



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

AGENDA ITEM 32

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) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should first like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee contained in document A/38/550. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

*It was so decided (decision 38/407).*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria.

3. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: Mr. President, as this is the first time I am speaking at the current session of the General Assembly, I should like to express my great satisfaction at the election of an eminent statesman of Latin America, committed to the principles of the United Nations, as the President of the current session. I am confident that your wise leadership will greatly help the Assembly to discharge its responsibilities at this critical period in world affairs.

4. It is now 20 years since the Special Committee against *Apartheid* began its work. It is 20 years since the Security Council called on the South African régime to abandon *apartheid* and repression, characterized the situation in South Africa as seriously disturbing international peace and security, and called for an arms embargo against South Africa. It is 20 years since the General Assembly unanimously called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners as an essential prerequisite for averting growing conflict, and appealed to the international community to assist the victims of *apartheid*.

5. Yet, despite numerous resolutions by the principal organs of the United Nations, there has been no sign of the abandonment of *apartheid*, but only a further entrenchment of racism; no advance of freedom or equality, but an intensification of tyranny and of the criminal dispossession of millions of black people; no peace, but an aggravation of tension in South Africa and the extension of conflict into an undeclared war all over southern Africa, together with constant acts of murder and terrorism by the Pretoria régime beyond the borders of South Africa.

6. The racist minority régime in South Africa not only has survived, but has been able to proceed with the implementation of its diabolic plans. It has uprooted 3 million people from their homes and deprived 8 million Africans, the children of the soil, of their citizenship rights. There is no parallel to this crime against humanity except in Nazi Germany. Yet some major Powers which profess democracy and human values continue to hinder and frustrate effective international action to eliminate *apartheid*. They never cease finding pretexts for giving more time to the racists of South Africa.

7. Is it that they wish to enable the racists to complete their plans to deprive all the indigenous African people of their birthright in the land of their ancestors, to establish a racist white State on the African continent, and to present the world with a *fait accompli*?

8. The racist régime of South Africa has built up an enormous military machine with constant infusions of capital, equipment and technology from Western countries and Israel. The racist régime of South Africa is constantly given the benefit of the doubt, and has been enabled to circumvent all embargoes while using its military arsenal not only against the people of South Africa and Namibia but against the independent African States with which the major Western Powers profess to maintain friendly relations. It was allowed and assisted to acquire the capability to produce and deliver nuclear weapons, and some countries continue even now to collaborate with it in the nuclear field, despite all our pleadings. Humanity is confronted by the menace of the nuclear-weapon capability of a racist régime with an unparalleled record of disregard for human life and peace.

9. The problem of *apartheid* in South Africa cannot be treated as a routine and perennial item among the many items on the agenda of the Assembly, to be disposed of with one more debate and some more resolutions, only to be confronted with a further aggravation of the situation next year. At a time when humanity is faced with the gravest dangers, the situation in southern Africa and that in the Middle East may well be the powder-kegs of a conflagration that may endanger its very existence. I need not belabour the point with an account of the similarities of the situation in the two regions and of the axis that links the régimes of South Africa and Israel. Peace is at stake and the issue is greater than any country, any people, any ideology or any faith.

10. The United Nations is the only organization which, with the support of all its Member States, has the authority under its Charter to avert a catastrophic conflict. Indeed, it has a moral and legal obligation to act and to act now.

11. Before the Assembly meets again, a century will have elapsed since the colonial occupation of Namibia. The inhumanity and genocide that the Namibian people have suffered and their courage and sacrifice in the struggle for freedom are an epic in human history. Yet, some forces have seen fit to frustrate the independence of the Namibian people by making it conditional upon totally extraneous issues which serve their so-called interests in

\*Resumed from the 56th meeting.

the cold war, especially their unjust demands on an independent African State which has been a victim of South African aggression and which, as declared by the Security Council, is entitled to compensation from the Pretoria régime.

12. The Pretoria régime is to be offered a ransom to persuade it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, instead of being obliged to pay reparations to the Namibian people and to Angola, though the revocation of the mandate over Namibia was supported in 1966 by the same great Power which today advocates the so-called linkage or parallelism.

13. If the fate of Namibia is to be linked thus, we wonder what links will be invented for the liberation of the South African people themselves from the tyranny of an illegitimate minority racist régime which has killed, maimed and incarcerated many precious children of Africa and committed ghastly crimes against the conscience of mankind. Indeed, we already find in some quarters a move away from a commitment to the total elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa, and an anxiety to reward and buttress the Pretoria régime for camouflaging some eccentricities of *apartheid*, in the name of so-called constructive engagement. What is an engagement if not a prelude to an alliance, in marital affairs as in international affairs?

14. Since the white minority was granted power in South Africa in 1910, the history of South Africa has been characterized by an ever-growing conflict between the racist rulers and the indigenous majority. Seventy years ago, the African majority was deprived of its right to its land, and successive white minority régimes have invariably tried to impose and perpetuate a system in which the African people would be no more than beasts of burden on their ancestral soil.

15. Since the National Party came to power in 1948, by poisoning the white electorate with the bogey of a black peril, the régime in South Africa has proceeded to institutionalize racism and implement a master plan for the perpetual dispossession, domination and humiliation of the African people. The black people of South Africa, together with men and women of conscience in the white community, in their turn, intensified their struggle for a non-racial democratic society, carrying as their banner the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The situation in South Africa, during the past three decades of United Nations consideration of *apartheid*, can only be described as a civil war between the oppressors and the oppressed. If it did not lead to greater violence and slaughter, it was solely because the oppressed people and their national liberation movement had shown utmost restraint and were willing to suffer and endure sacrifice rather than kill innocent human beings. They have done so because they are inspired by civilized norms, because they are moved by the vision of a just society for all the people of their land, and because they entertain faith that the international community would effectively assist them, not because they lack the means to kill.

16. Thus, on the one hand, there is the despicable record of the racist régime—the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto, the indiscriminate killing and maiming of thousands of black schoolchildren, the cowardly and gruesome murders in Maseru, Matola and Maputo, and the genocide against hundreds of refugee men, women and children in Angola. On the other hand, the national liberation movement has inspired the world by its non-violent passive resistance and has avoided loss of innocent lives even when it had to resort to armed struggle.

17. While the United Nations and most of humanity have solemnly proclaimed their support of the righteous struggle of the people of South Africa, some powerful forces in the world that profess high moral values have regrettably aided and abetted the racist régime in its defiance. Yet some people are not even ashamed to repeat the propaganda of the racists that the glorious national liberation movement, rather than the killers of African children, is terrorist. For them, the struggle for a non-racial democracy, not racist barbarism, is terrorism.

18. I do not belittle the contribution of the United Nations in support of peace and justice in South Africa, but it has not so far succeeded in persuading the collaborators of *apartheid* to desist, at least to the minimum—that is, disassociation from evil and disengagement from the conflict in South Africa. It has, therefore, failed to avert the prospect of a violent and wider conflict. The United Nations cannot succeed unless it clearly identifies and counteracts the forces which feed racism, and asserts its authority under its Charter.

19. First, there are transnational corporations and vested interests which value the billions of dollars of profits they derive each year from racist oppression more than any human lives. Secondly, there are the racist elements and attitudes which survive in the world even after the holocaust of the war against Nazi Germany, which gave birth to the United Nations. Thirdly, there are those whose vision is distorted and dominated by the so-called cold war—which has rained death and destruction on many nations of the third world—and who think that their strategic interests, sea lanes and minerals can best be protected by racist thugs. They tried, soon after the Second World War, to integrate the neo-Nazis of South Africa in their colonial and other military pacts, and to defame the national liberation movement. They continue to entertain an illicit desire for an alliance with the white racists of South Africa.

20. Africa hoped that after the Sharpeville massacre, after the condemnations of the South African régime by the Security Council, after the termination of the Simons-town Agreement and after the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, the danger of a Western alliance with the racists of Pretoria had passed. But, to our consternation, with the recent resurgence of the cold war, the Pretoria régime has been able to ingratiate itself with some Powers, including the leader of the Western alliance, and hopes to become their bastion on the African continent.

21. From this rostrum I wish to address an anguished and earnest appeal to the Western world, and especially to the United States, to search its conscience and avoid making the epic struggle for human freedom in South Africa a victim of the cold war. The struggle against *apartheid* deserves a truly international concert of conscience overriding all differences of ideology and other considerations. I appeal to members in the name of Africa, which is emerging from five centuries of humiliation, in the name of all the religions of God, in the name of principles of the United Nations and in the true interests of the Western world—and even in the interests of the white minority in South Africa—to desist from providing aid and comfort to the enemies of Africa.

