



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. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members to the fact that three additional draft resolutions have been distributed under this item: A/37/L.26, 27 and 28.

2. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): The General Assembly is once again dealing with the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa. Even though the international community has universally condemned the Government of South Africa for its racial policies, the situation has remained basically unchanged. The United Nations has, year after year, rejected those policies and requested an immediate end to this institutionalized violation of human rights and human dignity. Singling out the policies of South Africa, as we have done for years, is justified, because *apartheid* constitutes the most systematic and massive violation of human rights anywhere. It is therefore a direct challenge to the very basis of this Organization.

3. The position of the Government and people of Finland on this issue is clear and remains unchanged: we categorically denounce all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race, creed or colour. We condemn *apartheid* in its totality as incompatible with our Nordic conception of justice, equality and the dignity of every human being.

4. While respect for human rights is far from perfect in any country, *apartheid* stands in complete contradiction with the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore it is one of the rare issues on which the international community in its entirety is united. South Africa stands universally condemned for its racial policies.

5. The reaction of South Africa to its ever-deepening isolation and to pressure from the international community has been one of defiance and resistance and of turning increasingly inwards. International isolation and pressure have prompted South Africa to introduce some minor reforms to its *apartheid* legislation. Such measures are, in our opinion, only a palliative, an attempt to delay an irreversible development. The

system of *apartheid* cannot be reformed. Only one kind of change is possible: the abolition of *apartheid*.

6. *Apartheid* leads inevitably to violence, both externally and internally. Acts of aggression against neighbouring States and the illegal occupation of the United Nations Territory of Namibia by South Africa are instances of massive external violence. As to internal behaviour, recent events in South Africa, such as the death sentences of the three members of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]—commuted to life imprisonment because of international pressure—confirm once again this cruel yet logical pattern. Trials intended solely to suppress opponents of *apartheid* and the practice of imprisoning people only because they have worked to bring *apartheid* to an end are a travesty of justice.

7. *Apartheid*, no matter how it is explained by the South African Government, seems to be based mainly on two motivations, both of which are offensive to my Government: first, the profoundly mistaken belief in the superiority of one race over another and, secondly, the selfish economic interests of the white population of South Africa.

8. My Government, together with other Nordic Governments, has since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly sponsored a draft resolution aimed at preventing new foreign investments in South Africa. Such measures, added to the mandatory arms embargo, are particularly relevant in the context of the substantial increases in the military budget of South Africa. In the view of my Government, the Security Council should therefore, as a first step, take decisions aimed at preventing new foreign investments in that country.

9. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has in its report to the General Assembly [A/37/22] given a graphic description of the cruel and degrading conditions imposed on the black majority by the Government of South Africa. The able Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, was recently good enough to pay a visit to the Nordic countries in order to explain the findings of the Committee in greater detail. The report of the Special Committee further confirms a basic fact: the South African Government has not yet realized that attempts to found a society on the principle of racial segregation and discrimination are inherently doomed to failure.

10. On behalf of my Government, I should like to reiterate our condemnation of South Africa's system of institutionalized racial discrimination, which is an abuse of fundamental human rights and an affront to human dignity. We are convinced that peace and justice can be brought to southern Africa only through the elimination of *apartheid*.

11. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For more than 30 years the General Assembly has been discussing the question of *apartheid* as practised by the Government of South Africa. After all these years, the situation in South Africa is still deteriorating and assuming new and dramatic forms and dimensions. This situation is caused by the policies of the Government of South Africa which are aimed at establishing *apartheid* even more firmly in that part of the world. Indeed, the dismemberment of the demographic and territorial integrity of the South African people by means of bantustanization represents a great threat to them. Furthermore, the Government of the Republic of South Africa has made the country's territory a base from which it carries out acts of aggression against neighbouring African States and South Africa refuses to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia, thus endangering international peace and security.

12. The 30 years that have passed since the adoption of the first General Assembly resolution on *apartheid* in South Africa represent but one stage in a long history that goes back to the emergence of European settler colonialism. We have noted the report of the Special Committee according to which five centuries have passed since the beginning of the European colonialization of the continent of Africa, which led to a tragic and a shameful period in the history of the world because of the flagrant injustice, suffering and humiliation inflicted on the sons of the African continent.

13. My delegation views the policy of *apartheid* as a prolongation of colonialism by racist settlement, which is the most abject form of imperialism because it subjugates and impoverishes the indigenous population and plunders its natural resources. Settler colonialism is the incarnation of violence and perpetual war on the interests of the people. When South Africa made *apartheid* a system of government, it traced the boundaries which separated the region of white settler colonization from that of traditional colonialism.

14. What has happened in South Africa has also happened in Palestine, where settler colonialism is practised at the expense of the people of Palestine and the Arab peoples whose territories are occupied by Israel.

15. As long as settler colonialism and traditional colonialism seek to dismember, subjugate, and exploit the indigenous peoples and destroy their civilization, the description of South Africa's policy given in the report of the Special Committee will be correct. It is not simply a violation of human rights but a violation of the established international order. It disturbs international relations, the rules and principles of which are laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and in international law. The first of these is the right of peoples to self-determination.

16. The alliance between South Africa and some Western countries, in particular the United States of America, proves that settler colonialism can only consolidate the interests of the imperialists, which run counter to the interests of the peoples of the region. South Africa faithfully plays the role assigned to it. It is a military, political and economic base to serve the interests of the imperialist system at the expense

of the exploited peoples. Consequently, it is a logical development that southern Africa has become one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, because there is a continual and increasing conflict between the aspiration of the African States to preserve their independence and eliminate the injustice which has felled the people of South Africa and the interests of the imperialist alliance, which seeks to preserve at all costs its investments, bases and strategic interests, which by their very nature are aggressive.

17. The report of the Special Committee makes it absolutely clear where the responsibility lies for the deteriorating situation in South Africa. We can sum up the report as follows.

18. First, the responsibility lies with the major Western Powers, the multinational corporations and other interests which help to support *apartheid* by their co-operation with that racist régime and by the military, economic, technological and other assistance they provide, contrary to both General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. As an example, I would point out that several Western countries, among them Israel, have provided the racist régime with an entire military and technological arsenal and have helped it to draw up its nuclear programmes. Those countries have allowed the companies under their jurisdiction to invest in South Africa and to manufacture weapons there.

19. The report of the Special Committee stresses the role played in this connection by the United States, when it says in paragraph 329:

“The recent actions of the United States not only reflect an unwillingness to co-operate in sanctions and other international efforts for the elimination of *apartheid*, but represent serious retrograde moves:

“(a) That country has based its policy on the premise that South Africa was its traditional ally, ignoring the links between the ruling party in South Africa and the Nazi régime. It has sought to describe the freedom fighters, risking their lives in a legitimate struggle for the principles enshrined in the Charter and, indeed, professed by the United States, as ‘terrorists’, while embarking on a so-called policy of ‘constructive engagement’ with the racist régime;

“(b) It has vetoed the draft resolution in the Security Council on 31 August 1981 condemning the massive aggression by the South African régime against Angola, and thereby paralysed any Security Council action on continuing acts of aggression by that régime;

“(c) It has relaxed its implementation of the arms embargo, as well as its former decisions to suspend co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field, and increased its economic and other relations with South Africa.”

