations in different parts of the world. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, whose initiatives and dynamism contributed greatly to the successful work of the Committee. I should also like to thank the members of the Centre against *Apartheid*, which provided excellent service for the work of the Committee.

70. Hungary, as a founding member of the Special Committee, will continue to make efforts towards the eradication of *apartheid*. We hope that this inhuman system will not for long resist the pressure of the majority of the international community. I should like to assure the struggling people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC of the solidarity and full support of our people and Government.

71. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Israel's abhorrence of all forms of racism and racial discrimination has been stated and reaffirmed annually in this forum. The social ethic of my people has always been reflected in a universal message developed at the dawn of our history, expounded in the teachings of our prophets

and sages and epitomized in the biblical command that "ye shall . . . proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof..." [Leviticus 25:10].

72. The Jewish people and the nascent State of Israel have been in the vanguard of every struggle against the evil of racism. It could not be otherwise, for our own national identity was forged in the crucible of persecution. Indeed, within the living memory of many in this Hall, my people were subject to unspeakable torment and massacre resulting in the loss of one third of our nation, whose only crime was to have been Jewish. Nevertheless, throughout that long national nightmare my people never lost sight of the universal message of the great sage Hillel: "What is hateful to you do not do unto another". That message is as bright a beacon today as it has been through 1900 years of persecution and redemption.

73. I speak to you, therefore, from a deep personal conviction as well as from the collective experience of my people when I declare once again before the Assembly that Israel remains determined to give no sanction to bigotry or persecution.

74. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has recently brought out another report [A/37/22/Add.1 and 2] in its series of tendentious and worn-out reports concerning Israel. It is perhaps appropriate to remember for one brief moment, before examining that report, who indeed its authors are and what violations of basic human rights are currently condoned by some of their Governments.

75. Among the members of that Committee are countries such as Algeria, where a native people, the Berbers, are still oppressed by their Arab masters and denied the right to separate cultural expression. In other member countries people are still downtrodden for their ideological and religious beliefs and are denied their basic rights to liberty of movement and free expression. Is there really any great difference between the pass laws of South Africa and the curtailment of free movement in the Eastern bloc countries?

76. There are also countries represented in the Committee, need it be said, that have countenanced with equanimity widespread imprisonment without trial of political opponents of their régimes. Is it not ironic that among the critics of Israel should sit Syria, that paragon of all the virtues lauded by this Organization, whose brutalities perpetrated by its Alawite minority Government reached an horrendous climax only this past February, when, as reported by the BBC on 11 April 1982, 15,000 Sunni Moslems died at the hands of the Syrian army in Hama.

77. As is well known, of the 18 members of this Committee, 11 maintain no diplomatic relations with Israel, while three continue to regard their relations with Israel as those of belligerency.

78. As in previous years, the authors of this report tediously contend that Israel's alleged collaboration with South Africa has "assumed increasing scope" [A/37/22/Add.1, para. 1]. Perusal of the special report of the Special Committee on the alleged "special" relations between Israel and South Africa, however, reveals that although the report pretends to sub-

stantiate its arbitrary assertions, its proof resides overwhelmingly in newspaper reports, most of them of dubious value or authenticity and many of them quoted out of context. Indeed, were these same newspapers to be quoted on United Nations matters, presenting a view of the Organization that is "grossly inaccurate", in the words of a recent United Nations document on press reporting on the Organization, they would immediately be condemned.

79. For instance, let us take the allegations about economic collaboration between Israel and South Africa. As introduction to a tiresome list of minor events culled from the pages of the South African press, of which the members of the Committee are apparently avid and ingenuous readers, the report makes it clear that in fact Israel accounts for less than 1 per cent—I repeat, less than 1 per cent—of South Africa's total trade.

80. If we were to accept the report in the same spirit of self-righteous indignation in which it is presented, we might justifiably assume that the remaining 99 per cent of South Africa's foreign trade was conducted with the moon. In fact, of course, South Africa's trade continues to be with the earth-bound. From the statistics published by the IMF we learn, for example, that it is Africa which last year accounted for as much as 8.6 per cent of South Africa's exports—up by more than 3 per cent over the previous year. We learn that the USSR and Eastern Europe account for an ostensibly smaller percentage, but then of course, in the words of the IMF report, such figures do not include "oil, diamonds and gold". As I had occasion to ask in this debate last year, how many East European and Arab countries do indeed continue surreptitiously to trade billions of dollars worth of their oil and other products against gold, diamonds, foodstuffs and building materials from South Africa? These, needless to say, are figures which the Committee chooses not to reveal. But then the point of the entire exercise is not to question *apartheid* but to exploit the United Nations machinery to vilify Israel and to harness the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to serve the relentless Arab campaign against my country.