22. Two days ago, at its 56th meeting, the Assembly considered the grave implications of the new Constitution enacted by the racist Parliament of South Africa. That Constitution is one of the most cynical documents in the annals of history. Indeed, it is a blasphemy which invokes Almighty God to divide God's children by race and to subject the great majority to eternal servitude and humiliation. The General Assembly rightly denounced that

crime against God and humankind. But I cannot but express my dismay that, even after the architects of that Constitution proclaimed their determination that the African majority would never be allowed to participate in the supreme councils of their nations, some Governments argued that this monstrous Constitution could pave the way to evolutionary and peaceful change towards recognition of the sacred rights of the African people.

23. Neither the racist régime nor its indulgent god-fathers, who have resisted all peaceful means provided for in the Charter of the United Nations to put an end to the conflict in southern Africa, can be allowed to wear the mantle of peace. Africa, in concert with the national liberation movement, has pleaded for decades for peaceful international action to avert the conflict in South Africa and to promote a non-racial democratic society for all the peoples of the country, including the so-called white people, for they too are God's children and adopted children of the African continent.

24. We recall many martyrs of all racial origins who have given their lives for peace with justice, for there can be no peace without justice in South Africa. I have no doubt that the people of South Africa will not fail to resist the ungodly Constitution which the racist régime seeks to impose on them. I have every faith that the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin will stand shoulder to shoulder with the African people and all men and women of conscience, for they have pioneered in the struggle against racism in South Africa under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Abdur Rahman and other eminent leaders.

25. Early in this century, when Mahatma Gandhi was leading the people in South Africa in passive resistance against evil, Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian philosopher, wrote to him as follows:

“And so your activity in Transvaal, as it seems to us at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian but of all the world will undoubtedly take part.”

26. In that spirit, I make a special appeal to the Western Christian nations to do their duty to the oppressed people of South Africa, who have borne the cross for too long. I ask them to lend their sincere support to the Programme of Action against *Apartheid* which has been presented to the Assembly by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/539].

27. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, over which I have had the great privilege and honour to preside for the past two years, has always recognized that the problem of *apartheid* represents a great moral and human issue, and it has therefore appealed for action by Governments as well as peoples. I would like to pay a tribute to the many Governments which have made sacrifices in support of the cause of freedom in South Africa. I commend the many entertainers, sportsmen and others who have rejected tempting offers of millions of dollars of blood money from the *apartheid* devil. The Special Committee has stepped up its efforts to mobilize artists, writers, sportsmen, religious personalities and others in the international campaign against *apartheid*. Next week we shall be going to Paris for an exhibition of original works of art contributed by 85 of the greatest creative artists of our time as an expression of concern for the oppressed people of South Africa and in trust for a free and democratic South Africa. I wish to express my utmost gratitude to them.

28. Since this will be my last statement in the General Assembly as Chairman of the Special Committee against

*Apartheid*, I wish to express my great appreciation to all the members of the Special Committee for their devotion to the cause of freedom in South Africa and their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations. The Special Committee has earned the respect of Governments and numerous organizations, as well as of the millions of oppressed people of South Africa and their innumerable friends around the world, by its tireless activities, and I am proud to have been associated with it.

29. I must at the same time express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his unfailing support and counsel and for his contribution to the cause of peace and freedom in southern Africa.

30. It would be remiss of me not to put on record my admiration for the dedicated services of the staff of the Centre against *Apartheid*, headed by Mr. Reddy, and also to the many other officials of the United Nations, both at Headquarters and abroad. I have no doubt that with their continuing support the Special Committee will remain a powerful symbol of the commitment of the United Nations to the people of South Africa.

31. I should like to conclude with the pledge that I shall continue to make my humble contribution in the struggle against racism and for peace, in Africa and in the world, under the auspices of this great Organization.

32. Finally, may I repeat to the United Nations, in which my country, Nigeria, has great confidence, a statement which I made when I first appeared before the Organization two years ago. I repeat the statement because I believe it is as important today as it was then, if not more important: “The world can never be governed by force, never by fear, even never by power; in the end nothing governs but the spirit, nothing conquers but the mind.”

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Gervais Charles, of Haiti, to present the report of the Special Committee.

34. Mr. G. CHARLES (Haiti), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to present the annual report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22], as well as a special report on the recent evolution of relations between Israel and South Africa [A/38/22/Add.1]. These reports are submitted to the General Assembly in accordance with its resolution 37/69 of 9 December 1982. The annual report includes a summary of the work of the Special Committee, and its conclusions and recommendations, as well as an examination of the situation in South Africa during the past year. It also contains a list of documents published during this period by the Special Committee. As to the report on relations between Israel and South Africa, it presents new evidence of collaboration between those two States.

35. The annual report clearly establishes that there is a serious situation in South Africa at present, which has in no way improved during the past year. The *apartheid* régime continues to ignore the legitimate desires of the black population of South Africa for the establishment of a democratic non-racial society based on majority rule and recognizing the right of all to full participation in the life of the nation, regardless of race, colour or national origin. In order to maintain the *status quo*, the *apartheid* régime continues its policy of repression against blacks who, despite the rights conferred upon them by their birth on South African soil, are subjected to a series of prohibitions and appalling discrimination regarding their place of residence, conditions of employment, housing, education and other services. Thus there is no

worse human condition than that of a black in South Africa.

36. The *apartheid* system is unique. It is so odious and aberrant that the entire world condemns it as contrary to the universal principles of civilization. Confronted with this *de facto* situation, the South African blacks become daily more united and more determined to overcome the challenges and the tragic situation imposed upon them by the *apartheid* régime. They continue to demonstrate their unshakeable will to resist the racist policy of Pretoria at all costs. In the meantime, South Africa, in total contempt of international public opinion and the aspirations of the black majority, is doing its utmost in the most savage manner to halt the legitimate resistance of the oppressed. Last June, three freedom fighters were executed, despite a general outcry of condemnation.

37. No less cynical is the programme of bantustanization which aims at isolating the blacks and grouping them together in impoverished and widely scattered zones, depriving them of their rights of citizenship. The Special Committee has already condemned this Machiavellian undertaking, and also thoroughly condemns the new Constitution recently approved by white South African voters, which accepts the restricted participation of certain non-white groups in the non-representative Pretoria Government, while excluding those blacks which the policy of bantustanization has not already removed from the mainstream.

38. The States bordering on South Africa support the aspirations and struggle of the South African blacks for justice and equality. Manifesting admirable courage, they also support the cause of the blacks of Namibia who are striving for independence. This means that they are subjected to acts of aggression and terrorism, and to attempts at destabilization, by the Government of South Africa which still occupies part of Angolan territory. The Special Committee condemns military aggression against the front-line States, which is a flagrant violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it also condemns acts of aggression perpetrated against Namibia. The attacks against Lesotho in December 1982 and against Mozambique in May and October 1983 caused much loss of life, many wounded and much material damage, quite apart from several other terrorist operations undertaken by South Africa outside its borders during the past year. No less to be condemned are the economic and political pressures exerted on those countries to induce them to sign pacts of non-aggression, which would have the effect of weakening them and forcing them to become accomplices of the *apartheid* régime.

39. In its annual report, the Special Committee particularly emphasizes the fact that South Africa would be unable to carry out its policy of repression and aggression so blatantly if it did not benefit from the protection, and even the support, of certain countries, mainly in the Western hemisphere, of which the most important is the United States of America. Its so-called policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa in recent years has meant a strengthening of official ties with the *apartheid* régime and the continuation or even the increasing of political, military, nuclear, economic and other forms of assistance, whether given directly or indirectly to South Africa. This policy in truth represents only a device designed to reduce the impact of the relations of certain Governments, international agencies, foreign commercial companies and individuals with the *apartheid* régimes. Thus it encourages the co-operation of a certain number of States like Israel, whose collusion with the *apartheid* régime has been demonstrated in the special report presented to the General Assembly. The result of this material

and moral assistance is a blind stubbornness on the part of the Pretoria régime in its persistence in its criminal policy.

