



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 32

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:

- (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) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As announced at the plenary meeting yesterday afternoon [55th meeting] the General Assembly will this morning consider draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 entitled "Proposed new racial constitution of South Africa", submitted by Sierra Leone on behalf of the African Group. I call upon the representative of Sierra Leone, Chairman of the African Group, to introduce the draft resolution.

2. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President on behalf of the African Group, I should like to thank you and the Assembly for acceding to our request to consider as a matter of urgency the question of the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

3. Like all oppressive and unjust régimes whose destiny is doomed, the minority racist régime in Pretoria, faced with a similar fate, has—instead of bowing to the forces of history and justice—embarked on a gigantic hoax designed to prolong its life and its criminal policies and practices of *apartheid*. This time round the grand design has appeared under various appellations—the so-called "constitutional proposals", constitutional dispensation or the "Republic of South Africa Constitution Act".

4. Whatever its appellation may be, this latest grand design of the Pretoria Government is not only a hoax but is, like its precursors the South Africa Act of 1909 and the Republican Constitution of South Africa of 1961, a monument to racialism and tyranny. Under the terms of the latest proposed constitution a three-chamber legislature will be enacted for whites, the so-called Coloureds and for people of Asian origin. However—and what is totally unjust and, indeed, totally unacceptable—these so-called constitutional proposals conspicuously exclude the vast majority of Africans who make up 73 per cent of the population of South Africa. With the implementation of the Republic of South Africa's Constitution (Act 110 of 1983), South Africa will emerge as an autocratic military State with an executive President who according to the constitution can only be white, exercising unlimited powers and bolstered by the army. Thus, in terms of the new constitution, legislative power in the country will continue to remain the exclusive monopoly of the white minority. On 2 November this year these so-called constitutional reforms were submitted to the exclusively white minority electorate for approval through a referendum.

5. The overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa, perceiving this exercise for what it is, have rejected it as fraudulent and undemocratic and have also condemned it without reservation. African States have also perceived the whole exercise as a hoax and have called for its total rejection. A statement issued by the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] on 4 November this year reads as follows:

"The international community has once again been treated to a gargantuan constitutional fraud by the racist Pretoria régime . . . The referendum on the so-called constitutional reforms that would ostensibly embrace the Indian and the coloured peoples in the decision-making process of the *apartheid* régime have hit headlines both inside and outside South Africa.

"Lest the international community be confused by the event that has taken place in South Africa, the Organization of African Unity wishes to remind all freedom-loving peoples, as well as believers in the principles of human equality, that the referendum and the so-called reforms are a gigantic constitutional hoax designed to deceive the international community while in fact the so-called reforms are meant to perpetuate *apartheid*. They are as divisive as they are fraudulent because they seek to isolate the black majority from their Indian and coloured counterparts and because the 24 million black Africans, the indigenous people of the land, are not entitled to any political rights in South Africa. Indeed, this is a gigantic fraud.

"This is the reason why the OAU vehemently denounces and rejects these so-called reforms. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed. It must be eradicated. It is the expectation of the Organization of African Unity that the Indians and the coloureds will recognize this fact and reject the so-called reforms."

6. The African Group of States has requested this meeting, as a matter of urgency, first to enable the General Assembly, both as the tribune and the conscience of mankind, and, through it, the international community as a whole, to reject the so-called constitutional proposals not only as undemocratic but also as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which enjoins all to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. It is in that sense that the proposed constitution of South Africa has been described in the draft resolution as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. Secondly, we are calling upon the Assembly to determine that the referendum of 2 November, together with its results, is of no validity whatsoever, and that the enforcement of the proposed constitution will inevitably further aggravate tension and conflict, both within South Africa itself and throughout southern Africa as a whole, thereby seriously endangering international peace and security in that region.

8. The racist minority régime in Pretoria, severely buffeted by the united resistance of the national liberation movement and the oppressed people of South Africa to its

seizure of power in that country, and faced with the almost united condemnation by the international community of its illegitimate rule, has once again decided to use the constitutional device, coupled with a massive propaganda onslaught designed to hoodwink and silence those in the international community who have repeatedly expressed their opposition to *apartheid* into believing that changes are after all taking place in South Africa, and for the better. Disturbingly, some members of the international community have allowed themselves to be taken in and have described the proposals as a step in the right direction.

9. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. The proposals do not mark progress, nor are they a step in the right direction. On this, as well as on many other occasions—since 1910, in fact—the South African Government, bolstered by the military, has always employed constitutional or legislative devices to introduce, entrench and perpetuate its policy and practice of racial segregation and to intensify its oppression of the African majority. As a matter of fact, the so-called constitutional proposals represent the third in a series following the 1909 South Africa Act, which placed the administration of the country in the hands of a white minority Government and which arbitrarily and militarily deprived the Africans of their fundamental human rights and their inalienable right to nationhood.

10. Since 1948 the institutionalization of *apartheid* itself has been carried out through various legislative enactments, *inter alia*, the Population Registration Act of 1950 which divided the population into racial categories. In 1953 it became compulsory for all Africans to carry identity documents known as passes, under the notorious Pass Laws, which are to be produced at any time and any place at the instance of the notorious secret police of South Africa. Race is one of the entries on the identity card. The Group Areas Act stipulated that each racial group must live in specifically demarcated areas.

11. Over the years and by means of such legislative devices all non-white political rights have been systematically abrogated by the minority racist régime of Pretoria. The limited franchise promised to the Indians was abolished. In 1956 the so-called Coloured voters in the Cape were removed from the common electoral roll by means of a constitutional coup, even though such a right was supposed to be entrenched.

12. In 1970, by a stroke of the pen, the minority racist régime abolished all political and social rights outside the so-called bantustans through the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act. Since 1968, under the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, political parties have been forbidden to have members belonging to more than one race. Thus, by dint of such legislative devices, *apartheid* came to be institutionalized and entrenched in South Africa.