81. One of the most misleading sections of the 1982 special report deals with alleged military and nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa. There is not one single item of verified information in this section. Indeed the key words used by the authors of the report seem to be "reported" and "possibly". The words "substantiated" and "probable", however, continue as in past years to be conspicuous by their absence. Once again it is clear that those who drafted the report have been unable to produce any real evidence for their accusations. In the interests of fair and accurate reporting, therefore, I would once again refer representatives to document S/AC.20/17, dated 14 September 1979 and circulated as a document of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977). In that document my Government reconfirmed its undertakings of 7 December 1977¹ and 3 April 1978² namely, that it would comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and accordingly, Israel would not provide South Africa with arms or related material of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military

vehicles and equipment. Those assurances were reconfirmed in our note verbale of 23 June 1980 to the same Committee. This notwithstanding, there is no mention in the special report of the letters and notes of the representatives of Israel sent in response to inquiries by appropriate organs of the United Nations, including the Special Committee itself.

82. The Special Committee's special report concludes its survey with a news item concerning a visit by Israel's Minister of the Interior to South Africa at the invitation of the South African Zionist Federation. Allow me to make an admission to this Assembly. That report is a true one, and indeed I must confess to a certain sense of astonishment that a true report should ever have found its way into such a tendentious tissue of fabrication. The Jewish community of Israel does maintain ties with the Jewish community of South Africa. Moreover, those ties are specifically channelled through the Zionist Federation, an organization in whose very beliefs is inherent an abiding opposition to all forms of racism and racial discrimination.

83. It is only too apparent that the enemies of my country will stop at no stratagem, however crude, to blacken Israel's reputation in the world community. It is sad and discouraging that so much of the effort needed to deal with the problem of *apartheid* should be diverted to the production of useless and wasteful documents and verbose diatribes against Israel. The attempt to paint Israel, the homeland of the Jewish people, which is the classic victim of racism, as a conspirator in a new world plot to perpetuate racism is a manoeuvre which, I believe, future generations will look back upon as a continuation of those notorious anti-Jewish forgeries born of the everlasting need of unsuccessful régimes to cast their sins upon a scapegoat.

84. If the only consequence of this continued charade were unjustified damage to Israel's reputation, that alone would be reason for profound regret, at least on the part of those concerned with the integrity of the struggle against *apartheid*. However, the unfortunate fact is that the unending diatribes against my country which have been artificially inserted into this debate serve also to subvert and discredit the role of the United Nations in the genuine battle against racism. Those who persist in distorting the issues before us today by seeking to exploit for their own purposes the international abhorrence of *apartheid* belittle the injustices suffered by those living under the *apartheid* system and also disrupt the international consensus needed to act effectively to remove discrimination and to restore human dignity. The specious singling out of Israel can only serve to undermine the efforts of well-meaning States to purge the world of the plagues of racism and racial discrimination.

85. In conclusion, lest there be any doubt concerning Israel's position on the matter before us, let me reaffirm our strong and absolute opposition to the policy of *apartheid*. We have made our stand clear to the Government of South Africa and we believe that this direct approach better serves the cause of eliminating racial discrimination than do attempts by some who continue to abuse this Assembly and these debates by venting their own prejudices to serve their own partisan political objectives.

86. As a multiracial people of all colours and backgrounds, we in Israel are bound to have nothing but criticism for a policy which humiliates others on account of their race or colour. We would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage and everything we stand for if we were not to express loud and clear our abhorrence of racism, racial discrimination and degradation in any form whatsoever.

87. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): At the outset I want to state that the Netherlands fully endorses the views set forth in the statement of the representative of Denmark, who, on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, has strongly condemned the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. This hideous policy of racial segregation and discrimination is contrary to the principle of the equal rights of all human beings enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also runs counter to the moral values cherished by the Netherlands people. The refusal of the South African Government to abolish *apartheid* continues to stir up deep concern, indignation and anger in my country.