40. The Special Committee, in discharging its mandate from the General Assembly, in the past year has undertaken to promote, organize and/or participate in numerous conferences. It has also held extensive consultations with Heads of Government and other leaders. In accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Special Committee has intensified its activities aimed at the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime. It has also redoubled its efforts to promote all possible assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, to its liberation movement and to the African States which are victims of South African aggression. Lastly, the Committee, still in accordance with the General Assembly's mandate, continued its international consciousness-raising campaign designed to achieve the above-mentioned aims.

41. The Special Committee believes that because of the extreme gravity of the situation in southern Africa the international community must speedily devise a new strategy for concerted, decisive action against *apartheid*. This strategy should include as essential elements the measures proposed in the conclusions and recommendations in this year's annual report.

42. The main recommendations of the Special Committee are as follows:

43. First, the Special Committee believes that the General Assembly and the Security Council must give the *apartheid* régime a stern warning of the serious consequences of its policy, while urging it to seek a peaceful solution in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations through genuine negotiations with the leaders of the national liberation movement. As a precondition of any negotiations, an unconditional amnesty, strongly supported by the international community, must be granted to Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners, banned persons, exiles and armed combatants. In addition, all bans on the national liberation movement and other peoples' organizations must be lifted. The General Assembly and the Security Council must take urgent measures to ensure that other freedom fighters in captivity are not executed but benefit from prisoner-of-war status, in accordance with the relevant Geneva agreements.

44. Secondly, the Special Committee believes that the loss of credibility of which some people have accused the United Nations because of the question of *apartheid* is mainly due to the refusal of certain Member States to apply the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Organization. The General Assembly and other United Nations bodies must ensure compliance with their resolutions and decisions on *apartheid* and the acts of aggression carried out by the Pretoria régime against independent African States. Everything possible must be done to induce those States which do not participate in the international action against *apartheid* to abide by the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in support of the legitimate liberation struggle.

45. Thirdly, the Special Committee attaches the greatest importance to the total isolation of the Pretoria régime. The imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council against South Africa is the only effective, peaceful way provided for by the Charter of the United Nations for inducing that country to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the Organization. The General Assembly must play a leading role in the campaign for the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against



the *apartheid* régime. Essential measures include strengthening the arms embargo in such a way as to prevent any military or nuclear co-operation with South Africa; a mandatory embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa; and the breaking off by all Member States of diplomatic, economic and other relations and all other links with South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Pending the imposition of such sanctions by the Security Council, the Member States must take individual and collective measures to isolate the *apartheid* régime completely, taking into account in particular the United Nations resolutions on cultural and sporting boycotts of South Africa, while refraining from co-operation with transnational corporations, financial institutions and other institutions with interests in South Africa.

46. Fourthly, the Special Committee suggests to the General Assembly that it request the Secretary-General to instruct all the services of the Secretariat and all United Nations offices resolutely to take part in the international campaign against *apartheid*, in co-operation with the Special Committee, while ending all links with companies carrying on activities in South Africa. The Secretary-General should also, at the Assembly's request, undertake with urgency consultations with IMF and IAEA to ensure their complete co-operation in the application of General Assembly resolutions against *apartheid*. He should also draw up, in co-operation with the heads of the United Nations institutions, specific proposals for concerted action against *apartheid*.

47. Fifthly, since South Africa denies its black majority the exercise of their rights as citizens and aims to exclude them completely from participation in the country's parliamentary life, through a so-called constitutional reform, the Special Committee strongly recommends that the General Assembly and the Security Council re-examine South Africa's legal status as well as its membership of the United Nations. Furthermore, since that country refuses to contribute to the United Nations budget, all the privileges of membership from which it benefits should be suspended immediately.

48. Sixthly, the United Nations must reaffirm the status of the national liberation movement as an authentic representative of the aspirations of the people of South Africa and ask all Governments and organizations to recognize it as such.

49. Seventhly, the Special Committee invites all States, organizations and individuals engaged in the anti-*apartheid* struggle greatly to increase their moral, political and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, as well as to the independent African States which are victims of aggression by the racist régime.

50. Eighthly, the General Assembly should fully support the Special Committee's efforts to increase assistance to women and children who are under the yoke of *apartheid*. The Special Committee recommends that the agenda of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held at Nairobi in 1985, attach particular importance to a study of the tragic situation of those women and children. It also believes that in the programme of International Youth Year a special place should be reserved for measures against *apartheid*.

51. Ninthly, taking into account the seriousness of the situation prevailing in southern Africa and the necessity for an appropriate solution, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a new programme of action against *apartheid*. Such a programme is set out in document A/38/539 and could serve

as a guide to Governments, specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and individuals.

52. Tenthly, the Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it approve the declarations emanating from conferences which it organized, endorsed and promoted in 1983: the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and Other Actions against the *Apartheid* Régime in South Africa, held at Geneva on 10 and 11 June 1983 [A/38/272]; the International Conference on Sanctions against *Apartheid* in Sports, held in London from 27 to 29 June 1983 [A/38/310]; the International Non-Governmental Organizations Conference of Action against *Apartheid* and Racism, held at Geneva from 5 to 8 July 1983 [A/38/309]; the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held at Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983 [A/38/311]; and the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Caracas from 16 to 18 September 1983 [A/38/451].

53. Eleventhly, the Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it encourage Governments to extend all useful assistance to the numerous non-governmental organizations and other groups committed to the struggle against *apartheid* and ask the Secretary-General to formulate, in co-operation with UNESCO, proposals for the establishment of an information service against *apartheid*.

54. The resolutions and decisions of the United Nations are the most suitable framework for the advent of an era of justice and liberty in southern Africa. Steps undertaken to this end by the Organization respond to the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and contribute to the implementation of its noble ideals.

55. The Special Committee, in submitting its annual report to the General Assembly on one of the greatest tragedies which man can impose on his fellow man, has attempted to present the situation in a critical and constructive fashion inspired essentially by the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed black people of South Africa.

56. Finally, the Special Committee requests the General Assembly to adopt its annual report, as well as its special report on relations between Israel and South Africa, and to take at its current session all useful measures deriving from these recommendations.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the representative of Barbados to speak in his capacity as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

58. Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados), Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour to introduce its report, which is before the General Assembly [A/38/36 and Corr.1].

59. Paragraphs 1 to 4 of that report deal with the mandate of the Committee and the progress made since its establishment. In resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977, the General Assembly requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention in order to solidify the campaign against *apartheid* in sports. Since then the *Ad Hoc* Committee has held a series of consultations and negotiations with Member States with a view to obtaining international agreement on the draft convention. The results of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's efforts appear in the revised draft of the international convention, which is reproduced in the annex to the Committee's report.

60. In resolution 37/69 G of 9 December 1982, the General Assembly requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention to the Assembly as soon as possible.

61. Paragraphs 5 to 12 of the report deal specifically with the work of the Committee during this year.

62. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, in an effort to expedite its work by achieving agreement on the remaining questions relating to article 10 of the draft convention, decided to undertake a mission to African States from 14 May to 10 June 1983. The delegation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee held consultations with government officials and sports organizations in several African States. The mission was arranged after consultations with the Office of the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity in New York and the Supreme Council of Sports in Africa.

63. There was total agreement in all the countries visited that the convention must be finalized as early as possible, that it must be an effective instrument in the fight against *apartheid* in sports and that it must be capable of contributing to the achievement of the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa in the field of sports. There was unanimity in the view that action against *apartheid* in sports must include measures against those who collaborate with South Africa in defiance of international Olympic principles concerning non-discrimination in sports and in defiance of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by regional and international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental.

64. It was made abundantly clear that Africa, the unwilling setting for the abhorrent system of *apartheid* and the continuous aggression and destabilizing schemes of the racist régime of South Africa, considers that sporting contacts with South Africa will encourage the intransigent Pretoria régime to continue its oppression against the blacks inside South Africa and its terrorist campaigns against independent African States, in particular against the front-line States. While the delegation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was at Maputo, we witnessed the shooting down of a South African reconnaissance plane. It was in this context that the Mozambican officials explained to the delegation that the South African régime represented a continuous threat to the stability of their country.

65. The *Ad Hoc* Committee also participated in the International Conference on Sanctions against *Apartheid* in Sports, held in London from 27 to 29 June 1983. During this Conference, the delegation held consultations with representatives of governments, sports organizations and anti-*apartheid* movements on ways and means of resolving differences concerning article 10.