13. These so-called constitutional proposals therefore represent a continuum, a normal flow of developments in South Africa and the determination of the *apartheid* régime to entrench its dominant and privileged position, while excluding the majority of the population, who were to be consigned to the so-called bantustan homelands. This latest exercise in constitutional reform is not only racially discriminatory and undemocratic but also fraudulent and even more insidious, as it not only attempts to create constitutional bantustans for the so-called Coloureds and Asians, but is also intended to divide the oppressed majority, foment internecine strife among them, further deprive the indigenous population of their inalienable right to self-determination, and strip them even of their citizenship in the land of their birth.

14. The so-called constitutional dispensation, like its precursors, discriminates among its population basically on the issue of race and through the political structure which it intends to construct to perpetuate the fallacious myth that the Africans are foreigners in South Africa and are not equal in dignity and worth as human persons, and that the rights of a person depend on the colour of his skin. The United Nations through its Charter and by means of numerous resolutions has rejected this fallacious myth.

15. Guided by its Charter and by its very *raison d'être* when it grew out of a terrible war in which racial theories motivated one side, the United Nations, through the Assembly, cannot accept in silence, as it has refused to do in the past, the further constitutionalization of *apartheid*; otherwise, it will lose its very meaning, its *raison d'être*.

16. It is clear that since *apartheid* was institutionalized it has been a device of constant tension and conflict in South Africa itself and in southern Africa as a whole, seriously jeopardizing international peace and security. Now its further constitutionalization will further alienate the overwhelming majority of the population, who perforce will resist the régime. Moreover, the aggressive minority régime will choose to look for its adversaries from without, involving frequent acts of aggression and terror against other African States, thereby further endangering international peace and security.

17. The African Group is therefore convinced that the Assembly, in keeping with its tradition as the repository of the conscience of mankind and as the custodian of international peace and security, must reject the so-called constitutional proposals as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It must also decide that the referendum of 2 November this year and its results were undemocratic and of no validity whatsoever, and that the enforcement of the proposed constitution will inexorably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

18. The proposed constitution should be rejected, and rejected overwhelmingly, for it leaves intact the existing reality and political system in South Africa: that the organizing principle of the State shall continue to be racial discrimination enforced by a ruling minority against a deprived majority more than five times as great; and that 87 per cent of the land shall continue to be reserved for the 16 per cent whites, while the 24 million blacks, who constitute some 73 per cent of the population, will continue to be relegated to the remaining 13 per cent of the so-called bantustan homelands, which for the most part are barren, unproductive pieces of land scattered over the map with hardly any regard to history, geography or logic. It is little wonder, therefore, that the vast majority of the population of South Africa have completely rejected these so-called constitutional reforms.

19. Therefore, in rejecting this so-called constitution, the General Assembly will be following the lead given by the people of South Africa themselves. It will give hope to and strengthen the courageous people of South Africa who today are resisting racial tyranny. The rejection of the proposals will send a message loudly and clearly to Pretoria that the world has refused to be duped by a hoax intended to entrench and perpetuate *apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa. Our rejection of the so-called reform proposals will be tantamount to a further repudiation of the vicious crime of *apartheid* and will confirm that none of us present is willing to tolerate, exonerate, rationalize or legitimize a régime which has been adjudged to be committing a crime against humanity.

20. Finally, our rejection of these so-called constitutional proposals will leave the South African régime in no doubt that only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority adult suffrage in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation now facing that country.

21. For all the foregoing reasons, I commend draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 to the Assembly for adoption.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Nigeria, who will speak on behalf of the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

23. Mr. FAFOWORA (Nigeria): I should like first to recall that, on the proposal of Nigeria, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* issued a statement on 26 August of this year drawing the attention of the international community to the serious implications of the Bill on a new constitution which was then before the racist white Parliament of South Africa.

24. In its annual report, the Special Committee said of the proposed new constitution:

“This plan, designed to co-opt the Coloured people and people of Asian origin as accomplices in the system of racist oppression and thereby divide the oppressed people, has been opposed not only by the African majority as a whole but by the overwhelming majority of the Coloured people and people of Asian origin who have increasingly identified themselves with the struggle for liberation.” [A/38/22, para. 234.]

It added:

“In view of the efforts of the racist régime of South Africa to deprive the African majority of citizenship rights, despite unanimous condemnation by the international community, and its moves for a constitutional amendment excluding the African majority from participation in the Parliament, the Special Committee considers it essential that the Security Council and the General Assembly reconsider the question of membership of South Africa in the United Nations and the legal status of the illegitimate *apartheid* régime.” [*Ibid.*, para. 328.]

25. The so-called Constitution of the so-called Republic of South Africa, endorsed by the racist white referendum on 2 November, is a monstrosity. The efforts of its authors to provide a verbal coating over the criminal racist act are deceptive and only too apparent.

26. The “Constitution” is drafted as if South Africa did not have indigenous African people who constitute over 70 per cent of the population of that country. In fact, there is no reference to them until almost the end of the Constitution, and then only to confirm that “the control and administration of Black affairs shall vest in the [white] State President”. That is by no means an accident. The principal fixation of the *apartheid* régime since it came to power in 1948 has been to create a South Africa without the existence of indigenous African people as citizens and as human beings with inalienable rights. It seeks to implement its plan through this “Constitution” which is a crime and an outrage against Africa, and against the Charter of the United Nations. Neither Africa nor the international community can afford to tolerate this crime.

27. One of the first measures the *apartheid* régime took after coming to power in 1948 was to enact the Group Areas Act for racial segregation in residence and business. It proceeded to impose total segregation in education. It then extended humiliating pass laws to African

women, thereby restricting the freedom of movement of all Africans. It abolished even the provision for a few African voters to elect a handful of whites as members of Parliament. It then enacted a law prohibiting multi-racial political parties. It proceeded to set up bantustans and to give them fake “independence” so as to denationalize one ethnic group after another.

28. It has forcibly moved 3 million Africans from their homes and has declared 8 million Africans non-citizens of South Africa. It plans to evict more millions of Africans and eventually deprive all Africans of their rights—except the right to starve in the bantustans or slave for the white masters as migrant labourers. The so-called Constitution of South Africa is meant to enforce this diabolic plan.