88. Abhorrence of the racial policies of the South African Government is deeply rooted in our society and finds its expression in the anti-*apartheid* activities of the Churches and labour unions and a host of private organizations. In view of the importance my Government attaches to this subject, my delegation wishes to go into some more detail on the question of *apartheid*.

89. The Netherlands Government condemns the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government because they constitute a denial of the fundamental equality of man. In the last few decades international attention has focused to such a degree on these inhumane policies that the word "*apartheid*" itself has become synonymous with the practice of institutionalized and systematic racial discrimination. The Netherlands will continue to do everything in its power to contribute to the eradication of this system. The United Nations has been seized of the problem of racism in South Africa for more than 30 years. In our view, the international community has no choice but to bring to bear increased pressure on South Africa in the hope that its Government will finally be persuaded to embark on a policy of basic reform leading to the elimination of *apartheid* and its replacement by a democratic society and a truly representative Government.

90. My delegation regrets to say that so far the South African Government has shown no serious intention to initiate such reforms. Furthermore, in their determination to carry out *apartheid* policy in all its aspects, the South African authorities continue to use methods of repression.

91. As a corollary to these policies at home, the South African Government's actions also continue to have a destabilizing effect on neighbouring countries, thus endangering peace and stability in the entire region.

92. The proposals for constitutional reforms ignore the aspirations of the majority of the population and fall far short of the profound and fundamental changes my Government considers to be imperative.

93. Considering developments in South Africa during the past year, one can only conclude that the situation has not improved. The Netherlands Government rejects the homeland policy through which, in the name of separate development, the South African Government tries to herd as many blacks as possible into poor and remote areas, thereby making them strangers in their own country. The international community has unanimously condemned bantustanization. But the setting up of Ciskei indicates that South Africa has not given up its efforts to turn the homelands into easily controllable reservoirs of cheap labour and dumping grounds for workers who have become unproductive due to age or ill health.

94. The living conditions of blacks in urban areas are hardly more enviable. Some steps have indeed been taken to give these blacks a say in their own affairs on the municipal level, and some of the restrictions on the labour market have been eased. However, any positive impact these measures might have had was nullified by the accompanying wave of arrests, detentions and bannings of opponents of *apartheid*, by the enactment of more repressive legislation and by the further muzzling of the press. The foreign press has not been spared in the process. Only a few weeks ago the South African authorities decided not to extend the labour permit of a permanent Netherlands news media correspondent in South Africa. A further recent development that caused indignation in my country was the extension of the banning of the Reverend Beyers Naudé.

95. My Government believes that the *apartheid* system is doomed and that it must give way to a multiracial society in which all citizens participate on a footing of democratic equality. Without arrogating to itself the right to advocate a particular political configuration for South Africa, the Netherlands does its utmost to encourage peaceful change in South Africa's society and in its political system. On the national level, my Government follows two complementary policies in the pursuit of this objective: the continuation of our dialogue with the South African authorities, and the exertion of effective pressure on them. Priority will always be given, however, to our support for the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to *apartheid*. At the request of the Security Council, the Netherlands implemented a national voluntary arms embargo a year before the Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977 by the adoption of its resolution 418 (1977). My Government attaches great importance to the scrupulous observance of that resolution. The Netherlands would view favourably the adoption by the Security Council of selective economic measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, or a voluntary embargo instituted by a sufficient number of countries capable of using their influence in a significant way in the economic field concerned. Needless to say, South Africa, which recently announced its intention to start exporting arms, will find no buyers in my country. My Government remains ready to consider participating in the implementation of a non-mandatory, effective embargo on oil supplies to South Africa applied by countries relevant in this sphere.

96. The Netherlands Government is worried about reports indicating that South Africa is acquiring a

nuclear capability. Against the background of my country's desire to keep Africa free of nuclear weapons, we call upon the Government of South Africa to undertake unequivocal non-proliferation commitments and thereby to dispel any doubts about its nuclear policy. Together with its partners, the member States of the European Community, the Netherlands seeks to contribute to the emancipation of the non-white population of South Africa, which is an important pre-condition for the necessary gradual and peaceful change. To this end my Government strongly urges the Netherlands companies concerned to implement the guidelines set out in the code of conduct for European companies with interests in South Africa and to respect its provisions, including freedom of association, substantial increases in minimum pay, and equal pay for equal work. The encouraging response of these companies to the Government's request demonstrates the possibilities open to outside countries to promote the interests of those who suffer under the injustices of *apartheid*.