66. During these consultations, the delegation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee discussed with representatives of governments and organizations the comments and suggestions which it had received during its mission in Africa. I am happy to be able to state that these discussions were constructive. We now seem to be on the verge of reaching agreement on the draft convention.

67. As a result of these discussions and consultations, the *Ad Hoc* Committee considered amendments to articles 4, 10, 12, 13 and 20 of the draft convention. Paragraph 10 of the report provides explanations with regard to each of the proposed amendments, which were meant to strengthen and to reach a consensus on the draft.

68. For the first time in the last three years, the *Ad Hoc* Committee finds itself in a position to discuss the "third-

party principle" without reference to either article 10 A or article 10 B or some variation of either alternative.

69. The amendment of article 10 contained in paragraph 9 of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report is the result of the discussions and consultations that I have mentioned earlier. The formulation is designed to ensure that action will be taken against those who breach the boycott of *apartheid* sports, while providing a measure of flexibility in imposing sanctions. It provides an opportunity for maintaining the strength of article 10 A and article 10 B, while avoiding the weaknesses of both.

70. Under this new formulation it will be necessary to strengthen the role of the International Commission against *Apartheid* in Sports along the lines of the proposed amendments to articles 12 and 13. It is expected that the Commission will help in ensuring the effective implementation of the provisions of the convention and the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime from international sports.

*Mr. Bwakira (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

71. The amendment of article 4 is expected to meet certain constitutional difficulties envisaged by some States as a result of the present wording of the draft.

72. The amendment to article 20 relates to the procedures followed in revising the draft convention. This amendment is consistent with revision procedures contained in several international conventions.

73. The members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee needed more time to consult with their Governments and to study the proposed amendments. It is my hope that when the amendments are considered next year they will contribute to the elaboration of the draft convention with little delay. I am confident that the draft convention, once finalized, will be unanimously adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

74. For those reasons, the *Ad Hoc* Committee recommends that its mandate be extended to enable it to continue consultations and negotiations with a view to submitting a draft convention to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

76. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): First of all, I wish to express my thanks to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for his customary lucid and very timely statement on the question of *apartheid*. My delegation wishes to assure him that the Bahamas will continue to implement the sound recommendations he has made during his tenure, and to wish him success in his future endeavours.

77. We also thank the Rapporteur of the Special Committee for introducing his valuable report and express our sincere gratitude to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports for his presentation.

78. In his address at the current session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas recalled his statement at the thirty-sixth session:

"Nothing in modern world history has affronted the dignity of so many people in the world as the racial policies of the Government of South Africa . . . For the Government of South Africa, locked as it is in the cocoon of its perversity, *apartheid* is a religion, the soul of their nation which gives it strength, the psychology

of its people which gives them courage and a culture which gives meaning to their existence.” [19th meeting, para. 82.]

79. Indeed, South Africa remains unique in its policy of *apartheid*. Its system of legalized and institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination is designed to keep its black majority outside the mainstream of the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country and to concentrate and perpetuate power and influence in the hands of its white minority.

80. For several decades now, the urgent attention of the international community has been focused on the problem of *apartheid*. It has been unanimous in its agreement that *apartheid* constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights instruments. It has recognized *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. It has also raised its voice in solidarity with the black majority of South Africa in its aspirations to racial equality and social justice.

81. Our past experiences clearly demonstrate that it is not sufficient for the international community to recognize the inherent dangers to world peace or the basic denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms which the system of *apartheid* constitutes. Rather, it is incumbent on States Members of the United Nations to take appropriate action, both individually and collectively, to force South Africa to abandon its policy of *apartheid*, not in due course but as a matter of priority, for there is no other solution, or partial solution, to the problem of *apartheid*.

82. There can be little doubt that international public opinion and pressure from outside South Africa, coupled with the unceasing protest of its black majority from within, have forced South Africa to review its policy of *apartheid*. Nevertheless, its recent attempts to adjust its racist policies serve to confirm the observation made by the Foreign Minister of the Bahamas in his recent address to the Assembly, as follows:

“Most important of all, we have to destroy the illusion which it is sought to create that South Africa is governed by normal people capable of conventional reason and intelligence and that in the fullness of time their own enlightened self-interest will force change upon them, for it will never happen that way.” [Ibid.]

83. It is evident that South Africa has not come to the conclusion that it should voluntarily renounce and abandon its policy of *apartheid* as the right thing to do. Instead, it has sought to adjust, rather than change, the policy of *apartheid* as a means of ensuring that the pillars upon which *apartheid* is built remain intact.

84. Bantustans, or the creation of homelands, represent only an adjustment, not a change, in the policy of *apartheid*, since the régime reserves 87 per cent of all lands for the white minority. Proposed constitutional changes, rather than connoting change, signify a mere adjustment of the policy of *apartheid*, since they are not only divisive but leave true constitutional power solely in the hands of the white minority. There has been little or no change in the status of the black majority, nor has the international community been apprised of the repeal of odious discriminatory legal provisions.

85. In this regard, the affirmative vote of the Bahamas on draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1, adopted by the Assembly on 15 November 1983, is another expression of my delegation's displeasure at this latest constitutional attempt designed by the Pretoria régime to hoodwink the international community into believing that fundamental changes towards dismantling the abhorrent system are

under way. On the contrary, this latest attempt merely accentuates the deep contempt which the racist régime has shown not only for the integrity of the black majority in South Africa but also for the views of the entire international community. Indeed, the overwhelming support by Member States for draft resolution A/38/L.15 and Add.1 clearly demonstrates that such cosmetic changes cannot be accepted as constructive action towards eradication of the evil of *apartheid*.

86. The Bahamas believes that the international community, while contemptuous of South Africa's attempts to adjust its racist policies, ought also to be encouraged by these efforts, which may be interpreted as a definite indication that the effect of international condemnation, pressure and isolation is beginning to take its toll, no matter how slight, in South Africa.

87. Another of the régime's tactics to gain credibility and to dissuade world public opinion is seen in substantive investment, influence-buying and propaganda in many industrialized countries and in its solicitation of the services of sportsmen and women and artists of the third world.

88. Consequently, it is even more imperative that the international community should strive to counter these tactics and manoeuvres by continuing to publicize at all levels the evils of the policy of *apartheid*, by directing its urgent attention to the completion of the International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, and by providing moral and/or material contributions to the international struggle against *apartheid*.

89. It is regrettable that the efforts of the United Nations against *apartheid* are too often reduced to confrontation, rather than co-operation. In many instances, the work has been impeded by countries which appear ambivalent, or guilty of duplicity, in advocating peaceful solutions. Some do not regard total withdrawal of economic, military and other support as a means of securing this objective. However, it is evident that international principles cannot be abandoned in favour of narrow self-interest if progress is to be made.

90. I am obliged in this regard to quote once again from my Foreign Minister's recent address to the Assembly:

“This South African Government's religion and philosophy can only survive, too, because it has so many friends outside South Africa to give it aid and comfort. The war against *apartheid* must therefore be intensified outside South Africa against people who are capable of reason and intelligence and who ought to know what enlightened self-interest is.” [Ibid., para. 82.]

91. Our performance in this area has been impeded, too, by the attitudes of those countries which create uncertainty as to whether or not their support for the struggle against *apartheid* is politically motivated. If the international community genuinely shares the aspirations of the black majority of South Africa for democracy, equality and freedom and rejects the policy of *apartheid*, it should be collectively at war with South Africa as seen through the administration of its present system of government.

92. In its commitment to this struggle, the Bahamas consistently condemns and rejects the policy of *apartheid*. For example, it has never had, nor can it ever contemplate the establishment of, diplomatic or other relations with the Government of South Africa. In May of this year, the Parliament of the Bahamas unanimously adopted a resolution against *apartheid* in sports. Our position is clear. Our sports personalities are on notice. The Government and people of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas

will not tolerate sporting contacts with the racist régime. The Bahamas has taken further concrete steps to dissociate itself from other events in which South Africa is a participant.

93. Additionally, the Bahamas continues to lend both moral and material support to the struggle against *apartheid* and is convinced that universal support and implementation of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa represent a desirable means of achieving peaceful and urgent solutions.

94. The objective of the United Nations in its struggle against *apartheid* is clear. It is to bring about a reversal of the racist policies of the Government of South Africa and to bring them into line with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the various human rights instruments. This task necessitates not only our adherence to current measures, such as the mandatory arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977); we must additionally devise and implement new and innovative means to combat South Africa's attempts to avoid its isolation and at the same time maintain the *status quo*. The most effective weapon in this struggle is international co-operation.