29. I might recall that in 1961 the *apartheid* régime established a so-called Republic on the basis of a racist referendum limited to white voters. That was the beginning of a serious crisis in South Africa. The African States broke relations with South Africa at that time and called for sanctions against the racist régime. South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth of Nations and other international bodies. The *apartheid* régime has been able to survive and proceed now to the second stage of its plot against the African people, with this so-called Constitution, because of the protection or connivance of the major Western Powers, which have prevented effective sanctions against *apartheid*. This so-called Constitution was preceded by massive propaganda that the Botha régime was willing to undertake peaceful changes and reforms, and that the constitutional changes involved “power-sharing” by the whites with the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin. The world was told that if only the racist clique was given more time, this “power-sharing” might be extended.

30. This propaganda is an insult to our intelligence. What does the so-called Constitution do? It sets up three so-called Chambers of Parliament: a House of Assembly for the whites only; a House of Representatives for the so-called Coloured people; and a House of Deputies for people of Asian origin. The population will therefore need to be perpetually classified and divided on racial lines. The provisions of the “Constitution” are so framed that the whites maintain supreme power.

31. The Chambers of the “Coloured people” and people of Asian origin can decide only on “own affairs” as certified by the State President. In fact, this means that education, health and other services will remain racially segregated and discriminatory. The “Coloured” and Asian Chambers of Parliament are no different, except in name, from the *apartheid* institutions already established in South Africa and despised and boycotted by the “Coloured” and Asian people. The so-called “Coloured” people and people of Asian origin are now invited to help implement racial discrimination. And they will even become liable to conscription in the armed forces, which are designed to impose racism, oppress the black people and attack independent African States.

32. The propaganda that the Botha régime has been moving towards “reform” or “evolutionary change” is a myth. The *apartheid* régime, faced with growing isolation and escalating resistance by the forces of freedom, has increasingly relied on brute force and has come to be dominated by its military. Its military establishment has advocated some moves in terms of “civic action” in support of its operations, in order to confuse, divide and disrupt the opponents of racist terror. That is the essential basis of the so-called changes and reforms in South Africa. They are designed to protect and perpetuate

apartheid, not to move towards equality. The record of the recent past shows that the talk of reforms is always coupled with greater repression and increasingly violent deportations of African people.

33. We cannot but express our great disappointment and dismay that the Government of the United States of America has encouraged and extolled these so-called reforms and that its Department of State rushed to welcome the results of the racist white referendum as opening the way towards a system based on the consent of all South African citizens. I hope that it will reconsider its position, which reflects little regard for the sentiments clearly expressed by the black majority in South Africa.

34. The *apartheid* régime has enacted the so-called Constitution without any consultation with the genuine leaders of the black majority of the population—in fact, in the face of the united opposition of millions of black people. I do not see how the United States Government can consider that this “Constitution” can lead to a system based on the consent of the citizens, unless it regards the black people of South Africa as second-class human beings.

35. The “constitutional dispensation” has been opposed not only by the liberation movements, churches and religious bodies, trade unions and community organizations but even by the pliant bantustan authorities. The racist régime found it necessary to ban all meetings of black organizations before the referendum. We must express our particular satisfaction that the so-called Coloured people and people of Asian origin have denounced the new Constitution, reaffirmed their solidarity with the African people and espoused a truly non-racial democratic society.

36. It is inconceivable that they will agree to the humiliation of being co-opted by the racist régime, even if the régime is able to entice a few puppets into its fold. Indeed, they face the danger of repression because of their resistance against the constitution and against the military conscription which will surely follow. They deserve the support of the international community at this critical time.

37. The so-called constitution is a declaration of war against the African people of South Africa, not a step towards peaceful change. The key to peace in South Africa—as the Assembly has unanimously declared on numerous occasions—is the key to the prison doors. There can be no peace in South Africa until Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners are released; until the bans on liberation movements and other organizations are revoked; until there is an amnesty for the leaders in exile; and until the genuine leaders of the people are enabled to play their rightful role in deciding the destiny of their country. There can be no peace until the bantustans are dismantled and until the people of South Africa as a whole establish a non-racial democratic society based on universal franchise and majority rule.

38. The moves of the *apartheid* régime to enforce the so-called constitution represent an inescapable challenge to the United Nations which, true to the principles of its Charter, must denounce the efforts of the racists to deprive the great majority of the people of South Africa of its inalienable rights. It must proclaim that the act of the racist parliament and the results of the racist white referendum have no validity whatever and that any régime which emerges from the racist constitution can have no legitimacy. It must warn the racists that the international community will deny any recognition to the system of government emerging from the new constitution and

assure the oppressed people of South Africa of full support in their legitimate resistance against this further effort to institutionalize racist domination.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of India, who will speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of the Non-Aligned Countries.

40. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): My delegation has listened very carefully and with grave concern to the statements of the Chairman of the Group of African States and of the representative of Nigeria.

41. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, in the Political Declaration adopted at that Conference,

“noted with indignation the introduction by the South African régime of so-called constitutional reforms and unreservedly condemned that act as yet another device to divide the oppressed people of South Africa and consolidate and perpetuate *apartheid* and white minority rule. Whilst congratulating those of the so-called Coloureds and people of Indian origin for categorically rejecting the so-called constitutional reforms, it warned the unrepresentative elements in the Labour Party and the South African Indian Council against being party to the bogus constitutional arrangements.” [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 55.]

42. The so-called constitutional proposals have now been endorsed, on 2 November 1983, by the exclusively white electorate in South Africa. This is an attempt by the racist régime to constitutionalize and further entrench the institution of *apartheid*.