20. Furthermore, the United States and another Western country were the only ones not to vote in favour of any of the 14 draft resolutions which were voted upon during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Those countries also distinguished themselves by voting against the draft resolution concerning the racist *apartheid* régime's acts of aggression against independent African States. The United States has made itself the main defender of the *apar-*

heid régime by opposing any effective international action. In paragraph 331 of its report the Special Committee quotes the following extract from a Washington publication:

“... the Reagan Administration has only encouraged South African intransigence ... the United States has continued to broaden its friendship with this régime by: defending it in the United Nations; violating the mandatory United Nations Arms Embargo; allowing South Africa to enlarge the size of its defense attaché in the U.S. and increase the number of consulates in the U.S.; offering to renew nuclear co-operation with South Africa...”

The Special Committee's report goes on to mention a statement by the United States Government to the effect that

“... domestic change within South Africa would not be a pre-condition for improved U.S./South African relations ... the U.S. seeks to ‘move forward towards a future in which South Africa returns to a place within the regional framework of Western security interests’ ...”

21. During this session, Washington's vote on a draft resolution of a humanitarian nature, calling for militant detainees in South Africa to be treated with humanity aroused general astonishment, not to say indignation. Similarly, the votes of the United States and certain other Western countries on a draft resolution calling on the International Monetary Fund [IMF] not to grant financial assistance to the Pretoria régime caused general indignation, because it was widely believed that such assistance would strengthen the policy of *apartheid* and of aggression against neighbouring States and would help Pretoria to maintain its domination over Namibia.

22. It follows that the racist régime derives its strength from certain Western countries, led by the United States. The more that aid is stepped up, the greater the oppression within the country and the aggression outside it. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to look at annex I of the Special Committee's report, which gives details of the suffering inflicted on the South African people—detention, torture, assassination, house arrest, political trials and arbitrary laws. The obvious purpose of these practices is to preserve a régime based on the enslavement and subjugation of the majority.

23. Secondly, the Special Committee has again warned the international community of the consequences of a continuance of these acts of oppression and aggression by the South African Government. We read the following in paragraph 43 of the report:

“The Special Committee once again draws the urgent attention of the international community to the constant and continuous acts of aggression, subversion, terrorism and destabilization by the racist régime of South Africa against independent African States and also to the brutal oppression of the people of South Africa. The situation constitutes not only a threat to peace but continuous breaches of peace and, indeed, an undeclared war against the whole region.”

24. We believe that the General Assembly should approve the content of paragraph 44 of that report, which quotes the Chairman of the Committee:

“The Special Committee has pointed out that the international community confronts in southern Africa not only a threat to international peace but repeated breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression. The Western Powers have repeatedly refused to recognize the threat to international peace, advancing unconvincing interpretations of that term. But, after the admission by the Pretoria régime, who can deny the indisputable fact that there has been one more brazen act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and a further breach of the peace? . . .

“I hope the Western permanent members of the Security Council will be persuaded, even at this late hour, to recognize the imperative need for effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and discharge their solemn responsibilities under the Charter.”

25. Thirdly, co-operation between Israel and South Africa is not illogical because they are both peas from the same pod in the service of colonialism and imperialism. Apart from their strategic position, they are natural allies against the peoples of southern Africa and the Middle East. The Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes, on the basis of their racist, Nazi, Zionist doctrines, make terrorism, sabotage, destruction, assassination, occupation and racial discrimination an official system of government. They try to justify their crimes as if they were legitimate acts. Thus we hear Pretoria complain that the world does not understand the sacrifices it accepts to get rid of the black threat. As for the Tel Aviv régime, it attributes its aggressive policy of expansionism to a divine mission, as if God had commanded it to kill the Arabs to serve the cause of all mankind. The truth is that those two régimes have a very well-defined purpose: to control the future of the Arab and African peoples. They are the servants of Western interests, to the detriment of the national interests of our peoples. They shed African and Arab blood to protect the strategic, financial and economic interests of imperialist Governments and enterprises. Those are the facts about the collaboration between the two racist régimes in all fields, above all the military and nuclear fields.

26. The first special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/37/22/Add.1] and the main report contain astonishing data on this collaboration between Israel and South Africa. Everybody knows that these two régimes co-operate in the military and nuclear fields, and there are also economic, cultural, sporting and scientific ties.

27. Suffice it to quote the following statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Palestine, held in Kuwait in April 1982, before the Israeli aggression against Lebanon:

“Today we are confronting a dangerous situation in southern Africa and in the Middle East. It is a situation which contains the seeds of a wider conflict.

“We are dealing not only with two parallel situations but also with intensified collaboration between the Pretoria and Israeli régimes in the military, nuclear, political, economic and other

fields. That collaboration has become so blatant that the Israeli Defence Minister, the criminal Sharon, a few days ago visited the southern frontier of Namibia, a Territory for which the United Nations has particular responsibility, in order to give advice to the illegal authorities about their criminal plans. South Africa and Israel not only have established an axis or an unholy alliance but are in the process of establishing the sixth world alliance, made up of outlaws and pariahs; that is a serious threat to international peace and security.

“The danger represented by the capacity of those two countries to use nuclear blackmail in a troubled world requires the urgent attention of the international community. ...

“We fear that the strategic collaboration between the United States and Israel and the emergence of similar relations between the United States and South Africa will strengthen the military ties between the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes.”

28. To our mind, the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly represents a major turning-point in the history of the struggle against the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa in the territories under its domination, including Namibia. With the exception of American imperialism and those States with a colonialist past, all States are unanimous in considering *apartheid* a crime against humanity, which means that the present régime in Pretoria is guilty of that crime against all peoples without distinction.

29. We feel that action must be taken to stop the commission of that crime, and that the General Assembly at this session must continue, as it did at the last session, laying the bases for international action against Pretoria's aggression and crime against the whole of humanity. The responsibility for the struggle against *apartheid* is a collective responsibility. We are still convinced that those who do not share our view will in the very near future recognize that they have promoted this crime and have been accomplices in it, and they will lose what they have gained from the toil of those they have subjugated.

30. We seriously abide by the spirit and letter of what we said last year, when the Assembly proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa. For we are absolutely convinced that the actions of the Pretoria Government, both at home and abroad, endanger the future of the indigenous population and indeed the peace and security of neighbouring States. Such actions are also a threat to the security of Africa and to international peace and security.

31. The Syrian Arab Republic, as a Member State which complies with the principles of the Charter, is determined to see international co-operation strengthened with a view to the application of a strategy for collective action against the Pretoria Government. The bases and objectives of that strategy were set forward during the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in 1981.

32. General Assembly resolution 36/172 merely made clearer the priorities in this matter. The international Organization has moved from the stage of recommendations to that of specific action. Such action,

which requires every possible endeavour to impose sanctions on South Africa, goes hand in hand with the strengthening of the armed struggle which is being waged so heroically by the national liberation movement of South Africa. That movement has all our support, because it is defending legitimate rights of people to gain their proper place in the international community, and to restore their dignity to them. International action cannot replace armed struggle but supplements and complements it. We are certain that the more repression there is, the stronger and more effective is the struggle against persecution. International opinion is now prepared to make any sacrifice to eradicate racism, which is so like nazism and zionism because of its perversion and violence.