95. Mr. PHILIP (India): As the representative of India, I consider it a great honour to be able to address the General Assembly on the policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. My country's support for the struggle against racism and all kinds of domination is widely known through the entire world.

96. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The international community must take positive steps to put an end to this barbaric system. The racist régime of South Africa has continued to enact Draconian legislation, to intensify repression and to crush the rights of the majority black population. Every day brings news of fresh acts of savagery, brutal and widespread killings and repression, such as the recent killings in the bantustan of Ciskei, which was granted so-called independence in 1981, killings which have been denounced by the United Nations and all Member States. The imprisonment of leaders like Nelson Mandela and other trade union leaders and activists continues, and brutal torture and death in detention are becoming the order of the day. Our hearts go out in particular to the families of Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, three valiant freedom fighters who were executed but a few months ago.

97. The brutal policy of the racist Pretoria régime of creating so-called bantustans under the Bantu Homeland Citizens Act of 1970 has further dispossessed the African majority of its inalienable rights and deprived it of its citizenship. Millions of people have been uprooted, causing immense hardship and suffering.

98. The so-called constitutional proposals of the racist South African régime are an insult to the conscience of mankind and an outrage against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as against the principles and resolutions of the United Nations. The recent referendum on the so-called constitutional proposals, like the one on the republic in 1961, makes a mockery of democratic norms. The racist referendum limited to white voters can have no legitimacy. The two-thirds majority which the racist régime speaks of is two thirds of 15 per cent of the population. The aim of the so-called constitutional proposals is primarily to entrench and strengthen the racist base of the Government. By a policy of divide and rule, an attempt is being made to divide the population on racial lines. It is a manoeuvre to deprive the African majority of its citizenship rights. The so-called proposals have added

another dimension to an already volatile situation. They are in fact a prescription for further conflict. The so-called Coloureds and people of Indian origin will, under the new proposals, become subject to conscription in the racist armed forces and be liable to be used by the racist Government against their black brothers.

99. It is heartening to note that the so-called proposals have been opposed not only by the African people but also by the Coloureds and 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 against *apartheid*. Opposition to the new proposals has proved to be yet another unifying bond amongst the Africans, the Coloureds and the people of Indian origin. The fact that the *apartheid* régime found it necessary to ban meetings against the proposals is sufficient evidence of the strong feelings that the proposals have aroused.

100. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983,

“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 peoples 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. 1, para. 55.]

101. India's sympathy with and support for the valiant people of South Africa flows from a shared experience of domination and colonial exploitation. It is hardly necessary for me to restate the historical fact that the Father of the Indian Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose dynamic leadership the people of India attained their independence, first raised the banner of revolt against injustice and oppression not in India, but in South Africa, where he tested and sharpened the weapon of mass civil disobedience which he later effectively wielded against the British rulers in India. Mahatma Gandhi's political heir, Jawaharlal Nehru, once described the abhorrent system of *apartheid* as the “greatest international immorality for a nation”. The United Nations first began consideration of racism in South Africa at the request of the Government of India. At the same time, the Government of India imposed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

102. The Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has repeatedly called upon those Western Powers which are supporting the Pretoria régime to give up this support and uphold the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations pertaining to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

103. Indeed, it is an irony of our time that some of those affluent and industrialized nations that proclaim their support for the cause of human rights, equality and justice in other parts of the world continue to collaborate with the racist régime of South Africa in various fields, thereby not only giving a fresh lease of life to that régime but also adding to its might. Such collaboration emboldens the racist rulers of South Africa to trample upon the human rights and dignity of the vast majority of the population in that country and to acquire the temerity to flout the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject.



104. The racist régime, encouraged by its Western friends, is not only continuing the savage oppression of its own population but has escalated its subversive activities and aggression abroad. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia continues. Aggression against Angola has become the order of the day, while continuous efforts are being made to destabilize other sovereign States such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho.

105. This collusion between the racist régime and certain Western countries, as well as with Israel, is responsible for preventing the isolation of South Africa that would be so disastrous for the régime economically. All countries profess disapproval of the policy of *apartheid*. How is it that the Security Council is prevented by the action of a few Western countries from imposing comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime? Is there any explanation for the continuing supply of armaments and military technology to South Africa, despite the existence of a supposed arms embargo against that country? From where has South Africa obtained its nuclear-weapon capability? Why does the IMF turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the vast majority of nations in the Assembly and approve loans to South Africa worth billions of dollars? The answers to these questions are known to us all. The racist minority Government of South Africa and all those who support it would do well to heed the words of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi:

“A struggle for freedom can be suppressed, its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated, but the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out; some spark will persist to burst into flames somewhere, sometime, to light the way and illumine the hearts and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior. No matter what laws South Africa devises for itself, history cannot be denied nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted.”

I would urge the Western nations concerned to give up their support for the racist régime in order to put a stop to the madness of *apartheid* and not risk the catastrophic consequences which will surely follow if the situation is allowed to drift. Often in the past and in troubled times, statesmen from some of those nations have shown wisdom and foresight. I appeal to those nations to be true to their faith in human justice and to act in the interests of humanity.

106. On being sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964, Nelson Mandela said that he cherished the ideal of democracy and a free society and added: “It is an ideal which I hope to live for and I hope to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

107. The people of South Africa are left without any options, and the armed struggle, as a right of self-defence against the Pretoria régime, is increasing and will continue to increase under present conditions.

108. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule, has done excellent work. We should also like to place on record our sincere appreciation for the fine work done by the Centre against *Apartheid*, particularly by Mr. Reddy, the Assistant Secretary-General.

109. The efforts of the international community are noteworthy; the sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa must be given effect by all Members of the international community; the front-line States have all our moral and material support. But the time has come when the cancer must be fought from within. No amount of external help can sustain a hateful and illegal minority Government once the consciousness of the masses is

aroused. No government or power on earth can face the challenge of a people's movement.

110. The freedom movement in South Africa must be given all moral and material help. The flame of freedom must be lit in every heart, the concept of a nation must be imprinted in every mind and the desire for a government of the people, by the people and for the people must sink deep into the consciousness of the masses in order to create a rising tide which will remove this blot on humanity and heal the scars on its conscience.

111. I should like to conclude by quoting the words of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, during her closing address at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi: “Born for the universe, we cannot narrow our loyalties. Belonging to humankind, nothing human can be alien to us.” [*Ibid.*, annex, appendix III.]

112. Mr. MANOLATOS (Greece): I have asked to speak in order to make a statement on behalf of the European Community and its 10 member States concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

113. The 10 members have time and again voiced their condemnation of racism, racial discrimination and the abhorrent system of institutionalized racial discrimination known as *apartheid*. This attitude stems from their belief in the equality and dignity of every human being, irrespective of race and colour. They vigorously deplore the grave injustice done by the Government of South Africa to the majority of its citizens by denying them their elementary political rights and participation in the government of their country. They are deeply concerned that time is running out for peaceful change in South Africa. The recurrence of political trials and the number of hangings and political prisoners' deaths which have occurred in custody bear witness to the systematic and ruthless repression which has been imposed on those who are striving to ensure an end to the economic and political domination of the ruling white minority.

114. The 10 member States once again call on the Government of South Africa to release immediately and unconditionally all those who are in prison for their political beliefs, such as Nelson Mandela, many of whom have spent more than 20 years in prison. They urge the Government of South Africa to open genuine and constructive dialogue among all South Africans on all social, economic and political matters as a first step towards bridging the gap which divides society in South Africa.

115. The members of the European Community have repeatedly condemned South Africa's policy of creating bantustans as part of its grand *apartheid* scheme aimed at ultimately depriving black South Africans of their South African citizenship. The 10 European countries have consistently refused to recognize any of these bantustans. This policy of the South African Government has alienated the vast majority of its own citizens and made them foreigners in their own land. Thus, black South Africans, who have greatly contributed by their labour and skill to the development of South Africa, have become marginal in their own country.

116. The members of the European Community continue to hold the belief that fundamental changes in South Africa are necessary and inevitable. Mere modifications of the system of *apartheid* will not be sufficient. The 10 members are looking for real progress towards constitutional arrangements which are acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole. *Apartheid* must be eradicated and give way to a society based on genuine representative

democracy. All efforts of the world community should be urgently focused on this goal. To that end it is necessary that channels of communications with South Africa remain open.