97. The active interest my Government takes in international efforts to eliminate *apartheid* complements steps that have already been taken against South Africa on a national level and springs naturally from the views my people have on *apartheid*.

98. A measure to come into force shortly is the introduction of visa requirements for South Africans who wish to visit the Netherlands, following my Government's denunciation of a visa agreement with South Africa. This will enable my authorities to restrict South African participation in sporting events in the Netherlands. Last year the Netherlands terminated its cultural agreement with South Africa, and we withhold middle-term and long-term credit guarantees for economic transactions with South Africa.

99. Possibilities for a further increase in the pressure on South Africa to abolish the *apartheid* system are now being studied in my country. The policy options under consideration include measures in the economic field, in particular Netherlands participation in the existing voluntary oil embargo, the introduction of a law concerning investments in South Africa and restrictions on certain South African imports. These measures will need to be made consonant both with international commitments undertaken by the Netherlands and with our economic interests and those of the countries surrounding South Africa.

100. As another aspect of our policy of contributing to peaceful change and the eradication of *apartheid*, the Netherlands maintains a critical dialogue with the South African Government. Non-governmental organizations are enabled to provide assistance to South Africans who actively oppose *apartheid*. The Netherlands also extends aid to political prisoners in South Africa and other victims of the *apartheid* policies in every possible way. To that end my Government makes annual contributions to organizations such as the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, in recognition of their admirable efforts to alleviate the plight of these persons and their families. Governmental support for South African anti-*apartheid* groups will continue unabated.

101. The negative effects of *apartheid* do not remain limited to South Africa alone. The tensions that result from this policy of racial discrimination are spilling over into neighbouring States, disrupting their economies and destabilizing the entire region. South Africa's aggressive behaviour towards these States, most of which have only recently attained independence and are struggling to build up their economies, further compounds the hardships that their peoples are facing. Therefore, it is an integral part of the southern African policy of the Netherlands Government to render assistance in the efforts of the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. That these States have to pay the price for the obstinacy and disregard of human rights of the white minority in South Africa adds to the injustices of *apartheid*.

102. Individually and through international programmes, my Government will continue to give priority to helping these countries to pursue their right to development. But prosperity and stable, peaceful conditions will come to the region only when the root cause of its problems has been removed. It is our fervent hope that the concerted action of the international community will finally persuade the South African leaders to abandon their collision course with history while there is still time. Their choice is between further entrenchment at home and abroad, with all its inevitable disastrous consequences, and salvaging their own future by setting in motion a process of rapid reform leading to a multiracial, truly democratic society that will command the loyalty of all its citizens, irrespective of the colour of their skin.

103. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): There are few subjects as disturbing and revolting as that which we are discussing today; the indescribable policy of *apartheid* of the ruling minority in South Africa.

104. Today, 37 years after the crushing of fascism in the same year as our Organization was born, the world described as civilized still accepts as a worthy partner—indeed, a member in good standing—a régime whose declared philosophy is overt, systematic, institutionalized racism. South Africa, which categorizes men according to totally irrelevant criteria and which denies the humanity of millions of men on the sole ground that they are not very white, is still, unhappily, given a hearing by many Members of this Organization.

105. Moreover, South Africa has diplomatic representatives in many of those countries, receives unimaginable quantities of sophisticated weapons, has access to nuclear technology, and is thus encouraged in its continued annexation of Namibia, its continued occupation of Angolan territory and its periodic acts of aggression against the other brother front-line countries. In addition, it seeks and frequently receives significant financial aid the better to bolster its policy of racial discrimination and aggression, which is contrary to our Charter, to any interpretation of international law and to the simplest expression of human rights.

106. My delegation has no intention of dwelling at length on a system, *apartheid*, which concerns and offends any normal human conscience, or on a country, South Africa, which, with its Israeli partner, symbolizes lawlessness and racial scorn. These régimes, which certainly do not cherish peace, seek hegemony over the two regions in which they have entrenched themselves, denying the national rights of the indigenous populations which have been there for thousands of years. We should like merely to remind representatives of some positions taken here by successive delegations of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

107. First, our country is totally opposed to the policy of *apartheid* in all its forms and refuses to accept the outrageous theory that the system is capable of improvement.

108. Secondly, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania believes that only the establishment in South Africa of a multiracial, egalitarian society on the basis of one man, one vote, will bring about a normal, acceptable and humane situation there. My country continues to advocate the breaking off of all forms of political, economic, social and cultural relations with the *apartheid* régime.