43. It is clear that the so-called constitutional proposals are intended to continue the *status quo* in which the majority of the population of South Africa are deprived of their fundamental rights, including the right of citizenship. Their aim is to perpetuate and strengthen white supremacy by splitting the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa. They have no validity or legitimacy whatsoever, and their enforcement will inevitably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

44. We are confident that the implementation of the proposals will be opposed not only by the African people but by the so-called Coloured people and by the people of Indian origin. For many decades the Coloureds and the people of Indian origin have fought shoulder to shoulder with their African brothers in a common struggle in the clear recognition that the will of the majority must prevail and that there shall be no discrimination based on race, colour or religion. Opposition to the new proposals has proved to be yet another unifying bond amongst the African population, the Coloureds and the people of Indian origin. The international community must lend its full weight to the efforts of the oppressed people of South Africa to oppose by every possible means the illegal acts and legislation of the racist régime. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries firmly rejects the so-called constitutional proposals and any similar insidious manoeuvres that are intended to entrench white minority ruled and *apartheid* in South Africa.

45. By adopting today the draft resolution proposed by a large number of delegations, including India [A/38/L.15 and Add.1], the General Assembly will affirm its assurance to the suffering people of South Africa that the international community is with them in their just struggle. It will serve as a signal to the Pretoria régime that even at this late stage it would be well advised to draw

back from the dangerous course on which it is at present embarked.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Ethiopia, who will speak on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

47. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): On behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU, I affirm from this rostrum Africa's total and unequivocal rejection of the so-called constitutional proposals recently submitted to and endorsed by the white population of South Africa.

48. This new "constitution" is nothing but the latest in the series of legal frauds presented to the world by the racist régime in Pretoria. This "constitution" finally and effectively excludes the black majority from any share in the government of South Africa and hence it is nothing but a reaffirmation of the bantustanization policy of Pretoria. Furthermore, it attempts to drive a wedge between the black majority on the one hand and the so-called Coloureds and those of Asian origin on the other, in the hope of weakening the liberation struggle of the entire oppressed people.

49. That is not all. This so-called constitution, by extending limited political rights to those two groups among the South African population, is burdening them with unequal political obligations, among which conscription into the racist armed forces figures most prominently. Thus the way is being paved for the oppressed to raise arms against the oppressed. In effect, the so-called Coloured people and Asians have to wage the war for *apartheid* on behalf of the racist régime.

50. This latest machination of Pretoria should, therefore, mislead no one, least of all the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian origin. We are indeed heartened to learn that many from those two groups have already rejected the new proposals. We are also heartened to note that the international community, too, has not been hoodwinked by this legal fraud. The regrettable exception of course is the position taken by the United States Administration.

51. We take this opportunity to call upon the United States to reconsider its position and join the emerging international consensus on the question. The so-called constitutional reform is obviously not a harbinger of more impending reforms. It is more like a dead-end street leading nowhere but entrenching even further the racist system of *apartheid*.

52. Inasmuch as we will have ample opportunity to debate the policies of *apartheid* in the coming days, I shall refrain from saying much at this point. However, I should like to conclude by commending, for unanimous approval of the Assembly, draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 submitted by the representative of Sierra Leone, the current Chairman of the Group of African States.

53. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 2 November, the South African racist authorities masterminded a farce of the so-called "national referendum" which approved a so-called "new constitution". This is a political fraud as well as a manifestation of the obstinate pursuit by the South African authorities of their policies of *apartheid*.

54. The South African authorities obdurately pursue the inhumane policies of *apartheid* while incessantly committing aggression and expansion against other countries. They have thus met with determined resistance and opposition from the broad sections of the black people at home and international condemnation by the African countries and the international community as a whole. The South

African authorities are indeed in an extremely isolated position.

55. Faced with heavy domestic and international pressure, the South African authorities have attempted to sustain their rule based on *apartheid* by means of political deception. They have been intensifying for some time their scheme of "constitutional reform" and advertising the "sharing of power" by the Coloured people and the Indians. After years of conspiratorial efforts, they held the so-called "national referendum" two weeks ago, in which only the white people participated, and approved the so-called "new constitution", which completely deprives the vast number of black people, comprising over 70 per cent of the total population of South Africa, of their rights as citizens and all political rights. Only in theory does it institute the sharing of limited rights by the Coloured and the Indians. In essence, it leaves the political power in the firm grip of the white racists and treats the Coloured and Indians as second-class citizens only. The broad masses of the South African people will remain as powerless as before and continue to be oppressed and enslaved. Moreover, the South African authorities have kept intact the whole "legal system" based on *apartheid*. Apparently, the new move staged by the South African authorities has been designed to cloak their *apartheid* with a constitution in order to perpetuate this racial system, sabotage the unity between the black people and the Coloured and the Indians and weaken the forces fighting against racism so that they may maintain their racist rule.

56. The deceptive tricks used by the South African authorities and owing to which the "new constitution" was adopted, have met with strong opposition both at home and abroad. The OAU and many African countries have all sternly condemned the South African authorities for this political intrigue and pointed out that the step taken by the South African authorities was aimed at further strengthening their racist policies. In South Africa, not only the broad sections of the black people have waged massive organized protests against the "new constitution", but even the Progressive Federal Party of South Africa, an opposition party representing the interests of white businessmen and financial capitalists, has also pointed out that the "new constitution" could only further strain the relations between the different races in South Africa.

57. The perverse course embarked on by the South African authorities has further aroused the indignation of the people in South Africa and throughout the world and will only make the doomsday for the reactionary *apartheid* system arrive sooner.

58. The Chinese delegation maintains that the so-called "new constitution", worked out by the South African authorities to protect racism, is in total contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It can only result in further aggravation of domestic differences in South Africa and opposition by the black people as well as in the worsening of tension and conflict in the whole of southern Africa. The Chinese delegation supports draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 proposed by Sierra Leone on behalf of the African countries. We hope that the United Nations will promptly take all the necessary measures to mobilize support by the international community to the oppressed people in South Africa in their struggles for national equality and basic human rights.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Sudan who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

60. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): May the delegation of my country be permitted to address the General Assembly this morning on behalf of the Group of Arab States on the issue of the policies of *apartheid* of the racist Government of South Africa, in the light of the new developments which occurred in a part of Africa dear to us as a result of the so-called "constitutional proposals", which allegedly gave limited political rights to the Coloured and Asian minorities.