117. The 10 member States will keep up the pressure to promote the process of peaceful change in South Africa. They will, as in the past, use their collective weight to influence the Government of South Africa in order to help put an end to such an inhumane system and establish a society in which everybody, without exception, can enjoy equality, freedom and justice. The United Nations, for its part, has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*. The Community countries remain ready to assist in this endeavour. Furthermore, they remain committed to strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

118. The 10 European countries vigorously condemn any recourse to violence in the region of southern Africa. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in that area must be respected. The European Community and its ten member States continue to support and contribute to the many United Nations organizations which help the victims of *apartheid* both inside and outside South Africa. They reaffirm their commitments to efforts designed by the States neighbouring South Africa to strengthen their regional co-ordination and self-sufficiency in the economic spheres, as for example, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. They feel that encouragement should also be given to those non-governmental organizations, including churches, trade unions and other groups, which are in close contact with South Africans who suffer under *apartheid*. Their efforts have been especially useful in increasing public awareness of the abhorrent nature of *apartheid*. In the field of sports, the Community members remain dedicated to the Olympic ideal of non-discrimination. They denounce all kinds of *apartheid* as manifested in sports and they will continue firmly to discourage any sporting contacts which would have the effect of perpetuating racial discrimination. With regard to the particular forms of discrimination against black workers in South Africa, the members of the European Community adopted a code of conduct in 1977 for subsidiaries of companies doing business in South Africa. The 10 member States will continue to recommend to these companies that they conform to the standards set by the code.

119. The 10 European States are convinced that changes in South Africa are imperative. They are concerned that these changes should happen peacefully rather than through violence. Accordingly, they will continue to use their collective weight to influence South Africa to put an end to the intolerable system of *apartheid* and to build a society based on freedom, equality and social justice for all citizens.

120. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Austria has on many occasions expressed its firm commitment to join efforts by the international community to eradicate racism and racial discrimination, in particular, the abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which constitutes a constant and systematic negation of the equality and dignity of human beings. It is Austria's firm conviction that the respect for human rights and the maintenance of peace are interdependent and inseparable. Where human rights are consistently and grossly violated, peace cannot prevail. This is particularly evident with respect to institutionalized systems of human rights violations such as the system of *apartheid* practised in South Africa.

121. The General Assembly's annual debate on the policy of *apartheid* focuses on two different, although

interrelated, issues. First, we have to view the policy of *apartheid* as the most inhuman form of an institutionalized negation of the basic human rights committed by a Government which on other levels professes adherence to democratic ideas and to a pluralistic society. Although the ongoing discussion in South Africa has led to some corrections, the basic concept of the system of *apartheid*, on which the precarious supremacy of a minority is based, remains unchanged.

122. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the international community has assumed a particular responsibility for combating any theory of racial supremacy based on the erroneous idea that racism could serve as an organizing principle of society. The United Nations, which was born of this renewed spirit of freedom, is therefore under a special obligation to use all appropriate means provided by its Charter in order to help bring about peaceful change within South Africa and establish a free society with equal rights for all.

123. Secondly, it is not enough to consider the question of *apartheid* only as a very special and grave case of violation of human rights. We must also address the implications and consequences of the policy of *apartheid* for the whole region of southern Africa. It has seriously jeopardized the endeavours of the international community to bring about a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia—a goal to which we are all committed. Military incursions into Angola and other States in the region have a devastating impact on the efforts of those countries to advance their economic and social development, and gravely destabilize the whole region. South Africa recently started a blockade against Lesotho and is putting pressure on this defenceless nation in order to obtain the expulsion or extradition of South African refugees. These acts constitute a clear violation of international law.

124. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government is the root cause of the crisis situation in southern Africa. Only a profound transformation of South Africa into a free, democratic and multiracial society could bring genuine stability to southern Africa. This process must be initiated without delay. It is our hope that it will be possible to bring this process to a peaceful conclusion.

125. Although the international community speaks with one voice on all the basic issues in this debate, efforts of persuasion and argumentation have so far proved unsuccessful in bringing about such peaceful change in South Africa. South Africa still appears assured that no action will be taken. However, it will have to accept the fact that the stability of the region as a whole and the prospects of future generations will finally prove to be more important considerations. There can be no doubt that the consideration of further measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations will be pursued by the international community with a view to bringing about the long-overdue change in South African policy. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held in Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983, has once again confirmed the existence of widespread agreement in this regard within the international community.

126. The policy of *apartheid* also has very negative consequences in the humanitarian field. The assistance given to the victims of *apartheid* through the United Nations trust funds set up for this purpose is therefore of special importance. Austria has contributed regularly to the funds for southern Africa and will continue to do so. In addition, the programmes of assistance to those countries which suffer most directly from the impact of

this policy will have to be continued as a matter of urgency.

127. Let me in conclusion repeat our considered opinion that the only viable solution for the problems of South Africa lies in genuine power-sharing and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa. To this end, a meaningful and constructive dialogue will have to be initiated urgently with the black leaders.

128. On this basis, Austria has joined and supports the international campaign to liberate Nelson Mandela, and has also been active on behalf of other political prisoners.

129. Finally, let me briefly commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts in the struggle against *apartheid* and the way in which it deals with a very heavy work-load.

130. The active role of the Special Committee also serves as proof of the existing international solidarity in this area. The Committee acts as a most important focal point within the framework of United Nations efforts to bring about peaceful and rapid change by supporting the forces instrumental in such change and—as long as it proves necessary—by increasing the international pressure on the South African régime.

131. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Within the complex of items on the agenda of the General Assembly dealing with various aspects of the situation in southern Africa, the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa is of particular importance. This is so because South Africa is the only country in the world where racial discrimination, total denial of human rights and the oppression and exploitation of the indigenous population are elevated to the level of an institutionalized State policy. The importance of the question of *apartheid* is determined also by the fact that such a policy directly affects all the peoples of southern Africa. It affects the Namibian people, whose Territory continues to be occupied illegally by Pretoria. The peoples of the other independent African States of the region have been subjected to the incessant aggressive acts of the racists, resulting in untold loss of human life and material destruction, as well as continuing attempts to destabilize their Governments. A direct result of such policies is the existing situation of instability in southern Africa, which threatens to explode at every moment into a large-scale conflict with dangerous consequences reaching far beyond the region. It is no coincidence that, in its resolutions on the question, the United Nations has invariably condemned the policies of *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime in all their aspects and has demanded their immediate termination. Quite rightfully and justifiably, the policies of *apartheid* have been defined by the General Assembly as a threat to international peace and security and a crime against humanity.

132. The documents of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other organs of the United Nations provide complete information about the inhuman nature of the *apartheid* régime. The racists continue to remove members of the black majority and herd them into the so-called bantustans, trying to deprive them of citizenship, as well as of land belonging to them historically and all other property. Extremely hard conditions of life prevail in the bantustans, which occupy the poorest and least fertile 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa. Almost one million Africans living in bantustans suffer from chronic malnutrition. Disease, hunger, unemployment and misery are constant companions of the African population. As the South African Institute of Race Relations concluded, Pretoria's policies of population removal

have led to the destruction of subsistence agriculture and have contributed to the extremely high child-mortality rate. As a result of the policies of *apartheid*, the native inhabitants of South Africa, although constituting 72 per cent of the population, receive only 26 per cent of the national income, whereas the whites, who comprise 16 per cent of the population, receive 64 per cent of the national income of the country. These figures are enough to illuminate the economic essence of *apartheid* as a system of virtually limitless exploitation of more than 20 million Africans by what we all know is a handful of white racists.

133. In order to keep the African majority in subjugation, Pretoria has taken massive restrictive and oppressive measures. Black labourers are separated from their families, and their freedom of movement is severely restricted by means of the disgraceful pass system. Arrests and detentions, torture, lengthy incarcerations and executions of South African patriots have been widely practised. Several months ago, in defiance of the calls of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as of the appeals for clemency by the broadest circles of the international community, the Pretoria régime carried out the death sentences of the members of the African National Congress [ANC] and heroes of the South African people Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung. A number of political prisoners, among them the great organizer of the people's resistance and leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, remain in gaol. The so-called constitution adopted by the white minority by a fraudulent referendum on 2 November of this year is another attempt at perpetuating the policies of *apartheid*. Quite rightfully, this new manoeuvre of the racists was condemned and rejected by the General Assembly and all honest people throughout the world [resolution 38/11].