109. Thirdly, my delegation reaffirms its confidence in the ANC and its resistance struggle against South Africa, intensified day by day, to impose political, economic and social democracy there.

110. Fourthly, we call for the intensification of the international campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners, and we pay homage to the memory of all the martyrs of South African terrorism.

111. Fifthly, we reaffirm our active solidarity with all our brother front-line countries, victims of daily acts of provocation and terrorism of all kinds at the hands of South Africa.

112. Sixthly, we draw attention to the growing collaboration between South Africa and Israel in many areas, particularly in the nuclear field.

113. Before I finish I should like to thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, our brother Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, for the excellent report in which are described all the horrors of *apartheid*. We believe that the report deserves careful reading and that deep thought should be given to the long night which is stretching ahead for millions of our brothers in that country-wide concentration camp known as South Africa.

114. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The policy of *apartheid*, which has become a despicable symbol or slogan of the Pretoria Government, is not a policy that should be merely condemned and denounced. Indeed it is a system of anachronistic colonial government, one which has been overtaken by history. To be more precise, it is the last weapon used by the colonialists in South Africa to perpetuate the domination by the white minority of the black majority, which is ceaselessly exposed to the most barbaric and inhuman methods of persecution, employed to stifle any flame in their soul which would make them call, not for revolution or rebellion, but merely for social justice and equality.

That is why it is primarily for the United Nations to confront that odious racist régime, which is contrary to the provisions and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by imposing mandatory sanctions capable of deterring it and forcing it to respect the indigenous black population in that country as human beings and even to respect the black continent to which South Africa belongs.

115. During the past 20 years the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions calling upon the Member States and the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, to impose economic and other sanctions on the Government of South Africa to make it cease the practice of *apartheid*. Has the situation changed because of those resolutions? Unfortunately, it has not. All these efforts have yielded no results, notwithstanding the support of the majority of countries throughout the world, with the exception of a few Western countries that are permanent members of the Security Council.

116. For that reason the delegation of Qatar urges the States that are sincerely desirous to eliminate that anachronistic colonial system and to concentrate their efforts on this duality which has become one of the harmful and pernicious attitudes of international conduct. These countries, while they should be condemning *apartheid*, refuse to do anything but make verbal statements, as becomes apparent when action is called for. This situation is responsible for the fact that the United Nations resolutions are without any force. This affects the credibility of this Organization. This dual attitude is particularly blatant when the General Assembly adopts a resolution calling upon the IMF to refuse to grant a very large loan to the Government of South Africa, in conformity with the will of the international community, but that Fund reads by granting the loan and ignoring the Assembly resolution.

117. In the framework of this duality, the very countries which take every opportunity to condemn racial discrimination have continued, notwithstanding the Security Council resolution, to provide the South African Government with weapons. Those countries have interpreted the Security Council resolutions in a manner that is to the advantage of that Government. While those countries claim that they are not supplying weapons to South Africa, in actual fact they are providing it with the capability to produce weapons. Those countries have continued to violate the Security Council resolutions by giving technical assistance to South Africa and providing it with fissionable material, which has enabled the racist Government of Pretoria to implement its nuclear programmes in collaboration with the other racist entity, Israel. This constitutes a flagrant defiance of the international community and to the values and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

118. The only way to put an end to this state of affairs, which reflects the great gap between the statements made in the United Nations and the actions taken outside it by certain member States of the Security Council, is to avoid the usual ambiguous wording which makes it possible to misinterpret Secu-

riety Council resolutions, as was the case with the resolution regarding the banning of arms deliveries to South Africa. In view of this grave situation, we call upon the Security Council to adopt a resolution providing for economic and military sanctions against the Pretoria Government. The Security Council must also insist that all Member States implement such a resolution.

119. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): My delegation wishes to convey its appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, who introduced the report of the Special Committee in the General Assembly. The report is a comprehensive document setting out the activities of the Committee, particularly in relation to the resolutions adopted by this Assembly, and a valuable account and review of developments in the background of the South African Government's policies of *apartheid*.