61. It is no secret that the constitutional developments that South Africa is undergoing now have been a source of concern for the peoples and States of the African continent and the world as a whole. We are confident that this procedure on the part of the racist authorities indicates the intransigence and the short-sightedness of the authorities of Pretoria and their insistence on entrenching the policies of *apartheid* based on the racial policies rejected by the international community as a whole and condemned as a crime against humanity.

62. We wish to mention that we had previously warned of the seriousness of applauding the manoeuvres of the racist régime when it first began to effect gradual changes in racial relations and other changes in South Africa. We stated at that time, and we repeat it today, that South Africa does not need progressive change any more than it needs desperate attempts such as those that took place lately to undermine the political struggle by giving limited rights to certain minorities.

63. What South Africa needs is to stamp out *apartheid* altogether, demolish all its institutions and build a democratic society, free from all kinds of oppression and racial domination.

64. The Group of Arab States, on whose behalf I am privileged to speak now, shares with its sister African countries the common aim and destiny of getting rid of the scourge of racism, hegemony and imperialism. The Arab States have affirmed at Arab and African conferences, as well as at the meetings of the League of Arab States, their absolute support for the rights of peoples in South Africa to self-determination and independence. Proceeding from this premise, the Arab Governments and peoples strongly condemned the "constitutional proposals" and will always support the aspirations of the African countries for freedom and the national liberation movements, until the peoples of South Africa have achieved freedom, liberation and equality. If I speak of the common aim and destiny that link the Arab and African worlds; it is because of the many ties that have been developed between them since time immemorial and because the present state of affairs in the two areas of South Africa and the Middle East, in the light of the co-operation between the two régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv, makes the common struggle of these two worlds all the more urgent and necessary.

65. We call on the General Assembly to condemn the "constitutional proposals" and to declare that the results of the referendums are null and void, because they are contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and because they consecrate the domination of the white minority and deprive the majority indigenous population of its fundamental and legitimate rights.

66. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): On behalf of the Group of Asian States, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the commitment of the States members of the Asian Group to strict adherence to international law and to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially with regard to South Africa, where long-standing injustices and iniquities prevail in defiance of the rest of mankind.

67. The Asian States strongly deplore the policies and practices of *apartheid* in South Africa and note with grave concern the deeper entrenchment of such policies and practices, to the further detriment of the overwhelming majority of its population. Recent developments have served only to heighten our concern and they are likely further to alienate the already segregated and oppressed bulk of its people, further undermine their dignity and aggravate tension in that country, as well as in the region of southern Africa and beyond.

68. Moreover, it is patently clear that the so-called constitutional proposals will worsen the status and impair further the fundamental rights of the indigenous African majority, which numbers over 20 million people and it is patently clear that the so-called referendum on 2 November 1983 was conducted only among the ruling white minority of 2.7 million people.

69. In the light of the foregoing, therefore, the Asian States regard the so-called constitutional proposals as contrary to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and as lacking in any validity whatsoever. Furthermore, any unilateral actions by the South African authorities to impose any so-called negotiated settlement on the majority of the population or any part thereof should be considered as void and any outcome of such unlawful actions will also be so regarded. The Asian States therefore stand shoulder to shoulder with the African Group of States on this issue and reaffirm their solidarity with the just cause of fundamental human rights in South Africa, as consistently advocated by the international community.

70. Speaking as the representative of Thailand, I wish to state that my delegation will lend its unqualified support to draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1.

71. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): The racist régime of South Africa has, by imposing the so-called constitutional amendments, confirmed once again that racism, *apartheid*, bantustanization, terror and exploitation of the majority in that country is the system for which it stands. That is its vision of the future of South Africa—the endless prolongation of minority oppression of the majority of the population.

72. The new constitutional proposals are aimed at that; they further legalize and fortify that anachronistic and inhuman system which is a shameful *unicum* in contemporary international relations. The entire international community is outraged at the existence of this abhorrent régime, incompatible with the time in which we live and with the basic norms of human dignity. The new constitutional reforms are yet another attempt by the racist régime of South Africa further to legalize, institutionalize and—ironically—to represent oppression and State terrorism as a democratic, constitutional and parliamentary process.

73. However, all attempts by the racist régime to deceive the world are in vain. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and the so-called constitutional proposals endorsed by the exclusively white electorate in South Africa are designed totally to exclude the indigenous African majority from the political process and further to entrench *apartheid*.

74. They further institutionalize the bantustan policy of the *apartheid* régime and constitute a dangerous fraud designed to deprive the indigenous African majority of all fundamental rights. They are calculated to divide the oppressed people of South Africa by giving the false impression that the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin are allowed to have a say in the decision-making processes, thus attempting to dull the

edge of the ongoing struggle against *apartheid*. This policy of divide and rule is once again being used by oppressors in the hope of turning the deprived against one another.

75. One of its objectives is certainly to make the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian origin in South Africa eligible for conscription into the *apartheid* armed forces for further internal repression and aggression against independent African States.

76. We are heartened by the united resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa against these manoeuvres and we pledge our full support to the legitimate struggle of the oppressed in South Africa for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a society in which all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed will enjoy equal and full political and other rights and will participate freely in the determination of their destiny.

77. At their seventh summit conference at New Delhi in March of this year, the Non-Aligned Countries expressed their indignation over the introduction by the South African régime of these so-called constitutional reforms. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries unreservedly condemned that act as yet another device to consolidate and perpetuate *apartheid* and white minority rule.

78. We of Yugoslavia consider that these so-called constitutional proposals violate the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations concerning respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, as well as the norms of international law.

79. We join in the rejection of these so-called constitutional proposals as null and void. In our view no referendum based on racial discrimination and segregation can have any validity whatsoever.

80. The relentless and courageous struggle of the people of South Africa against racism and discrimination and for freedom, equality and human dignity is fully justified and is therefore supported by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

81. This is the struggle for freedom, for the most elementary human rights and against the system of *apartheid* that has converted South Africa into a kind of medieval prison for millions of people. South Africa, like all other regions of the world, needs peace, security and co-operation but these cannot be built on the dogma of the inequality of races and the continuous act of aggression by South Africa against the neighbouring non-aligned front-line States.