134. Such measures cannot stifle the will of the South African people for liberation from the bondage of the racist oppression. The ANC, whose ranks have been expanding, has established itself as the leader of the people of South Africa and an organizer of its struggle to realize its inalienable right to self-determination and human rights. The recent victories of its military wing are a clear and unambiguous expression of the determination of the oppressed people of South Africa to win their freedom.

135. At the same time, the just struggle for liberation from the illegal colonial occupation and for self-determination and independence waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of its sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], has been gaining momentum. To keep the Territory under its control, Pretoria has been forced to station there more than 100,000 troops engaged in a real war against the Namibian people and in repression against its patriots.

136. Over the last year, the racists have stepped up their acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States in the hope of forcing them to give up their independent policies and their support for the national liberation movements. They have carried out large-scale aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and for over a year have been occupying a large part of its territory. Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have also been targets of bandit raids.

137. Pretoria's actions and its defiant refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions calling for the termination of its policies of *apartheid*, its occupation of Namibia and its aggression against the independent African States in the region have aroused profound indignation and

denunciation on the part of the entire international community. The General Assembly in its resolutions has repeatedly called upon the Security Council to impose on South Africa the mandatory economic sanctions envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations as the last available peaceful means of compelling South Africa to comply with the will of world public opinion. Regrettably, all attempts of the Security Council to act on this recommendation have been thwarted by the Western permanent members, the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

138. There is abundant information concerning the role of the major Western States in perpetuating the *apartheid* régime and its policies. It has been proved time and again that, without their all-round assistance, the régime in Pretoria would have collapsed a long time ago under the onslaught of the national liberation struggle of the peoples under its domination.

139. The economic co-operation of those States with Pretoria is one of the most important factors in helping the racists to achieve their goal of building a self-sufficient economy. Direct United States investment in South Africa alone amounted to \$2.6 billion in 1981, while the commercial turnover between the two countries has been about \$6 billion annually. The structure of United States interests in South Africa is directly conducive to the development of South Africa's most important and strategic sectors, such as automobile production, petroleum products, computers and the transfer of technology and technical know-how. In this context, the conclusion contained in the 1978 report of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee is still valid, that "the net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's *apartheid* régime".

140. In recent years we have witnessed the growing collaboration of Israel with South Africa, which gives rise, legitimately, to serious concern in the international community. In this respect, we appreciate the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in exposing this increasing and continuing co-operation, as is amply explained in its special report [A/38/22/Add.1].

141. At the same time, I should like to draw attention in particular to the policy of the so-called constructive engagement of Pretoria, announced by the present United States Administration, a policy which, by deepening and strengthening Washington's all-round co-operation with the racist régime, is fraught with dangerous consequences for the region of southern Africa. This policy has made possible increased exports to South Africa of computers and other high-technology equipment which can be put to military use, that is, the so-called dual technology. Pretoria has widely used the technology thus provided for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the system of *apartheid*. This fully belies the hypocritical assertions of Washington, which is trying to convince world public opinion of its opposition to the *apartheid* régime. Let us recall here that the essence of United States policy in regard to South Africa was explained by the United States President, who, on 3 March 1981, said:

"Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought, a country that is strategically essential to the free world in its production of minerals we must have . . . ? I just feel that if we're going to sit down and negotiate with the Russians, surely we can keep the door open and continue to negotiate with a friendly nation like South Africa."

142. In full conformity with the policy so declared and its strategic interests, the United States has been implementing

a wide-scale programme of political measures designed to consolidate the *status quo* in South Africa and Namibia and to bring pressure to bear on the front-line States. Particularly shocking are the efforts to undermine the international consensus, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), endorsing the United Nations plan for granting independence to Namibia. United States efforts to make the implementation of this resolution contingent on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola have been unanimously regarded by the international community as an attempt to delay Namibia's independence and as a gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Angola. In the light of these facts, the duplicity of United States policy is evident. Indeed, to call South Africa, the country with the world's most inhuman Fascist régime, "a friendly country" and to frustrate the efforts of the peoples under its domination to liberate themselves, while at the same time attacking with armed force one of the tiniest and militarily weakest States under the spurious pretext of protecting human rights and foiling a fictitious threat which that country allegedly posed to its neighbours, are examples of the cynical and dangerous policy aimed at obtaining world domination.

143. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is confident that this policy will fail and that the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa will meet with success. I should like to express our solidarity with this struggle. My country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, will continue to render all-round support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to their national liberation movements in their struggle for the total elimination of colonialism, racism and particularly *apartheid* in that part of the world.

144. In conclusion, I join my voice to those commending the all-round activities of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and assure representatives that the Bulgarian delegation fully supports the report of the Special Committee.

145. Mr. FERM (Sweden): In the last couple of years, the term "destabilization" has been used ever more frequently in describing the situation in southern Africa. South Africa's independent neighbours have increasingly often brought to our attention attacks by the South African military forces, while South Africa has portrayed itself as the victim of terrorism based in the neighbouring countries.

146. The situation in southern Africa today is characterized by the increasing suffering of innocent people who want only to live in peace and freedom, with respect for their human dignity. More than anything, "destabilization" seems to be the ominous description of the initial phase of a war. How can this violence be brought to an end and dire consequences of an unforeseen magnitude be prevented?

147. When we try to answer this question we must first look at the nature of *apartheid*. However much South Africa pretends to be a promoter and defender of Christian and humanistic values, thus trying to ally itself with the Western tradition, it should be clear to everyone that these pretensions are false. As South Africa is quick to point out, human rights are violated in many places around the world, including the African continent. But South Africa under *apartheid* is something more than a society where human rights are violated: it is an ideology based formally and explicitly on race. It is a society where skin pigment is destiny, where colour alone determines basic rights. It is the adoption of *apartheid* as the fundamental social basis for a whole society of 28 million that distinguishes it from any other human rights violation



elsewhere. This uniqueness of *apartheid* as a racist State ideology explains the strong reactions it has met, and continues to meet, all over the world. To our mind, it is a sad perversion of the democratic and Christian values of the Western tradition.

148. The true picture of South Africa today is best shown by the increasing pace of forced removals of the black population from their homes into the impoverished bantustans. This is no less than a denationalization of the majority of the citizens of a country.

149. Stability and peace cannot be founded on a system built on repression, such as *apartheid*. That is the cause of the threatening situation in southern Africa today. The Pretoria Government is trying to find stability by military means, by intimidating its neighbours and suppressing its dissidents. Any temporary success in this effort will prove to be an illusion. The initiators of the attacks against Maputo, the siege of Lesotho and the occupation of southern Angola may boast about victories, but the future will expose their short-sightedness.

150. *Apartheid* South Africa as an armed bastion is founded on a quagmire. The kind of internal and external tension that the *apartheid* system creates gives no security, but risks only triggering a cycle of uncontrollable violence. There will never be peace in and around the *apartheid* society. To ensure social and racial harmony in South Africa itself and normal relations between South Africa and its independent neighbours, the *apartheid* society must be scrapped from the foundations up. The kind of constitutional reform that the Pretoria Government is carrying through will only compound the unjust structure of the *apartheid* State as long as the majority of the population is left out.

151. If anything, the recent referendum among the white population on a constitutional reform in South Africa demonstrates that the ruling minority has reached an important crossroads. Either this minority accepts a true, fundamental change or it faces increasing tension and violence. Events within South Africa during the year indicate that important sections of the majority seem to find it increasingly hard to see any alternative to armed action to achieve fundamental change. This trend will undoubtedly be strengthened if the Pretoria Government does not embark on a true dismantling of the *apartheid* system—not cosmetic reforms that only harden the present structure. An important sign of the true will to change would be the release of and consultation with Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned majority leaders, who would have a significant contribution to make to the transition of South Africa into a democratic society, where all national groups would have equal rights, as is spelt out in the Freedom Charter of South Africa.

152. It is our belief that the outside world must share in the efforts to transform South Africa from a bastion of minority domination to a majority-ruled democracy. These contributions could be made in two ways. First, we have to support the true democratic forces of South Africa, operating under difficult circumstances internally or in exile. Sweden has over the years taken a number of measures to support the struggle against *apartheid* or to limit the damage done by the system—most especially by humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and to the liberation movements in southern Africa. My Government is also giving increasing assistance to the front-line States to counterbalance the effects of destabilization and to reduce their economic dependence on the country that is trying to use their vulnerability to project its own power.

