



**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. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The problem of *apartheid* emerged clearly in 1948 with the coming to power in South Africa of the National Party. From that date onwards, that party started to impose the will of the white inhabitants on the country. It enacted the unjust laws of the *apartheid* system, depriving the black African citizens of their most basic rights.

2. The United Nations very early on realized the evil of the policy of *apartheid*, since this question has been included in the agenda of the General Assembly, and has been the subject of extensive debates, since 1952. Despite the discussion of this question for the past 30 years, and despite the hundreds of resolutions adopted by the United Nations on this question, we find the problem still unresolved. Furthermore, the policy of *apartheid* is each day becoming further entrenched, and the conditions of oppression and repression suffered by the black inhabitants of South Africa are worsening.

3. The evil practices of the South African régime represent a real tragedy being suffered by the African people, in particular in South Africa and Namibia, where every day the *apartheid* régime is defying the will of the international community and violating human rights. The black inhabitants of South Africa, who represent 75 per cent of the population, suffer the worst types of injustice and exploitation. They are imprisoned, tortured and executed merely for demanding their fundamental human rights to justice, equality and self-determination. Hundreds of militants of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] are wasting away in the prisons of *apartheid*, where some of them have spent more than 20 years.

4. Since the white minority holds all the powers of the State and controls all the sectors of production, the black inhabitants have no choice but to work as employees in companies, on the lands and in the factories owned by the whites. In this way, they are exploited as a cheap labour force and are denied their right to enjoy the wealth of their country, living as strangers in their own land. In this connection, reliable reports have indicated that the income of a black worker in South Africa never reaches more than 16 per cent of that of a white worker. Furthermore, multinational companies operating in South Africa rely on *apartheid* to intensify their exploitation of

the black workers. They do not hesitate to forgo their services and deport them to the bantustans if they demand better working conditions.

5. The racist régime does not stop at the evil practices that have become prevalent over the past few years. It is now resorting to new methods of entrenching the policy of *apartheid* and ignoring the rights of the black majority. The so-called constitutional proposals put forward recently by the racist régime are merely another manoeuvre to perpetuate the policy of *apartheid*. They appear as reforms but are in fact an attempt to buttress the unstable *apartheid* régime by striking at the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. These so-called constitutional proposals aim at creating two new representative councils for the Asians and Coloureds; in fact, those two councils will not be able to discuss any issue without the previous permission of the racist régime. Thus they are both imaginary Councils. The true aim behind their creation is, first, to mislead international public opinion and make it believe that there are real reforms taking place in South Africa, whereas we all know that the policy of *apartheid* cannot be reformed, it must be eliminated. Secondly, they are designed to promote the military power of South Africa by recruiting Asians and Coloureds. Thirdly, they are intended to isolate the black majority from the Asians and Coloureds.

6. The international community expressed its opinion on this new manoeuvre when the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/11 on 15 November.

7. The *apartheid* régime does not stop at inhuman practices in South Africa and Namibia but has gone beyond its borders to bring destruction, sabotage, terror and instability to southern Africa as a whole. It repeatedly carries out military attacks against the front-line States and kills innocent civilians under the pretext that they are members of liberation movements. It is continuing to occupy a large part of Angola and is sending its agents to engage in sabotage in order to impede the development of neighbouring countries, particularly Mozambique.

8. Despite this evil policy and the acts of aggression being carried out by the racist régime of South Africa and despite the many resolutions of the United Nations calling for non-co-operation and non-collaboration with that régime, a number of States, led by the United States, continue to maintain very close relations with that régime and to lend it assistance in many fields. Those States have increased their relations with the South African régime over the past years. They have encouraged their companies to invest in southern Africa. The number of companies investing in South Africa increased from 1,888 in 1978 to 3,055 in 1981. In addition, investments of the United States and the countries members of the European Economic Community in South Africa in 1979 reached the sum of \$11 billion. Today, that number has undoubtedly doubled.