33. The report of the Special Committee fully describes what is necessary to implement the strategy set forth at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Committee has made enormous, indeed exhaustive, efforts in several international arenas in order to isolate the South African régime further and more effectively. We pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, for the efforts he has made to induce States, non-governmental organizations and the international community as a whole to show firmness about putting an end to the system of *apartheid* practised by Pretoria. He has told the Assembly that the Governments and peoples of the third world and of the socialist countries, and even the European peoples and perhaps some of their Governments, are ready to take effective measures in the struggle against *apartheid*.

34. In conclusion, the Syrian Arab Republic considers the armed struggle of the national liberation movements in Azania and Namibia as a spearhead, supported by all the liberation and progressive forces in the world. That legitimate struggle has served to awaken our conscience. We hail the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and we shall extend our absolute support until the final victory is won. It is not far off.

35. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): The item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for such a long time, once again demands the attention of the international community.

36. This question, along with disarmament, is one of the problems of international life to which most States Members of the United Nations agree that a solution must be found, while deploring the fact that the outcome still seems quite uncertain and remote. That is why we should give our full support and unreserved encouragement to all the forces combating *apartheid*, and especially to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* because of the tireless efforts it is making in the campaign against the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government. We should like therefore to renew the expression of our appreciation of the quality and seriousness of its important work, which has a considerable impact on international public opinion.

37. *Apartheid*, which the United Nations has condemned on numerous occasions as a crime against humanity and has considered to be a threat to international peace and security, constitutes the most pernicious and hateful form of racism.

38. Indeed, the policy of *apartheid* is an institutionalized socio-political system of separateness and inequality the aim of which is to preserve the feeling of superiority of 4 million whites and to assure for them the privileges and rights created by racist laws, to the detriment of 22 million blacks who have been turned into foreigners in their own country.

39. In order to achieve those results, a series of iniquitous laws has been promulgated by the racist régime, in particular constitutional laws that deny to the black majority its most sacred freedoms, excluding it from any participation in the political life of the country. I would also mention the property law that deprives blacks of the right to own land and enshrines the principle of territorial segregation.

40. Today, the system of *apartheid* appears to have achieved its objectives, for segregation operates in the private and public life of citizens in residential areas, institutions, public transportation and even sports stadiums.

41. These hateful laws primarily affect the blacks. Arbitrary arrests, torture, persecution and assassination have become common practice, and no one seems to be spared, not even children, women and the elderly fighting for their freedom, as was the case in Sharpeville and Soweto.

42. Millions of black workers, foreigners in their own land, are oppressed and sent to bantustans, inhuman enclaves which the Pretoria régime would like to endow with a factitious independence in order to deprive the blacks of their South African nationality and other national rights and make South Africa in effect a white State extending its domination over and imposing its law upon the bantustan States, thus condemned to live in subjugation and dependence.

43. The intensification of repression and the development of inhuman racist laws are the sign that the black majority population must organize its resistance in the face of a régime that can maintain itself only through violence. South Africa is employing that violence not only against its own population but also against independent sovereign neighbouring States, against which it has considerably increased its acts of aggression in recent years in an attempt to perpetuate racist domination in southern Africa.

44. We wish to reaffirm our solidarity with the freedom fighters, especially ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, which are waging a courageous and extremely arduous struggle against a determined and inflexible enemy that is strongly supported by certain Powers—Powers which bear a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and whose strong attachment to the ideals of freedom, and justice and to human rights is well known.

45. The delegation of Gabon welcomes the fact that this internal resistance is finding substantial support from the international community, and especially from international, governmental and non-govern-

mental organizations. The actions of the international organizations are designed to bring about the total isolation of the racist régime in order to compel it to abandon its policy of racial segregation.

46. In the United Nations this action began with the creation of the Organization, which quickly declared *apartheid* to be incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and took a number of steps, including the adoption of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)]. Many resolutions have also been adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council condemning the disgraceful policy of *apartheid*, but the Pretoria racist régime arrogantly continues to defy the decisions of our Organization and to show a total disregard of any decision taken by the international community.

47. The delegation of Gabon reiterates its support for the United Nations, which persistently calls for the establishment of a multiracial society which will guarantee equal rights for all the inhabitants of the country and of a democratic Government in South Africa based on the will of the entire population.

48. Unfortunately, all the resolutions of the United Nations have left the South African Government unmoved and, as was stated by the Head of State of Gabon, President Omar Bongo, "our brothers continue to suffer the domination, oppression and humiliation imposed on them by the Pretoria régime". Therefore, in the face of Pretoria's stated determination to turn a deaf ear to all appeals to it, our Organization is duty-bound to take up the challenge by exerting ever-greater pressure on that Government. The time has come, therefore, for the Security Council to respond positively to the demand of the overwhelming majority of Member States for the application against South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of our Organization. Only when Pretoria's most vital interests are affected and the exploiting minority begins to pay the price of its iniquity and its disgraceful practices shall we be able to compel the racist leaders to consider abandoning the policy of *apartheid*, that doctrine which is so incompatible with respect for human rights and which arouses a feeling of repulsion in the international community.

49. Human dignity is universal and every human being has the right to enjoy his basic rights without discrimination of any kind. The black majority in South Africa, which has been enduring the trials of *apartheid*, cannot wait much longer for hypothetical reforms which in any case have no objective other than to perpetuate the system of oppression and exploitation.

50. Gabon, which is wholly devoted to the cause of equality and racial non-discrimination, will support any decision that might compel South Africa to effect peacefully and rapidly the profound changes for which we all hope, so that the martyred peoples of that country may finally regain their dignity and live in freedom, equality and national harmony.

51. Mr. DESKER (Singapore): My Government opposes and condemns the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa. We have joined the international community in seeking an end to the system of racism, domination, exploitation and humilia-

tion of the great majority of the people of South Africa—the system represented by *apartheid*. We have taken this position because we recognize that racial discrimination is a dangerous illness threatening the healthy development of the human race and because we believe that racial discrimination is an unmitigated evil. The policy of *apartheid* is based upon racial prejudice and racial discrimination. It is the most thorough, the most systematic and the worst form of racial discrimination practised anywhere in the world today.

52. The evil of racial discrimination is not, however, unique to South Africa. It is unfortunately present in many parts of the world. Just as we oppose and condemn the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, we equally oppose and condemn racial discrimination wherever it occurs.

53. Singapore has joined the international community in supporting resolutions condemning the *apartheid* policies of South Africa, at the United Nations and in other international forums. My Government has also, in the spirit of solidarity, been making a modest contribution to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa since 1972.

54. In this regard the Singapore Government has consistently criticized the South African Government for its colonialist and racist policies in Namibia. Once again, we urge the South African régime to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and end the racist oppression practised in that Territory. Regrettably, South Africa has continued to spurn the will of the international community by its failure to adhere to United Nations resolutions. Instead, it has chosen to be inflexible and intransigent, fearing a threat to the *status quo*, a *status quo* founded entirely on the notion of racial superiority.

55. It is 30 years since the General Assembly began consideration of the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa. It is 20 years since the General Assembly, in its resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, appealed to Member States separately and collectively to take a series of concrete measures to bring about the abandonment of *apartheid*, and established the Special Committee to facilitate effective action by the United Nations.