153. Secondly, we deem it necessary that measures be taken by this international body to achieve true change in

South Africa. Despite all the efforts made over the years by a number of countries, individually or collectively, the fact remains that the Security Council, in which South Africa's leading trading partners have permanent seats, should play the decisive role in this regard, as it, and it alone, can adopt measures on a comprehensive scale. Sweden has repeatedly supported the General Assembly in requesting the Security Council to adopt such measures. In the Joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa, the Nordic countries have committed themselves to work for proposals in the Security Council which could result in binding resolutions against trade with South Africa, as well as a prohibition of new investments in that country.

154. In this context, Sweden adopted in 1979 a law against such investments in South Africa and Namibia by firms under Swedish jurisdiction. We have also repeatedly introduced in the General Assembly a draft resolution urging the Security Council to consider effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in, and financial loans to, South Africa. This draft resolution will be introduced again at the current session. Moreover, Sweden has recently adopted strict visa regulations concerning sporting exchanges with South African citizens, based on the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports adopted in 1977 by the Assembly [resolution 32/105 M]. The Nordic countries are also increasingly concerned about the lack of effectiveness of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa. At their meeting in Stockholm in September of this year, the Nordic Foreign Ministers affirmed that our countries attach vital importance to the strict observance of the arms embargo.

155. Those that still want to give Pretoria the benefit of the doubt when it comes to voluntary concessions seem to ignore the record of the *apartheid* régime. We have yet to witness any steps towards true political change in that country. The international community must therefore increase its pressure on South Africa to dismantle the *apartheid* system. As long as fundamental rights are denied to the majority of South Africa's population, there will be no peace in southern Africa. It is our duty to mobilize every possible international effort to bring about a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa.

156. The forces for change in South Africa are, in our opinion, also the forces of peace.

157. Mr. KUTSCHAN (German Democratic Republic): The aggressive activities of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa are taking on ever more dangerous proportions. They constitute a challenge to all peace-loving mankind and pose a danger to international peace and security.

158. Representative forums of States, such as the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held at Prague last January, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, and the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris last April, have reaffirmed once again the need to put an end to the South African *apartheid* régime's policy of aggression and terror. In order to remove the causes of many conflicts in the world, it is imperatively necessary to eliminate all remaining manifestations of colonialism and racism. Resolute international actions are called for in order to achieve this end.

159. The international movement in support of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their just struggle under the leadership of their national liberation organizations has assumed greater dimensions than ever before. In

answer to the categorical rejection of its policies imperilling peace, Pretoria carried out the criminal bombing raid on Maputo and extended the scope of its military operations in some provinces of Angola, in close alliance with gangs of UNITA<sup>1</sup> and foreign mercenaries. These acts constitute flagrant violations of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola and are barbarous and insidious attempts to terrorize the populations of those countries.

160. In a display of cynicism that it would be impossible to surpass, the racists labelled their attack on an African country a "punitive and retaliatory action" for its having granted hospitality to South African freedom fighters. Botha and his clique are thus arrogating to themselves the right to practise retaliation against their own victims—both those of their continued aggression abroad and those of their horrendous exploitation at home.

161. At the present moment the *apartheid* régime is engaged in applying the worst racist practices in the country's history: at a rate of approximately 250,000 a year, black South Africans are being resettled in desolate homelands, where they have to live in inhuman social conditions.

162. Close to 200,000 South Africans are being kept in the *apartheid* régime's prisons and concentration camps—among them, and for more than 20 years now, Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC. From this rostrum we again urge the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners.

163. The *apartheid* State seeks to prop up its shaking foundations by using military force externally and resorting to terror internally. Free African States, such as Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and in recent times increasingly Mozambique, have time and again become targets of so-called preventive strikes. The war against Angola has already claimed the lives of thousands of people and caused damage in an amount exceeding \$7.5 billion.

164. The German Democratic Republic whole-heartedly supports the declaration which the leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, as well as those of the ANC and SWAPO, adopted at their meeting in Lusaka on 12 November and in which they condemned the South African régime for its policy of aggression against independent African States and its obstinate persistence in policies of *apartheid*.

165. Another instance of contempt for international law and public opinion was the political murder of three ANC fighters on 9 June of this year. It is and will remain an undeniable fact that resistance to the criminal and anachronistic South African slave-holders' régime, upon which the United Nations passed judgement a long time ago, is morally right and legitimate. In contrast, Pretoria's policy, a policy made up of racial fanaticism, misanthropy and the exploitation, oppression and abasement of South Africa's black majority, amounts to institutionalized injustice and criminality.

166. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic voted in favour of the resolution entitled "Proposed new racial constitution of South Africa" [resolution 38/11]. This resolution clearly rejects the new, flagrant attempt of the régime in Pretoria to entrench white minority rule and *apartheid*. Furthermore, it reveals that the so-called constitutional proposals are aimed at depriving the 23 million indigenous Africans of all fundamental rights, including the right to live in their motherland and to take part fully in the political life on a basis of equal rights. South Africa's racists are trying to carry out a policy of divide and rule in order to bolster their own domination,

which has been repeatedly condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

167. *Apartheid* cannot be changed by reforms, by constitutional proposals; it must be eradicated without further delay.

168. In this debate, as in previous ones held on the item under consideration, many speakers already pointed with full justification to the forces that are encouraging the racist régime to persist in its criminal policies. In defiance of all sanctions decided on by the United Nations, financial, economic, military and, not least, nuclear collaboration by the United States of America and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], as well as Israel, with the Pretoria régime has intensified continuously. The number of Western companies with operations in South Africa has risen to 3,000. Owing to its natural wealth, including strategic raw materials, its cheap African labour force and its geopolitical situation, South Africa has become a carefully guarded bridgehead on the African continent, enabling the most aggressive circles of imperialism constantly to kindle the fire against the independence of African States and peoples.

169. The racist régime's provocative course, which is a challenge to the international community, is not an isolated phenomenon: it is closely connected with the policy of the most aggressive imperialist forces of promoting a deterioration of the international situation. Their stepped-up course of dangerous confrontation and arms building, their bid for military superiority and their claim to a position of hegemony, as well as the emergence of new hotbeds of crisis as a result of the imperialist policy of blackmail and threats, all combine in giving Pretoria encouragement in its persistent policy of occupation and suppression.

170. We note with profound concern that the United States Administration has of late intensified the supply of military high-technology products to South Africa and has devised plans for the stationing of cruise missiles and the development of new binary weapons systems in the *apartheid* State. The co-operation between Washington and Pretoria in the military field is increasingly taking on the character of a military conspiracy against Africa's national liberation movements.

171. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic strongly condemns the *apartheid* régime's policy of aggression and terror, as well as the collaboration with the racists of Western countries and their transnational corporations. Such a policy is a major obstacle to progress in eliminating *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination.

172. We are in favour of the adoption of effective sanctions against Pretoria by the Security Council. The arms embargo that already exists should be strictly enforced and all attempts to circumvent it must be firmly rebuffed.

173. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to the Centre against *Apartheid* for the persistent efforts made by them for the final and complete eradication of racism and *apartheid*. Indeed, those two bodies make an important contribution in the mobilization of all forces against the *apartheid* régime's inhuman practices which are a threat to peace.

174. An unequivocal judgement was passed on the racists at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The German Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the decisions adopted by that important world forum, particularly the

Declaration and Programme of Action.<sup>2</sup> Those documents refer to the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa as the most important task of the coming Decade of Action.

175. Determined struggle against the *apartheid* régime, broad political, diplomatic and material support of the ANC liberation movement in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia and active solidarity with the front-line States are regarded by the German Democratic Republic as irreversible elements of its socialist foreign policy. The line adopted by it at this year's important international conferences on the problems of southern Africa was governed by that commitment. The German Democratic Republic's stand on this matter was reaffirmed also during the visits paid to our country this year by the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar; the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Maitama-Sule; the Director of the Centre against *Apartheid*, Assistant

Secretary-General Reilly, and the Secretary-General of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Mr. Jonah.

176. The German Democratic Republic will continue to do all in its power, as it has in the past, to extend solidarity and assistance to the South African people in its fight.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

<sup>2</sup>See *Report of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 1-12 August 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.XIV.4 and corrigendum), chap. II.