9. Under its present Administration, the United States has been one of the countries most enthusiastically promoting relations with the *apartheid* régime because it defends that régime in the United Nations. It also violates the binding arms embargo imposed by the United

Nations. It allows South Africa to increase the number of employees at its Military Bureau in the United States and the number of its consular offices in the United States. Nuclear co-operation with South Africa is continuing and the United States is training many South African forces and encouraging the régime to procrastinate in the negotiations on the independence of Namibia. It has further lifted the trade embargoes imposed on military and police organizations in South Africa.

10. The racist régime of South Africa insists on its policy of *apartheid* in clear defiance of United Nations resolutions, and it does so thanks to the assistance lent by some Western States, which see that practice as assisting their interests in southern Africa. There is another racist régime that is also assisting the South African régime, and that is the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. This is not surprising, for the common nature of the régimes leads to increasing mutual support and collaboration between them. Both régimes are based on doctrines rejected by the United Nations. The South African régime is based on *apartheid*, which has been condemned by the United Nations many times as a crime against humanity. The Zionist entity is based on Zionism, which the General Assembly, in resolution 3379 (XXX), of 10 November 1975, declared to be a form of racism. The racist régime of South Africa denies the black majority of that country its basic rights. In addition, it is denying the Namibian people their right to self-determination. The Zionist racist régime, for its part, is denying the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State. The racist régime of South Africa is occupying Namibia and a part of Angola, while the racist Zionist régime is occupying Palestine and parts of the territories of other Arab States, Syria and Lebanon. The racist régime of South Africa has linked its withdrawal from Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, forces that are legitimately present in that country and that are of concern solely to the Governments of Cuba and Angola. The Zionist racist régime has linked its withdrawal from Lebanon to the withdrawal of Arab forces whose legitimate presence in Lebanon concerns only Lebanon and the Arab parties concerned. South Africa is using the Savimbi gangs to attack Angolan unity, while the Zionist entity uses the gangs of Saad Haddad to divide Lebanon. Both régimes repeatedly engage in acts of aggression against neighbouring countries under the pretext of pursuing members of liberation movements, which they fallaciously call terrorists.

11. Collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and the Zionist entity has taken on new dimensions in the past few years. It has become a true alliance in many spheres. As the Special Committee against *Apartheid* stated in its report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa:

“The virtual alliance between South Africa and Israel, as the Special Committee has pointed out since 1976, is part of an effort by the *apartheid* régime to build an alliance of unpopular régimes defiant of world public opinion as a second line of defence for *apartheid*. In the context of this developing alliance, the acquisition of nuclear capability by South Africa poses a particularly grave menace.” [A/38/22/Add.1, para. 36.]

12. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, citing *Jane's Weapons Systems*, reported:

“... South Africa and Taiwan were among major importers of Israeli armaments. In addition to the three MOD class fast-attack craft serving in the South African Navy, which were imported from Israel in 1978,

four more were built in South Africa and it was expected that 10 more would be built there. These boats are armed with skorpion missiles as well as two 76 mm guns and a number of machine guns. They have full electronic fire control.” [Ibid., para. 9.]

The Committee also reported:

“... Israeli collaboration with South Africa included not only military sales, but also the exchange of Israeli technology and scientific expertise for South African raw materials including coal, steel and uranium. Israel's Tadiran and South Africa's Consolidated Power formed a large electronic combine specializing in military electronics and computers.” [Ibid., para. 12.]

It further reported:

“... the Israeli and South African Finance Ministers signed an agreement on 3 March 1983 designed to strengthen trade and investment ties between the two countries. According to the Finance Minister of South Africa, the agreement covered previous projects as well as those to be undertaken in the future. It made provision for a freer flow of currency, between the two countries, open commercial credit lines and co-operation in agricultural and technological research.” [Ibid., para. 23.]

13. We do not find it strange that the Zionist entity gives all kinds of aid to the racist South African régime or that it promotes relations between them, because they are both based on religious extremism and racism. It is not necessary to point out that the Zionist entity is alone in the world in denying nationality to non-Jews.

14. Collaboration between the two racist régimes exists in many fields and has been condemned in various international forums, the latest being the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983.

15. The assistance received by the racist régime of South Africa from Western States and the Zionist entity, as well as the investments received directly from multinational companies and technical assistance given to the régime, have enabled it to obtain high technology, to develop its armaments industries and to continue its occupation of Namibia and its violation of the sovereignty of neighbouring African States.