56. What effect has this commitment by the United Nations had on the situation in South Africa? I suggest that the continuing pressure from the international community has ensured that there is an increasing awareness of the need to eliminate *apartheid* and it has led to the growing isolation of South Africa in the international community. The objectives of this campaign have been clearly defined and include the following: first, to force South Africa to abandon its racist policies of *apartheid*; secondly, to demonstrate universal opposition to *apartheid* and solidarity with the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa; thirdly, to deny the benefits of international co-operation to the present South African régime so as to oblige it and its supporters to heed international opinion, to abandon its policy of racist domination and to seek a solution by consultation with the oppressed majority in South Africa; fourthly, to undermine the ability of the present South African régime

to repress its people and to pose a threat to international peace and security; and fifthly, to end economic support for *apartheid* so as to facilitate a peaceful transition to majority rule as soon as possible.

57. The struggle itself is one that will be won or lost by the people of South Africa. The struggle against *apartheid* must be waged primarily by the people of South Africa. It is they who must assume the principal burden and the primary responsibility for the struggle against *apartheid*.

58. However, we the members of the international community can assist their struggle. We can support them in a variety of ways. First, we should continue to disseminate information on *apartheid* as widely and as effectively as possible. In this way, we can arouse international opinion and maintain the international community's unanimous judgement that *apartheid* is an evil policy. Secondly, we should maintain and even increase international pressure on South Africa. Thirdly, we should seek to intensify the isolation of South Africa. Towards this end my delegation appeals to all States which currently maintain political, military, economic, cultural, sports and other forms of collaboration with South Africa to reduce that collaboration and, if possible, to eliminate it altogether. Fourthly, we should support the activities of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Fifthly, we should, each within our own means, render material and other forms of assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and the South African movements opposed to the policies of *apartheid*.

59. I should like now to ask what future lies ahead for South Africa. Two different futures appear to lie ahead for South Africa. The people of South Africa, especially the white minority, are at a critical juncture in their history. They must choose which one of two roads they wish to travel. They could continue to choose the road of racial prejudice and racial discrimination. That would lead inevitably to the intensification of conflict. Violence and bloodshed lie at the end of that road.

60. I see another future for South Africa, a future free of racial prejudice and racial discrimination. The white South African author, Alan Paton, a valiant opponent of *apartheid*, shares this vision. He has described the South Africa he wants to see in the following words:

“The first thing I want ... is to be able to live in a street where any other South Africans could live. I should like to have as my neighbour any other South African who wanted to live there ... I should like to worship in a church where one could see with one's eyes the unity which Christ commanded. My religion would be more joyful than it is today ...

“I look for the day when the words ‘South Africa’ will fill every South African with pride, because that will be the day when no South African is being hurt and humiliated or deprived or privileged by reason of his colour or race.”

61. Alan Paton's vision of a new South Africa is shared by many black leaders of that country. It is a vision which inspired the late Chief Albert Lutuli, former President of ANC, who said:

“In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of government. In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial ‘whites only’ basis. In culture, we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregated institutions on the sole criterion of ability ... We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising.”

62. Towards the end of Alan Paton’s novel *Cry the Beloved Country*,<sup>1</sup> the venerable Zulu patriarch Msimangu, “who had no hate for any man”, looks out across the Natal hills and says heavily: “I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they [the whites] turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating”.

63. Mr. WEIBERG-AURDAL (Norway): The General Assembly is again meeting to consider the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Each time we hope that the preceding year will have brought us at least somewhat closer to a solution. Each year we seem to be faced with the same disappointing situation. The hopes and efforts of the international community have not produced any real changes in the *apartheid* system. The racial policy of the Government of South Africa seems as firmly entrenched as it has been for the past three decades.

64. So-called reforms have been introduced by the South African Government on various occasions. We have carefully studied the steps taken, but each and every time we have inevitably been forced to reach the same conclusion: the changes do not represent a substantial change of policy. In our opinion developments have confirmed that *apartheid* cannot be reformed, it has to be abolished.

65. Norway has on numerous occasions, in this Organization and in other forums, expressed its deeply felt and strong objections to the *apartheid* system. In the communiqué on the meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers in Helsinki in August this year, the South African Government’s policy of *apartheid*, its oppression of the opponents of that policy, its suppression of the fundamental human rights of the majority of the population, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its attacks on neighbouring States were again condemned. Once again it was underlined that increased and effective pressure should be brought to bear on the Government of South Africa through peaceful means in order to bring an end to the *apartheid* system.

66. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the transition to majority rule in South Africa will come about by peaceful means. Norway supports the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council. In the opinion of my Government, binding decisions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter are required to ensure that the measures enacted will generally be adhered to by the inter-

national community. My Government has declared its readiness to implement without delay such measures taken by the Security Council. Security Council resolution 418 (1977), in which the Council decided to enforce a mandatory arms embargo, has thus been fully obeyed by my country.

67. The absence of decisions by the Security Council cannot, however, serve as a pretext for countries not to act. Even if the Security Council has a major responsibility, each and every one of us is obliged to do what we can to bring about peaceful change in the *apartheid* system of South Africa. Norway for its part has therefore, partly alone and partly in concert with the other Nordic countries, enacted a number of measures voluntarily. The measures taken by the Nordic countries include the prohibition or discouragement of contacts with the *apartheid* régime in the field of sports and culture, visa requirements for South African citizens and increased humanitarian support to the victims of *apartheid*. On a unilateral basis Norway has, *inter alia*: withdrawn State-supported guarantees for Norwegian exports to South Africa; stopped issuing currency licences for Norwegian investments in South Africa; stopped the promotion of Norwegian exports to South Africa; taken measures to ascertain that oil produced on the Norwegian continental shelf is not exported to South Africa; decided not to have any co-operation whatsoever with South Africa in the nuclear field.

68. Humanitarian assistance to refugees from South Africa and to victims of *apartheid* forms an important part of the measures taken by the Norwegian Government. So does assistance to the front-line States, with which Norway has close and long-standing co-operation in the field of development. An important part of that co-operation is the efforts to make the countries in the region economically and technically independent of South Africa. We intend to continue to contribute to those efforts and, together with the other Nordic countries, we are continually discussing what more can be done from our side.

69. *Apartheid* is not a matter limited to the African continent; it concerns us all. Contributing to the abolition of *apartheid* is a question of honouring basic human rights and obligations fundamental to all free men.

70. A matter of great concern to my Government is the plight of the political prisoners in South Africa. The continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders and the reports on torture and cruel punishment are in clear defiance of repeated appeals made by the United Nations. My Government is also concerned about the death penalties imposed on opponents of *apartheid*. We again request the South African authorities, out of humanitarian considerations, to listen to the appeals of the international community and to spare their lives.

71. Mr. RASOLONDRAIBE (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Events of the past year within South Africa and in its border regions have merely confirmed and strengthened the fears that have long been expressed here about the deterioration of the political and security situation in southern Africa and about the imminence of a racial war in South Africa.

72. Some observers seek to have us believe that we have not yet reached the point of no return, that it is still possible to change the course of events in order to avoid the worst and that we should even give the racist authorities a last chance, a period of grace, during which they could create the conditions for a peaceful transition.