120. The time allocated to this agenda item because of the very extensive participation in this debate is evidence not only of the continuing concern of Member States but also of the international community's emphatic refusal to condone in any way the policies of *apartheid* that the Government of South Africa unrelentingly pursues. These policies have been given legal sanction and are enforced by a Government which, near the close of this twentieth century, bases its very existence on a perpetuation of racism. It does so by denying almost three fourths of its population the basic political, economic, social and human rights which the rest of the international community accepts as the norm. In so saying, we do not venture to suggest that racism in covert forms is absent elsewhere, or that human rights are universally observed elsewhere. The difference between South Africa and the rest of us is that racism, institutionalized there as *apartheid*, is with none of us part of official or State policy. On the contrary, wherever there are allegations of violations of human rights, defaulting Governments spare no effort not merely to defend themselves but also to assure us that these violations are by no means part of State policy.

121. While we warmly commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for having kept our attention focused on the inhumanity of this system, this is also an occasion to pay a tribute to the ANC, which this year celebrated its seventieth anniversary. The ANC—declared illegal in South Africa, with its leadership in prison or in exile and its sympathizers persecuted both within and outside South Africa—continues to play a most vital role through its perseverance and organized action against the tyranny that rules that country.

122. For a long time the Government of South Africa has been able to hold the rest of the world at bay, and perhaps some of this Organization's Members at ransom, because it has been so generously endowed with natural resources. Although so much of the wealth of that country has been and continues to be produced by a labour force of black people, against whom these policies of *apartheid* are aimed, they have themselves benefited little from that accumulation of wealth. This year at least that tide has ebbed, if not turned, and the Government of South Africa has been compelled to seek a substantial credit of \$1 bil-

lion from the IMF to help rescue it from a financial crisis. The Assembly has already urged the IMF to heed its repeated resolutions concerning collaboration with South Africa. The Fund is indeed governed by its Articles of Agreement with its members. Yet, even constituent members of the Fund are on occasion compelled to terminate contractual obligations to advance a greater good, if not higher ideals. Increasing numbers of white people in South Africa are coming round to the view that the dismantling of *apartheid* would be, for them and for all of South Africa, a greater good.

123. It is a matter of particular regret that the Committee's report speaks of relaxation, if not breaches, of United Nations resolutions calling for an arms embargo against South Africa. In the face of our inability to discourage or prevent economic collaboration with South Africa, the arms embargo was of special importance in the context of the aggressive policies of South Africa against its neighbours, particularly the front-line States of Angola and Mozambique. If sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations seem beyond us, let us at least ask for observance of obligations under the resolutions calling for an arms embargo.

124. My delegation has a special reason for addressing the Assembly today. Sri Lanka has hitherto strictly observed the Assembly's resolutions which call for a ban on sports contacts with South Africa. It was with great regret that we learned of South African organizers having enticed with substantial monetary inducements a group of 14 cricket players to tour South Africa in October and November of this year. As soon as the Government of Sri Lanka learned of this, it took every possible action to dissuade those sportsmen. Nevertheless, their South African contacts resorted to the devious method of having the 14 players travel to other destinations, from where they left for Johannesburg. Our laws precluded the Government's impounding their passports because there was no *prima facie* evidence that they were eventually proceeding on a journey to South Africa. However, as soon as there was evidence that they had arrived in Johannesburg, the Board of

Cricket Control in Sri Lanka held an emergency meeting and adopted its decision, which was as follows.

125. The Board condemned the cricket tour of South Africa undertaken by that group of players contrary to the Gleneagles Agreement and United Nations resolutions. The Board considered that the conduct of the players was contrary to the interests and objects of the Board and that they had brought disrepute and ignominy to the game of cricket. Accordingly, the Board of Cricket Control resolved to suspend the players for a period of 25 years—I repeat, 25 years—from national cricket, cricket management and participation in any national tournament or game sponsored, recognized or conducted by the Board. The Cricket Board was emphatic that the 14 players had no national representative capacity whatsoever and that they would take further action as necessary against the players, in consultation with the relevant authorities.

126. A suspension for 25 years is in effect a debarment for life. We in Sri Lanka deplore the conduct of these cricket players and this decisive action by the relevant authorities is indicative of Sri Lanka's abhorrence of the policies of *apartheid*. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been kept fully informed of and has expressed its satisfaction with the measures taken by us. In conclusion, may I say that small countries such as ours have only a limited capacity to demonstrate our adherence to this Organization's resolutions. This was an occasion when we were tried and were not found wanting.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1977, document S/12475.*

² *Ibid., Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12475/Add.1.*