16. The support of the United States and some other Western States to the racist régime has not stopped at bilateral aid but has gone beyond that point to include the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In the Security Council, the Western States have continuously used their right of veto to defend the régime and to paralyse the Council whenever it attempts to take preventive action.

17. It is regrettable and worthy of condemnation that, on 3 November 1982, the IMF granted a loan to the racist régime in the amount of \$1.07 billion. This is the equivalent of South Africa's military expenses in Namibia. It was later confirmed that the racist régime did not need the loan, which was granted in defiance of General Assembly resolution 37/2, of 21 October 1982. This deal would not have been possible if it had not been for the United States Government, which, as usual, supported the racist régime and, together with its Western allies, voted in the IMF for approval of the loan. It is strange that the United States Government, which supported this loan, claims that it does not want the IMF to be politicized, since in the past it has always exploited the IMF for political purposes and against third-world countries.

18. The policy of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and the dignity of man, and the efforts of the international community must be directed against this system.

The tragedy suffered by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia under the policy of *apartheid* requires action from the international community, not mere words of sympathy and moral support. It requires unlimited support for the armed struggle undertaken by the two peoples to eliminate injustice and repression and to win total freedom and dignity in a society of justice and equality for all, regardless of race, colour or creed. The United Nations and particularly the Security Council must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa until it gives up the policy of *apartheid* and majority rule is achieved, and until the people of Namibia obtains its independence.

19. Finally, I should like to commend the efforts made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule, of Nigeria, to mobilize international public opinion against the policy of *apartheid*, and I would stress the commitment of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Programme of Action against *Apartheid* as adopted by the Special Committee on 25 October 1983 [A/38/539]. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya does not maintain any relations, and never will, with the South African racist régime in any field, and we call upon all States to do likewise and refrain from having any relations with that régime. We repeat what has been said in the Programme of Action adopted by the Special Committee: there must be no weapons for South Africa, no collaboration with the racist régime in any field, no profits from *apartheid*, and total support for the national liberation movements in South Africa.

20. In concluding, I would like to stress the full commitment of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to all the resolutions condemning *apartheid* in all fields. I want also to stress that we shall continue to give unlimited support to the valiant struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to rid themselves of the policy of *apartheid* and occupation. We are convinced of their ultimate victory, however difficult to achieve, because the right of peoples always prevails. I further stress our support of the front-line States, especially Mozambique and Angola, which are constantly subjected to attacks from the racist régime of Pretoria.

21. Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first to express my sincere thanks to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its valuable report, and my deep appreciation for the Special Committee's tireless and dedicated efforts to expose the racist practices of South Africa, and its continued efforts to mobilize world public opinion in support of the process of liberation in southern Africa.

22. Racial discrimination, *apartheid*, despotism and colonialist oppression are all, in an unprecedented manner, obstructing the forces of change aimed at more freedom, justice and equality.

23. The world has clear evidence of the aggressive policies of the *apartheid* régime, which are based on political oppression internally and military aggression abroad.

24. The situation in South Africa poses a threat of widespread conflict in the region because of the racist policies and terrorist acts of the racist Pretoria régime. It is the responsibility of all countries of the world to put the utmost pressure on the Pretoria régime and to support the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa to eradicate *apartheid* and racial discrimination and to establish a democratic society in South Africa and Namibia.

25. The policies and objectives of the Pretoria régime are more obvious than ever before. Like those which were prevalent during the colonial era in Africa, they aim at

establishing weak régimes which depend for their existence on the continued support of the controlling Power, in this case the Pretoria régime. The main objectives of the racist régime in South Africa are to reinforce and perpetuate its shameful system based on *apartheid* and racial discrimination and to extend its influence and hegemony to independent neighbouring States.

26. We note the flagrant acts of military, economic and political destabilization undertaken by the racist régime of Pretoria against independent neighbouring States, namely Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Seychelles. The Pretoria régime is financing and arming mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries for use against neighbouring sovereign countries to achieve its racist aim of destabilizing southern Africa and fomenting problems there. These practices are an affront to the international community and flagrant defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as a threat not only to peace in southern Africa but also to international peace and security.