82. *Apartheid* is based on force and terror and is designed to perpetuate domination and exploitation.

83. Finally, all talk about human rights, equality and justice will remain meaningless while the ugly system of *apartheid* is allowed to exist.

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Czechoslovakia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

85. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia): As Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States for this month, I should like to express the views of these States on the item on the agenda for this meeting. The socialist States of Eastern Europe, like all other peace-loving States devoted to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, are increasingly concerned by the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa—*apartheid*, that most disgusting form of racism which forms the basis of the ideology of the Pretoria régime and the organizational principle

on which State power is exercised in that country. This system allows the white minority to oppress with impunity the non-white majority of the population and to exploit it to the utmost in the economic sphere.

86. This is not only completely contrary to the system of ideological values and humanitarian ideals of mankind in the second half of the twentieth century, and to the feelings and the moral conscience of peoples, but also violates the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and a number of other important resolutions and declarations of our Organization.

87. The adoption and pursuit of the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. That policy is in essence completely inhumane, and at the same time aggressive *a priori*. Like other racist ideologies, *apartheid* involves oppression and repression on the one hand, and aggression against other States on the other. The practice of *apartheid* as a State policy is not something that relates solely to the internal régime. It seriously impedes the completion of the decolonization process and also constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

88. The policy of the Government of South Africa is eloquent proof of this. The Pretoria régime, with its cruel repression of the non-white population, continues its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and refuses both to recognize the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and to respect the territorial integrity of Namibia. In addition, it has unleashed an undeclared war against Angola, Mozambique and other independent African States and has committed acts of destabilization, diversion and terrorism on the territory of those neighbouring States. The aggressive policies of the Pretoria régime have led to a situation in which Africa has been turned into an explosive pocket of tension.

89. Implementation of the policy of *apartheid* would be impossible were it not for the generous, multifarious and systematic assistance given to the Pretoria régime by the United States, a number of other Western countries and Israel. This diplomatic, political, economic, military and even nuclear collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, the eagerness of transnational corporations to profit from that inhuman situation and the cold-war attitudes of powerful forces in the West which view the *apartheid* régime as an ally, lessen the effectiveness of international action aimed at the eradication of *apartheid*, frequently under the pretext of so-called constructive engagement.

90. The defenders of "constructive engagement" have even welcomed the recent manoeuvre of the Pretoria Government in the form of the so-called constitutional amendment bill, one of the main objectives of which is to make the "Coloured" people and people of Asian origin in South Africa eligible for conscription into the *apartheid* armed forces, for the purpose of further internal repression and aggression against independent African States.

91. The socialist States of Eastern Europe indignantly reject the criminal system of racism and *apartheid*. They strongly condemn all manoeuvres by the *apartheid* régime aimed at excluding the black people, who constitute the vast majority of the population, from the political life of South Africa. They strongly reject all other manoeuvres aimed at keeping the criminal system of *apartheid* alive. They express full solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and their national liberation movements, headed by the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization, which are struggling against racial discrimination

and colonialism. They strictly abide by all United Nations resolutions which seek to isolate the South African racists, to eliminate the *apartheid* régime, to bring about the speedy granting of independence to Namibia and to stop South Africa's aggression in southern Africa. They support any measures which our Organization might adopt, including sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to force the Pretoria régime to renounce *apartheid*, colonialism and aggression. They fully support the universal implementation of those measures—that is, their consistent implementation by all States—because only through joint efforts by the entire international community can we eliminate *apartheid*. Since draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 is a step in that direction, the socialist States of Eastern Europe will support it.

92. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

93. Mr. MANOLATOS (Greece): The 10 member States of the European Community, on whose behalf I am speaking, are united in their profound opposition to *apartheid*. That opposition has been expressed on many occasions in the General Assembly and in other international forums. It will be expressed again when the Assembly returns to agenda item 32, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, later this week.

94. The members of the European Community share the underlying concern about *apartheid*, and about any efforts to entrench that system, which has led the Group of African States to initiate the draft resolution before us. The 10 member States, however, have some reservations on certain formulations of the draft resolution.

95. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of Greece has just reaffirmed the profound opposition of the European Community and its 10 member States to *apartheid*. It is the firm opinion and commitment of my Government that the black population in South Africa must enjoy equal and full political and other rights as citizens. Hence, the Federal Republic of Germany agrees with the main thrust of the draft resolution before us.

96. It seems to us, however, that an unconditional condemnation of the South African referendum on constitutional changes is premature.

97. If the aim of the constitutional changes was the further entrenchment of *apartheid*, the condemnation of that referendum would be fully justified.

98. If, however, there is a chance—and many of the white population voting in favour will have had this in mind—that the referendum could be a first step in an evolutionary development towards an integration of the majority of the South African population into South African political life, an unconditional condemnation at the present stage would, we feel, not be helpful.

99. It is for this reason that my delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

100. Mr. ULRICH (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The Nordic countries' condemnation of racism, racial discrimination and the system of institutionalized racial discrimination known as *apartheid* has been voiced in the Assembly on many occasions. We deplore the entrenchment of *apartheid* envisaged in the new South African constitutional proposals, and will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1.

101. However, the Nordic countries have reservations with regard to the formulation of some specific paragraphs in the draft resolution. We also regret that the draft resolution is being put to the vote without allowing sufficient time for consultations.

102. Mr. LÉVITTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): France unreservedly condemns the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. It has stated as much in the Assembly, in clear-cut terms, and has proved it by its actions. Thus, my delegation fully understands the concern that has prompted the Group of African States to submit to the General Assembly the draft resolution before us today. For these reasons, France will vote in favour of it, despite the reservations we have concerning some language in the text, in particular the second preambular paragraph and paragraphs 1 and 6.

103. Mr. BARBOSA de MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): Portugal's position with regard to the question of *apartheid* has been unequivocally expressed many times, both here in the General Assembly and in other forums. My country has always participated seriously in the efforts of the international community to put an end to a system that has always been repudiated by the Portuguese national conscience, true to its centuries-old co-operation in international matters. Thus, Portugal cannot give its agreement to so-called partial solutions that seek to get round a global problem of undeniable human significance.