73. The problem is that the racist authorities give every sign of being fully aware of the contradictions and dangers inherent in the situation in southern Africa, a situation which they want to maintain at any cost, despite the warnings and appeals of the international community. Indeed, these authorities are scrambling to prepare for a final confrontation, as is borne out by their efforts to acquire a military nuclear capability and by the increases in the South African military budget in recent years. These increases were close to 40 per cent in 1977, 21 per cent in 1978 and 26 per cent in 1980, and the secretariat of IMF confined itself to saying regarding 1979 that there were increased expenditures for defence and the creation of strategic stockpiles.

74. The actions and statements of the Pretoria authorities show no signs that they are ready to abandon their policy of *apartheid*. On the contrary, the idea of making South Africa a white country is more than ever the centre-piece of the South African political programme, which explains the relegation of the African peoples to the most ecologically disadvantaged rural areas, which are made into bantustans with no economic future. The repression of opponents of the policy of *apartheid* is pursued with implacable vigour, punctuated by massacres, executions and suicides which are in fact barely disguised murders. To nip in the bud any idea South African workers might have of organizing themselves to defend their interests, the black trade unions are subjected to irksome surveillance and their leaders to all kinds of harassment, when they are not simply arrested. There is talk of constitutional reforms; they are in fact nothing of the kind but merely a new attempt to disrupt the unity of the African, Asian and Coloured communities.

75. It is clear that the racist authorities bother very little about the economic and social well-being of the non-white population. As Mr. Robert McNamara, former President of the World Bank, said recently, it is clear that the Pretoria régime has no intention of granting the majority population the right to participate in the political life of the country, much less submitting to the democratic rule of the majority. It is this refusal to take into account the political claims of the members of the African majority which is the crux of the problem, and no Sullivan Code, no pseudo-liberal programme based on the hypothetical good will of local representatives of transnational corporations, will be able to steer matters in the desired direction as long as this refusal is maintained.

76. Some proclaim the virtues of dialogue for progressively overcoming this obstacle. We are asked to adopt regarding the Fascists of Pretoria the appeasement that failed in Munich. It is suggested, *a priori*, that to secure justice for our African brothers and sisters and ensure their liberation and the restoration of their human dignity, we must strike some kind of bargain with a

handful of power-hungry racists, determined to maintain their privileges.

77. It may be naïvety or it may be bad faith, but the thesis of those who support co-operation with the racist régime is based on the unacceptable premise that some, if not all, manifestations of *apartheid* should be tolerated for a while until the racists are willing to put an end to it, which there is no guarantee will ever happen.

78. When such ideas are advocated, anything can be justified and explained away. We can justify maintaining political and diplomatic relations with the racist régime by saying that we have to keep the possibilities for communication open. But what good is communication if nobody dares to tell the Pretoria authorities that they are not representative and if they are protected from sanctions that would force them to abandon their inflexible attitude?

79. When such ideas are advocated we can justify them by the need to preserve the prosperity of the South African economy for fear that the Coloured population might suffer through the upheavals such sanctions could cause. That is very convenient reasoning behind which to hide dependence of a dual kind: *vis-à-vis* South Africa, with regard to the supply of certain strategic products and *vis-à-vis* the transnational corporations, which send back to their own countries the considerable profits from their operations in South Africa.

80. It is sometimes maintained disingenuously that the policy of the United Nations should not interfere with the smooth running of the specialized agencies. What does it matter if one or other such agency disregards the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice or the Security Council resolutions stating that South Africa must no longer represent Namibia in its international relations? What does it matter if, in 1953, for obvious political reasons, one of the members of IMF was deprived of the right to use the Fund's resources and even, in 1954, forced to withdraw from that specialized agency? In 1982 one member is behaving as if the General Assembly had not pronounced itself against the granting of a loan of \$1 billion to South Africa, because, we are told quite simply, resolution 37/2, which we adopted recently, represents an attack against international organizations and does not make it any easier to eliminate the system of *apartheid*.

81. The speaker I have just paraphrased represents a country which, at the outset, had asked IMF for an official interpretation as to whether resources allocated by the Fund could be used for armament purposes. Apparently a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since that request for an interpretation, for there seems to be a lack of awareness today that "at least in the case of South Africa, the IMF has recognized and discussed political issues, arms imports, and defence expenditures in reaching its assessment of South Africa's need for IMF aid". [See A/37/568, p. 45.] I refer members of the Assembly to that document for further details.

82. The fact remains that the weapons acquired by Pretoria through that loan are being used for domestic repression as well as to attack or destabilize neighbouring countries that are guilty only of having shown



solidarity with the South African and Namibian liberation movements.

83. One may thus rightly wonder who has acted inappropriately: those who, in voting in favour of resolution 37/2, defended the obligation of all specialized agencies to uphold the principles of the Charter with relation to the struggle against racism and *apartheid*, or those who are treating the majority in an unjustifiable manner, on the basis of a theoretical position—which is contradicted, in any case, by precedent.

84. While everybody professes in our debates an aversion to, if not a condemnation of, *apartheid*, unfortunately there are States among us to which the struggle to eradicate that inhuman system gives way to other considerations—States that are only too happy to play on the ideological paranoia of the South African Fascists the better to enlist the racist régime in the chancy game of international imperialism. Deals to remove any meaning from the principle of majority rule in Namibia, the dogged insistence of those who call for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in return for a negotiated settlement to the Namibian issue—all of that shows a willingness to treat with those who violate the Charter and international law and a will to disregard or minimize the crimes committed by the South African régime, whose *apartheid* policy has been declared a crime against humanity and whose occupation of Namibia has been ruled illegal by the International Court of Justice.

85. For our part, we reject the arguments of those who regard as unrealistic the approach proposed by the majority of Member States of the United Nations. We continue to believe that those who prevent the Organization from adopting the necessary measures to break down South African resistance bear an historic responsibility for the persistence of the *apartheid* system—a particularly heavy responsibility, since the opposition of certain circles to the policy of sanctions against the racist régime is based not on principles but on arguments of expediency contradicted by the eagerness of those very circles to have sanctions imposed outside the framework of the Security Council, which, we would recall, is the only body empowered to take such decisions for the international community.

86. As during previous sessions, the Malagasy delegation has co-sponsored draft resolutions on the item under consideration—to wit, A/37/L.17 to 23, 26 and 28. We have done so out of our belief in the need to isolate the racist régime politically, economically, culturally and, above all, militarily. After adoption of the mandatory arms embargo—which came too late to have any impact on Pretoria's weapons programme and which, unfortunately, has been circumvented by some Powers, particularly with regard to the supply of nuclear technology and of equipment that can be used for both civilian and military purposes—it seems to us that the time has come for the international community to show greater resolve in the struggle against *apartheid* by adopting comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

87. No one can doubt the strong determination of the South African people to win its freedom and to get rid of the oppressive system which has been inflicting

the worst forms of suffering on it. The often supreme sacrifices that that people has already made are our guarantee that the resistance of the people and the action undertaken by the national liberation movement under the leadership of ANC will win out over the reign of terror, injustice, humiliation and spoliation. The international action proposed by the sponsors of draft resolutions is still necessary, however, because the struggle involves not only the people of South Africa but the entire international community, whose most sacred principles and values are being flouted by the racist régime.

88. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, which has already ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and which gives tangible support for the action of the United Nations Department of Public Information, fully associates itself with that struggle and wishes again here to express its solidarity with the South African people and its national liberation movement, ANC.

89. I cannot close without expressing our thanks and congratulations to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as to the staff of the Centre against *Apartheid*, who spare no effort to mobilize international opinion in order to strengthen political and economic pressure against the Pretoria authorities. Their perseverance in breaking down the wall of indifference, in convincing those who have not yet made up their minds and in strengthening the faith of the militants is praiseworthy and, we are sure, brings us closer to the victory of justice and freedom over the retrograde forces of the proponents of *apartheid* and of their allies.

90. Mr. MOSELEY (Barbados): If there is one fact which in this debate stands out more clearly than any other, it is that the subject of *apartheid* generates an emotional response among the vast majority of the people of the world not essentially different from what we might call a nervous reaction.

91. My delegation proposes to spend a moment or two in the examination of this phenomenon in an effort to assess its significance and identify any implications there may be for the future.

92. The first observation must be that surely in the history of this Organization—this great bastion of hope for all mankind, the United Nations—there cannot be many subjects in addition to *apartheid* in relation to which so many words of unanimous condemnation have been matched by so little action. Irresistibly, this observation evokes a memory of the words: "This people . . . honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me". [*St. Matthew 15:8.*]

93. But in the realm of the pragmatic, my delegation has a concern that goes beyond a lamentation for the hypocrisy of nations. It is a concern that goes to the heart of all proceedings, in this imposing Hall and beyond, which are undertaken in the name of the United Nations. It is a concern for the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations itself. For how can one easily maintain confidence in an Organization in which year after year one hears speaker after speaker, without a single dissenting voice, condemn the evil of *apartheid* and still the evil goes on?

94. At this point my delegation must add its voice to the well-deserved expressions of gratitude and appreciation directed to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the excellent report which has been produced. This report embodies an invaluable documentation of those countries, Member States of this Organization, which continue by means direct and indirect to collaborate with the Government of South Africa and which, in spite of the protestations of condemnation uttered again and again in this Hall, promote the perpetuation of the very evil they claim to hate.

95. This report, however, records more than the activities of the collaborators; it notes the activities which have been taking place on the positive side in the fight for the eradication of *apartheid*. This fact leads to the second observation which my delegation must make in its examination of the phenomenon referred to earlier. This second observation is the inevitability of the defeat of the forces which promote *apartheid* in South Africa.

96. The history of mankind is replete with examples of the determination which the human spirit can summon up to fight against injustice and tyranny. There is no evidence to support a view that rallying calls such as "Give me liberty or give me death" can have application in one section of the world but not in another. It is not only one race of human beings that can have the determination to fight on the beaches and in the hills and on the landing grounds and never give in. Thus it is that the Government of Barbados, whose people include so many descendants of those who were victims of the notorious and savage African diaspora, will entertain no doubt that the oppressed majority of South Africa will in the end attain their rightful place in their own land. It is an expectation which doubtless must be shared by all those who again and again, as it were with hands on their hearts, in this very chamber, in this very session, solemnly talk about "the inalienable right of self-determination". In spite of this sure and certain hope, however, some concern inevitably persists. This concern, I suggest, may well be expressed in the form of this rhetorical question: In which direction will the liberated black masses of South Africa justly extend their hands in gratitude for assistance in the achievement of their liberation?

97. The view has been canvassed as relevant, and has been expressed very recently in this chamber, that *apartheid* is not the only system in the world which deprives inhabitants of their human rights. That may well be so, but those who propound this evasive excuse for tolerating *apartheid* are challenged to name one other system which bases its limitation of human rights upon institutionalized racial discrimination. Those countries which today give ominous signs of a willingness to arrive at an accommodation, both economic and military, with the Pretoria Government might well recall that to alter one's political ideology in order to escape barbarous torture, imprisonment and humiliation is just a little bit less difficult than to alter one's race or the colour of one's skin for the same purpose.

98. I will end this statement with a summary of my country's policy regarding the closely related agenda items 32 and 33. As has been stated since the thirty-

fourth session of the General Assembly, the Barbados Government continues to offer unqualified support to the struggle of the Namibian people to achieve complete self-determination, freedom and national independence. Barbados supports the recognition of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the authentic and sole representative of the Namibian people, until such time as fair and free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations produce an elected Government.

99. Barbados remains unwavering in its contention that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and that the territorial integrity of Namibia should not be compromised in any way, and particularly so with respect to Walvis Bay.

100. Barbados fully supports resolutions 431 (1978) and 432 (1978) of the Security Council.

101. The principles concerning the constituent assembly and the constitution put forward by the contact group of five Western States have been noted as a significant step towards Namibian independence and should be supported, since they have been accepted by all parties to the negotiations. As far as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is concerned, Barbados is of the view that this is a domestic matter for Angola and should not be linked to the question of independence for Namibia.

102. There is no change in the Barbados Government's policy of absolute opposition to all policies of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa. My Government's policy is based on the following: Barbados will in principle support all conventions against *apartheid*. Barbados will also support any resolution calling for an absolute arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa. Barbados will also support such sanctions as may be invoked against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Barbados will oppose all official sporting contacts with South Africa. Barbados will refuse recognition of all entities, such as the Transkei, products of the bantustan policy. Barbados will continue to support the liberation movements and vote for any resolution condemning South Africa and any other Governments which practise *apartheid*.

103. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The Member States of the United Nations can and should feel justly proud of the contribution of this Organization to the enlargement of the area of freedom in our world. Yet, in the face of the far-reaching political restructuring of our planet which has taken place since the end of the Second World War, the monstrous assault on the human condition that is *apartheid* still continues.

104. Our consideration once again of the question of *apartheid* is made necessary not simply because the item's turn on our agenda has come, but rather by the fact of Pretoria's continuing resistance to the further extension of the area of freedom. My delegation has not been lulled into feeling that *apartheid* is destined to be with us for ever. But in a very real and fundamental sense the denial of freedom anywhere must be a cause of concern everywhere; the debasement of humanity in South Africa and in Namibia is the debasement of humanity everywhere. These must inevitably be concerns of an Organization dedicated to reaffirming faith in the dignity and worth

of the human person and to promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

105. In the forefront of the United Nations efforts to dismantle *apartheid* stands the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. My delegation extends its sincerest congratulations to that Committee, under the dynamic and imaginative chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, for its valuable work of sensitizing the international community to the condition of the millions of oppressed people in South Africa, and of exerting pressure for change in that regard.

106. In keeping with Guyana's consistent opposition to *apartheid* and our firm commitment to its elimination, my delegation endorses the recommendations made in the Special Committee's report, and will continue to lend its unequivocal support to the activities of the Committee and to all international action undertaken in the effort to dismantle that hateful system.

107. But the efforts of the Committee, wide-ranging and effective though they may be, can only be supplementary to those of the majority people of South Africa, for in the final analysis it is their efforts that will be the decisive factor in bringing about the demise of *apartheid*. Their struggle, as we all know well, has been and continues to be a costly one, for there seems to be no limit—whether in South Africa itself or in its neighbouring States—to the ruthlessness with which the *apartheid* régime is prepared to maintain its oppression. It therefore behoves us in this international Organization to adopt bold, decisive measures consistent with the sacrifices which the oppressed majority of South Africa, and the people of Angola in particular, are making daily in the struggle against the Pretoria régime.