27. The South African leaders are using every possible means to reinforce the racist régime within the country and the powers of the white minority over the majority of the indigenous inhabitants, and to entrench the *apartheid* régime. In the face of strong international opposition to these racist policies, particularly the policy of bantustanization, the racist régime has now resorted to another method, another shameful manoeuvre, namely, the so-called consitutional proposals, which were adopted by the white electorate on 2 November 1983. Those proposals aim at splitting the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa, depriving it of the right to citizenship and fomenting internal strife. The purpose of these proposals is to force the Coloured and Asian people in South Africa to serve in the military forces of the *apartheid* régime and to continue acts of oppression against the black majority in the country and acts of aggression against independent African States outside.

28. The Prime Minister of the racist régime, Botha, at a press conference held following the adoption by the white electorate of the constitutional proposals, said that: "The decisive majority is for the establishment of security, peace, stability and prosperity in South Africa."

29. We wonder what security, peace, stability and prosperity could be based on preferring whites to Coloureds and blacks. Those proposals are only a pretext. The *apartheid* system is a terrorist, oppressive system which cannot be changed or modified. There can be no peace, security, stability or prosperity until that racial system is eradicated and the deprived majority is allowed to exercise its legitimate right to establish a democratic society.

30. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in its report, stated that:

"Some of the African leaders expressed profound concern over the collaboration by certain Western countries with the *apartheid* régime, enabling the latter to carry out the policies of aggression, destabilization and economic warfare against the front-line States and Lesotho. The continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States . . . with the racist régime of South Africa encouraged its defiance of the international community and constituted a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa . . ." [A/38/22, para. 29.]

31. The unholy alliance between South Africa and Israel, particularly in the nuclear and military fields, has encouraged the *apartheid* régime in South Africa to adopt

criminal policies and to step up its aggression against neighbouring African States. This constitutes a serious threat to peace and stability in Africa and in the world, and is flagrant defiance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983 affirmed that the United States so-called policies of "strategic co-operation" with Israel and "constructive engagement" with the racist régime of South Africa constitute support for the alliance between Israel and South Africa against the aspirations of the African countries to ensure the denuclearization of Africa, complete the decolonization process and establish peace and security in the region [see A/38/311].

32. Some Western countries and Israel, which collaborate with the racist régime in South Africa, insist on adopting so-called civilized methods, which call for peaceful political change in that part of the world. These countries suggest that neither the threat or use of force nor the use of any other method will produce results in the future.

33. Those policies and the policy of "constructive engagement" called for by these States have greatly contributed to easing the international isolation of the Pretoria régime. Those policies have also encouraged the racist régime to continue its policy of oppression and continuous aggression against the legitimate rights of the indigenous majority in South Africa and Namibia.

34. Kuwait condemns these inhuman, immoral, and illegal practices of the racist régime of South Africa and calls upon the Security Council to take all the necessary measures to end the oppression in that part of the world and to fulfil its responsibility by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the racist régime of South Africa.

35. It is a great honour for Kuwait to head the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, composed of major oil-producing and oil-exporting countries and established in conformity with General Assembly resolution 37/69 J, to make a thorough study and to report as soon as possible on all aspects of the question as a basis for the adoption of international and national measures to ensure strict observance of the embargo imposed by oil-producing and oil-exporting countries and of their declared policies regarding supplying the racist régime of South Africa with oil and oil products. The Group of Experts held two sessions at United Nations Headquarters in New York, from 15 to 24 February and from 15 to 23 September 1983. The participants in these meetings were experts from Algeria, Indonesia, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Romania, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. Representatives of Iraq and the Soviet Union also participated.

36. The report was prepared during those two meetings and included the following important points: the international oil market and its present and prospective effects on the import of oil by South Africa; South Africa's dependence on oil imports; a review of measures taken by various countries concerning an oil embargo against South Africa; national and international efforts that can be undertaken to ensure the effective implementation of the embargo; the consequences of that embargo for independent African States in southern Africa and the necessary efforts to mitigate their suffering.

37. It is noteworthy that among the most important new measures proposed to promote the oil embargo is a proposal to establish a centre for the monitoring of tankers

trading with South Africa and a group of measures and procedures necessary to increase the effectiveness and widen the scope of the embargo.