104. My delegation has consistently maintained this position at earlier sessions of the General Assembly and will not fail to do so during the work of the current session on the question of *apartheid*. None the less, guided by its concern for realism and in view of the delicate legal implications of certain operative paragraphs in draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, my delegation will abstain in the voting, while regretting its inability to give its whole-hearted support to a text whose basic principles and noble aspirations so well correspond to the basic concerns of my country and Government.

105. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Argentina firmly and unreservedly supports the draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, submitted by Sierra Leone, since it is obvious that the objective of the so-called "constitutional proposals" endorsed on 2 November by the exclusively white South African electorate are designed to deprive the African majority of that country of all fundamental rights, including the right of citizenship. The proposals are contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and the results of that referendum therefore lack all validity.

106. Indeed, this new step by the South African Government will inevitably increase tension and conflict within South Africa and in the rest of southern Africa. It is not surprising therefore that the oppressed people of South Africa have reacted with unanimity against such "constitutional" manoeuvres.

107. Argentina would like once again to stress the fact that only the total elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society based on self-determination and government by the majority can lead to a just and lasting settlement of the explosive situation in South Africa. The intransigent position of Pretoria and its persistence in maintaining an anachronistic and contemptible system of racial discrimination offensive to the conscience of mankind justify the adoption of new and urgent measures by the United Nations, in particular by the Security Council, which bears a fundamental responsibility for preventing any further aggravation of tension

and conflict in South Africa, in particular, and in southern Africa as a whole.

108. Mr. MOSELEY (Barbados): Whenever the inflexibility or the absolute inviolability of the Charter of the United Nations appears to be challenged, such a challenge can mean no more than a claim that in any given case there are circumstances which will either justify or extenuate such an apparent departure from the established principles. Such an approach is not, indeed, unknown to established and respected systems of law throughout the world.

109. In other words, it is open to the régime of Pretoria to justify *apartheid* and the various devices designed to support this ghastly system, repugnant to every decent human being in the civilized world, whatever his ideological persuasion. It is open to Pretoria to justify its policies, which are so clearly in breach of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and are, indeed, nothing less than crimes against humanity, for which nearly 40 years ago men were properly sentenced to death or imprisonment at Nuremberg.

110. But the Pretoria Government does not attempt to justify its actions. In fact, it cannot. On the contrary, it shouts crude defiance and declares in the face of the world community, as represented in the United Nations, that no power on earth will make South Africa change its course, its policy or its commitment to the system of progressive and remorseless genocide of the black people of South Africa, whose only crime is that they had the temerity—even the gall—to dare to have inhabited their beloved country for centuries before the Afrikaner, the Boer and their white confederates came from wherever they came from to kick, beat and brutally assault the indigenous peoples in their own lands.

111. The policies of Pretoria are epitomized by the grossly fraudulent so-called constitutional reform, which constitutes, in fact, nothing more or less than a trampling upon the principle of self-determination of peoples and even that of territorial integrity, the difference being only that here we have an invasion from within putting into effect the very evils for which an invasion from outside is repudiated by the Charter of the United Nations. In the case of South Africa, this ruthless invasion from within has been continuing for years without relief or really meaningful assistance from those numerous States which so frequently deplore in words, but not with deeds, the system of *apartheid*.

112. The draft resolution before the Assembly, in the view of my delegation, provides the minimum that the world community can do to expose the cruel fraud which is being perpetrated against the people of South Africa. My delegation hopes therefore that the draft resolution will be approved without a dissenting voice.

113. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation understands the reasons that prompted the Group of African States to submit draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1. Belgium cannot accept the new constitution, which completely ignores the rights of the black population of South Africa.

114. Belgium's condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* has been unequivocally expressed on many occasions within the United Nations. Moreover, we have stressed the need to achieve, as soon as possible and by peaceful means, harmonious coexistence of all the races in South Africa.

115. My delegation must none the less express reservations on certain paragraphs in the draft resolution now before us. I refer in particular to paragraphs 1 and 6, the content of which exceeds the powers of the General

Assembly. My delegation will therefore abstain in the voting on the draft resolution.

116. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has studied draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, which was introduced this morning by the representative of Sierra Leone [55th meeting].

117. My Government considers that the constitutional proposals that were endorsed on 2 November 1983 in South Africa do not meet the minimum requirements for an evolution that would lead to the total elimination of the régime of *apartheid*, which my Government has repeatedly condemned and repudiated and the elimination of which has been called for by the General Assembly. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, although we have some reservations with regard to certain of its paragraphs.

118. In conclusion, I should like the South African Government to understand once and for all that it is urgently necessary to make real constitutional changes that will lead to the speedy and total elimination of the *apartheid* régime.

119. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Australia will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Sierra Leone, because the Australian Government elected last March unreservedly condemns *apartheid*, and because we fully support the broad thrust of the resolution. At the same time, we wish to record that in our view the language in some of the preambular and operative paragraphs is somewhat strident.

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Germany, Federal Republic of, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 141 votes to none, with 7 abstentions (resolution 38/11).¹

121. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

122. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): The *apartheid* system in South Africa rests upon the twin premises of absolute racial exclusivity and inherent white racial superiority. Building upon these premises, the architects of *apartheid* have constructed, and attempted to justify, a system of political, social and economic injustice that denies fundamental human rights to South Africa's black population. The Government and people of the United States reject the false premises of *apartheid*. We abhor the system of oppression erected upon those premises. We condemn the denial of fundamental rights to South Africa's majority black population. We stand by the principles, fundamental to our identity as a nation, that "all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights", and that no Government can claim legitimacy which denies that equality and systematically violates those rights. By virtue of our adherence to these principles, painfully vindicated through civil war, legal arbitration and non-violent mass protest against injustice, the American people are the enemies of *apartheid*, as we are the enemies of any system that denies the common dignity and attendant rights of human beings.