108. That struggle is one against institutionalized racism, oppression, torture and the systematic and overt violation of every single human right—whether political, economic, social or cultural—a calculated and deliberate human debasement on a monstrous scale. What is no less tragic than all this is that, in the calculations of those States with the greatest leverage on South Africa, economic considerations frequently prevail and are allowed to thwart global action designed to bring an end to that system.

109. In this regard our attention naturally turns to those powerful Western States and Israel, which traditionally stand aside from and so often frustrate implementation of the measures which the majority of those in the Assembly have been calling for as indispensable to the elimination of *apartheid*.

110. Condemnations of *apartheid* by those States ring hollow within these walls. They ring hollow in the ears of Africa and in the ears of the oppressed peoples of South Africa, in particular. For while they are being uttered from this podium, it is the investment and trading links of those same States and of their transnational corporations which buttress the *apartheid* economy. It is their vetoes, whether actual or threatened, which prevent the Security Council from imposing sanctions against South Africa. It is their military collaboration which has enabled South Africa to expand and strengthen its military apparatus.

111. It is cynicism of the most cruel sort to condemn *apartheid* on the one hand while making accommoda-

tions with it and even helping to sustain it on the other. Every accommodation made with *apartheid* hurts the people who suffer under that system while it reinforces and gives comfort to the régime practising it. What most encourages South Africa is its conviction that in the last resort its economic and strategic value, as perceived by its major Western friends and Israel, will prevent any major confrontation with *apartheid* by the international community. To date, those States have done nothing to shake that conviction. In fact, it was reinforced in Washington less than two weeks ago on the occasion of the meeting of IMF, when that institution made a loan of \$1.1 billion to the *apartheid* régime, in blatant disregard of General Assembly resolution 37/2, which reiterated a request to the Fund to refrain from granting any credits or other assistance to South Africa.

112. My delegation, however, will not despair. We have taken note of the intensification and greater organization and effectiveness of the struggle of the freedom fighters of South Africa. Reading the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we felt greatly encouraged by the world-wide involvement in the struggle against that system, by the energy and enthusiasm of non-governmental organizations, by the efforts of groups of concerned citizens from all sectors of society in so many different countries of the world and by the actions being voluntarily undertaken by States to exert pressure on the Pretoria régime. That momentum will continue and will grow in intensity. Guyana continues to have faith in the people of the societies whose Governments have traditionally frustrated international action against *apartheid*. The momentum now abroad will bring home to them with increasing forcefulness the realities of *apartheid*. Once those realities are properly and fully understood, the pressure for change in governmental attitudes will be decisive.

113. *Apartheid* demands the most vigorous and uncompromising responses by the United Nations—by all its Members. We must not and cannot slacken our efforts until that system has been dismantled. My delegation pledges its continuing commitment to that task and reaffirms its steadfast support for the liberation movement of South Africa.

114. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, at this session, the General Assembly is opening the voluminous brief on *apartheid* and its abominable practices. The almost ritual consideration of this matter, which forms part of our debate every year, in the absence of any final settlement, reminds the human mind of the heinous crimes committed in the name of a political system which has been established as a doctrine.

115. Far from being tired or tiresome, this ritual practice, which each year throws some new light on the inhuman practices of that doctrine, has the merit of revealing in all its cruelty and all its dimensions the extent of the genocide organized by South Africa and thus making it possible increasingly to arouse the feelings of international public opinion. The impassioned and engrossing tones that our discussions often take on in this debate inherently show the interest and importance the whole world gives to this matter, which for decades has held the attention of all mankind.

116. The item under consideration, entitled “Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa”, is important for more than one reason and really calls for no commentary, since the tragic effects of its practices are felt in daily life.

117. *Apartheid* is a word that gives rise to feelings of deep repugnance, even in hardened hearts—a mythical word, redolent of fallacious theory, a word that expresses sadism and barbarism. It is racism institutionalized into a system of political power. *Apartheid* has become, in South Africa, a doctrine which codifies racism. Embodying the theory of racial superiority which neither dialectics, rationalism nor even good sense can find admissible or tolerable, it is the very negation of the black man, to whom it denies any right to life or existence. It is a challenge to morality and to conscience and an affront to human dignity, which it seeks to destroy or annihilate. By its action challenging fundamental freedoms, it is against all reason.

118. When analysed *apartheid* is not the unconscious, superficial racism which can be discernible in the behaviour of some people, but is a deep-rooted, deliberate, official, blatant racism. It is everywhere, openly visible in all its harshness, power and ugliness. There in South Africa, the last bulwark of shameless, outdated and anachronistic colonialism, racial segregation in its most elaborate and most refined form is openly practised. It is publicly emblazoned on every street corner, where the direction to take is shown. Interracial relationships are regarded as a mortal sin, a crime, whereas elsewhere they are quite normal.

119. Associating violence and terror in order to affirm its will to dominate and strengthen its hold, *apartheid* in itself is an intellectual excess or distortion. It goes beyond the conceivable or imaginable in this century of moral and philosophical refinement in which our society has undergone profound and unprecedented changes in the specific field of the perception and the conception of life, in which the imagination of man, so fertile, so subtle, has made possible prodigious discoveries which have pushed back the limits of intellectual knowledge.

120. An abject system of separate development at the outset, *apartheid* finally, under the crossfire of violence and terror, has become a senseless doctrine embodied in a hated political Power, condemned by the entire international community in a vast general gesture of revulsion and rejection. Developing the refinement of its methods to reaffirm its determination, that system reached its apogee with the balkanization of the South African territory, the aim of which is to set up many artificial small States, called bantustans, with no voice in the international sphere, in order to bolster its sinister efforts the better to dominate and enslave the black population. Caught in an infernal spiral, violence is daily more terrifying, more implacable. Its very intensity is sufficient proof of the resolve and determination of the Pretoria régime in its unswerving implementation of the execrable policy of *apartheid*. Every day men, women and children are victims of arbitrary arrest, during which time they are tortured and atrociously persecuted. In the streets, in the schools, in the factories and in the South African *gulags* they are assassinated or executed without due process.

121. In the face of this bleak, sad picture, which strangely reminds us of a recent torture-ridden régime with which that of Pretoria can be identified, what attitude can we adopt towards South Africa, which has voluntarily set itself outside the United Nations because of its disgusting actions and its policy of *apartheid*, which is regarded and condemned as a crime against humanity by the international community?

122. Intransigence, determination and truth should be the answer to this question, because they are effective.

123. The United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions and decisions aimed at eliminating this stupid policy of *apartheid*, which is so deprecated throughout the world. But, entrenched in an attitude of permanent defiance, armoured with an intolerable arrogance and ignoring the prestige of our Organization, South Africa has always refused to apply the measures advocated. Such a challenge, such arrogance, fostered by the ambiguous and inconsistent attitude of the Security Council, seriously weaken the Organization's actions and reduces its credibility with its audience. As long as the Government of South Africa persists in its arrogance and defiance, so long will the international community unrelentingly maintain and exercise its pressure, until the victory of the struggle by the people of South Africa to recover their freedom, independence and all the other fundamental rights to which they legitimately aspire. This victory will be not only that of the people concerned, but also that of all mankind. It will be the triumph of law over force, of reason over evil.