123. The issue raised by the resolution, therefore, was not between those who oppose *apartheid* and those who do not. The issue is how best to encourage practical steps away from the *apartheid* system, which we all strongly believe to be illegitimate and unjust. As we have repeatedly stated, it is not appropriate for the United States Government or this body to propose, endorse or condemn any particular blueprint for political change in South Africa. This applies especially to the proposals just approved by the white voters of South Africa.

124. We believe that the 66 per cent "Yes" vote by South Africa's white electorate in the recent referendum is a reflection of a growing consensus within that electorate on the need to move forward towards broader participation by all South Africans in the country's political process. In that sense, 2 November 1983 is a potentially significant date in the modern history of South Africa. As a multiracial democracy, the United States can only welcome a collective decision by a clear majority of white South African voters to take a step which opens the way to constructive, evolutionary change towards a system based on the consent of all of South Africa's citizens, over 80 per cent of whom are not white. The referendum results also indicate that the South African Government now has a firm and broad mandate to move decisively along this road, so that South Africans of all races can enjoy the blessings of an open society and the chance to participate in all sectors of human endeavour, without regard to race. It is our hope that the South African Government will use this mandate to address the problem of the political rights of South Africa's black majority, for the sake of the people of South Africa and southern Africa, and for the sake of its relations with the rest of the world, including the United States.

125. With that hope in mind, we strongly disagree with those who believe that a resolution condemning the proposed constitutional changes will make a positive contribution to the process of change. The people of the United States know from their own experience how painful and

difficult the process of achieving racial justice can be. We know as well that in that process steps which break down the psychological foundations of racial animosity can make an important contribution to the ultimate goal. We realize that neither the South African Government nor the people of South Africa has attained that goal. A long road, fraught with difficult and painful decisions, lies before them. To follow the path that leads to justice will require courage, prudence and true statesmanship. The international community has an obligation to do everything within its power to encourage and fortify those within South Africa, black and white, willing to display and act upon these qualities. We believe that the resolution, especially in its harsh preambular language and the language of paragraph 1, will have the opposite effect—that it will dishearten those working for positive change and encourage those who oppose it. Therefore, precisely because we believe that constructive, evolutionary change is the imperative of South Africa's better destiny, we could not join in supporting the resolution.

126. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The Austrian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution because of our deeply felt concern about the continuance of the policy of *apartheid* and its most detrimental consequences, both for the internal situation in South Africa and for the general political development in the region of southern Africa. We remain convinced that only a profound transformation of South Africa into a free, democratic and multiracial society will bring peace and stability to southern Africa.

127. It is for these reasons that we can support the main thrust of the resolution, although my delegation has certain reservations with regard to some of its elements.

128. However, we concur with the view that the danger of a further reinforcement of the policy of *apartheid* through the implementation of the constitutional proposals which are the subject of the resolution indeed merited the action just taken by the Assembly in adopting it.

129. Mr. KURODA (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution, introduced by the delegation of Sierra Leone, since we support its main thrust: that the constitutional proposals of South Africa are not at all satisfactory in regard to alleviating the evil of *apartheid*. However, my delegation has reservations on some of the elements of the draft resolution.

130. For example, my delegation cannot go along with the recognition contained in the latter phrase of the second preambular paragraph. We believe also that less confrontational wording should have been used with respect to the constitutional proposals. Furthermore, my delegation has some doubts about the necessity of taking up this matter in this hasty manner. It would have been preferable for us to have had enough time to work for a consensus resolution.

131. Mr. CARLSON (Canada): Canada supported the draft resolution in the light of our long-standing and well-known opposition to the appalling practice of *apartheid*.

132. The resolution before us basically condemns certain constitutional proposals recently approved by referendum in South Africa. The vast majority of South Africans did not, however, have the opportunity of voting in that referendum. To the degree that these constitutional changes therefore represent an entrenchment of the existing political and power structure in South Africa, we condemn them.

133. We still hope, however, that peaceful change will be forthcoming in South Africa and that a genuinely democratic society for all South Africans, of all races, will emerge.

134. While we have some reservations on the language in this resolution, our support for it, including paragraph 1, is based on the grounds that the recent South African constitutional process is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

135. Mr. BARRINGTON (United Kingdom): My delegation's unwavering desire to see an end to *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination has been expressed in this Assembly on countless occasions and will again be underlined when, later this week, the Assembly debates, under agenda item 32, the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. We therefore share the underlying feelings of the sponsors of this resolution and subscribe, of course, to the common statement of the Ten member States of the European Community, made by the representative of Greece [*paras. 93 and 94 above*].

136. My delegation must reserve its position on certain specific aspects of the resolution, including the second preambular paragraph and paragraph 1, which contain assertions that in our view go beyond the competence of the Assembly under the Charter of the United Nations.

137. My delegation's vote should not be seen as in conflict with the concern that lies behind the resolution. That vote reflects my Government's reluctance to rush to judgement on the implications of South Africa's constitutional proposals. We note, however, that only part of the population of that country has been consulted and that the proposals have been seriously criticized by other South Africans, for whom they make no provision. The British Government believes that it is for all the people of South Africa to determine their own political future. Thus, we have repeatedly made it clear that we are looking for progress towards constitutional arrange-

ments that are acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole.

138. Mr. WEGERIF (Netherlands): The Netherlands is of the opinion that the constitutional proposals recently endorsed by South Africa's minority electorate ignore the aspirations of the majority of the population and fall far short of the profound and fundamental changes my Government considers imperative. However, we wish to respect South Africa's rights as a sovereign State, and we believe it is not up to other nations to prescribe how a free and equitable society in South Africa should be organized.

139. Although we share the doubts of many as to the real significance of the constitutional proposals that were endorsed recently by two thirds of the present electorate, we would not wish at this stage to go as far as the resolution just adopted, which, in paragraph 1, deems the constitutional reforms to be contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are looking forward to more meaningful steps on the road to emancipation of the population of South Africa as a whole—steps that are so urgently required.

140. For those reasons, the Netherlands abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTE

¹ The delegation of the Congo subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.