124. This is the proper time to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, for their effective contribution to strengthening United Nations action and for their untiring endeavours to arouse international public opinion and to show *apartheid* for what it truly is. Charged with studying the *apartheid* policy, the Special Committee has initiated many United Nations resolutions and decisions on sanctions against South Africa. Furthermore, in 1981 it organized the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which was highly successful and had considerable international repercussions.

125. I have said that the racist régime violates outrageously and with impunity all the fundamental freedoms. So how can we explain the considerable economic and financial support it enjoys from some States Members of the United Nations, which continue to provide this despite many United Nations decisions and resolutions, and to give the Pretoria régime the necessary assistance in many fields, thus helping to strengthen its policy of *apartheid*? What a telling contradiction there is in the incomprehensible attitudes of those States, which on the one hand roar like lions about respect for human rights while on the other they contribute, even if not directly, to the violation of them. What credibility can be accorded to those States in their ostrich-like policy?

126. Unable to contain the liberation movements organizing in Namibia and on South African territory itself, whose bitter and determined struggle continues to develop and to gain in intensity, the Pretoria Government, resorting to unprecedented violence and terror, increases its acts of aggression against neigh-

bouring States by unceasing military incursions, in flagrant violation of the sovereignty of those States and their independence and territorial integrity, as well as of other norms of international law. Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia—to mention only them—are victims of systematic attacks which cause the loss of innumerable human lives and extensive damage.

127. All these acts are designed to destabilize those countries' régimes in order to create insecurity and to ensure domination and enslavement by South Africa. These acts of aggression are a threat to international peace and security. The international community must take appropriate measures to restrain South Africa, to force it to respect the sovereignty and independence of those States, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

128. South Africa has no place in the Assembly, which seeks to spread peace, and to be the sanctuary of sublime moral values. The racist régime of Pretoria has no place among us in the United Nations which, in its legitimate aspirations, has proclaimed its aim of being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations and of achieving international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

129. By refusing to meet the demands of the United Nations, by deliberately violating the principles and purposes of the Charter, and by wilfully renouncing the commitment involved in its accession to the Charter, South Africa has withdrawn from the great family of nations. It will remain outside as long as it has not given its word to comply strictly with that Charter.

130. Mr. MAMBA (Swaziland): Swaziland's strong opposition to the inhuman *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa has been clearly stated in various international forums, including this one. The Government of Swaziland does not condone the *apartheid* policies: they are politically, socially and economically unjust and are based on arrogant claims of racial superiority. These policies of *apartheid* constitute a flagrant denial of the fundamental equality of man. Swaziland firmly believes in the equality of all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

131. During the past three decades the international community has been seized of the problem of the *apartheid* policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. There have been disappointments, frustrations and setbacks in trying to eradicate those policies. None of us has any illusions about that. There is so much at stake that no one can afford to give up. This includes all the people of South Africa, for it is their future which is at stake. The same applies to all of us in the international community who have an interest in peace in southern Africa and who would not like to see South Africa become a flash-point that could set the entire region on fire.

132. One of the setbacks—and it is a severe one—is the persistent refusal by the Government of South Africa to abandon its sinful policies. My delegation calls once again upon the international community to exert more pressure on the Government of South Africa to opt for a peaceful change. We in Swaziland

who have always witnessed *apartheid* in operation at close range can certainly testify that the perpetuation of a political and social system that breeds violence and engenders serious troubles demands stronger and sustained international pressure.

133. It is imperative that the Government of South Africa realize that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to avoid violent change and to prevent that situation from escalating into a more dangerous one, if that Government does not embark upon a meaningful and peaceful change without any further delay.

134. The situation within South Africa is fast deteriorating because of the rigid application of racial policies. The international community should never lose sight of the depth of human suffering that *apartheid* has brought to South Africa. The exclusion of the black population from political power-sharing in the country of their birth has brought resistance from those oppressed people. This resistance to injustice has resulted in wanton detentions, killings, imprisonment and banning of their leaders. This kind of response can only serve to heighten the danger and consequently lead to a general breakdown of law and order which in itself would destroy any possible chance of peaceful national reconciliation that might still be left.

135. We in Swaziland who live next door to this intolerable situation understand the anger and revulsion of the oppressed people. We have the same cultural and historical heritage as the black people of South Africa, and this makes us share with the same intensity their emotions of frustration. The blood that was spilt in Sharpeville, Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa is the same as that flowing in our veins. They are our people. We are part of the same family. Their freedom means our freedom. Their concern is our concern. We are our brothers' keepers.

136. The killing of innocent men, women and children is not only barbaric and detestable, it is also ultimately dangerous for South Africa and the entire region. My delegation firmly believes that this situation should be ended to avoid the unnecessary and unwarranted loss of precious lives and property.

137. The situation in South Africa gives rise to yet another problem—that of refugees. Swaziland recognizes that it has a humanitarian obligation to assist these people in accordance with the relevant international conventions. These refugees are offered the best possible help and are treated in the most humane way possible. They receive assistance, medical treatment, food, clothing, education and whatever they may need, within Swaziland's limited resources and capability. We also co-operate closely with other countries and with international organizations in providing the necessary humanitarian assistance. In this regard we wish to express our gratitude and appreciation to the international community for the assistance it has so far given to us in our efforts to provide for these asylum-seekers.

138. The so-called constitutional reforms are unacceptable because they deliberately turn a blind eye to the aspirations of the indigenous majority of the population of South Africa. In my delegation's view, constitutional reforms should permit the participation

of all the people of South Africa. A constitution should be a reflection of the general consensus. It should represent the will of the people as a whole. In this regard, I wish to recall what my delegation said at the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos, Nigeria, in 1977:

“Swaziland strongly believes in the principle of settling disputes by peaceful means and not by violence. We adhere religiously to the noble principles of the Charter, which prescribes an exchange of views in solving problems. ... Some years ago the United Nations studied the racial situation in South Africa. The Security Council appointed a distinguished group of experts which urged that South Africa should be called upon to convene a national convention consisting of genuine representatives of the people of South Africa to map out a new course for the future. ... Those recommendations for a national convention still stand valid; they offer a most constructive approach for a peaceful and lasting solution. Without a shadow of doubt such a convention would create a forum in which the leaders would meet under conditions of equality. This would be an arena of national reconstruction, a place where the problems that have torn apart the fabric of South African society would be identified, analysed, and solutions would be prescribed in accordance with the principles of justice and human dignity.”

139. The recent constitutional reforms have bypassed that important step and as such would not enjoy universal approval. The bantustan or constellation of States concept cannot be a substitute.

140. Swaziland categorically rejects bantustanization and to that end it has not recognized and will not recognize the so-called independent bantustans of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana—the Ciskei, Venda and Gazankulu. In this matter Swaziland adheres strictly to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity.

141. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm once again Swaziland's total opposition to the policies of *apartheid*. We have consistently deplored the policies of the oppressive minority régimes in the southern African region, taking into account, of course, our geo-political and economic situation.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

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NOTE

<sup>1</sup> *Cry, the Beloved Country*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.