38. Kuwait hopes that the report will result in the taking of practical and positive measures to isolate even more the repugnant racist régime of South Africa so as to force it to abandon its inhuman policies in southern Africa. It should be clear to all of us that this isolation will be reinforced if there are concerted efforts by the oil-producing countries which have close economic interests with the Pretoria régime.

39. Before concluding, I should like to say that justice and right will sooner or later follow the correct course in southern Africa. The legitimate and established claims of the national majority in southern Africa will gain victory and right and justice will prevail.

40. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): The Netherlands fully subscribes to the statement made by the representative of Greece who, speaking on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community [56th meeting], has expressed our common condemnation of the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. This abhorrent system of institutionalized racial segregation and oppression violates fundamental principles of human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It seeks to perpetuate the dominance of a small minority, while denying the majority of South Africans any part in the Government of their own country on the grounds of the colour of their skin.

41. My Government has repeatedly and in the strongest terms condemned the evils of *apartheid*. Opposition to racial discrimination has become a distinctive feature of society in the Netherlands, involving not only a broad spectrum of the political parties, but trade unions, churches and many non-governmental organizations. I should therefore like to explain in somewhat more detail my Government's view of the situation and the means by which it endeavours to contribute to the eradication of the system of *apartheid*.

42. For more than three decades now, South Africa has ignored the incessant appeals of the international community to take urgent measures to eliminate *apartheid*. Faced with South Africa's obstinacy, the United Nations has, in our view, no alternative but to exert increased pressure in order to persuade the South African Government to abandon its racial policies and open the way for the establishment of a truly democratic society in which all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race and colour, will enjoy equal rights and can participate freely in the determination of their future. The Netherlands stands ready to contribute in every way possible to bring about this goal.

43. It is our opinion that the South African Government has so far not embarked upon really fundamental reforms, which we understand as meaningful steps leading towards the abolition of *apartheid*, as opposed to superficial changes designed to deflect international criticism, while leaving the core of *apartheid* untouched.

44. The constitutional reforms approved by a two-thirds majority of the white electorate in the referendum earlier this month fail to take into account the legitimate aspirations of the black majority of the population. They continue to exclude the black majority from participating in the constitutional process. Therefore, my Government makes it clear that it cannot but reject the new constitution because it falls far short of the profound and fundamental changes that it considers imperative.

45. As part of its grand *apartheid* scheme, the South African Government continues to deny its black citizens political and civil rights by relegating them to one of the ethnically based bantustans.

46. The Netherlands has consistently condemned South Africa's establishment of homelands. That South Africa has been successful in resettling people through force is evident from the fact that more than half of the black population lives in these areas now. The international community has unanimously rejected this concept of separate development, which threatens to make South Africa's blacks strangers in their own country, and it has withheld recognition from those homelands which have been ushered into a token independence.

47. In Ciskei, one of those so-called independent homelands, following a bus boycott, a great number of people have been arrested and reports of torture and intimidation on a massive scale have reached us. Trade unions are no longer allowed to operate and their leaders, as well as church leaders, have been arrested and are held incommunicado. We call on the South African Government to do whatever possible to prevent further harassment and intimidation of the poor people in this region.

48. My Government follows a two-pronged policy towards South Africa: on the one hand, it is seeking to increase political and economic pressure on the South African Government; and on the other, it is trying to keep open those channels of communication through which contacts can be established and maintained in order to stimulate forces of peaceful change in that country.

49. On the international level, the Netherlands gives priority to the efforts of the United Nations to convince the South African Government to eliminate *apartheid*. The aggressive policies of the South African Government against neighbouring countries, as illustrated by its incursions into Angola and raids into Mozambique and Lesotho, clearly demonstrate that *apartheid* is part of a situation which threatens international peace and security.

50. Grave concern about South Africa's frequent resort to violence has already prompted the Security Council to prohibit, by its resolution 418 (1977), the sale or transfer of arms to South Africa. It goes without saying that the Netherlands scrupulously implements that resolution. In addition, my Government feels that the Council should make a serious effort to strengthen resolution 418 (1977). Now that South Africa has embarked on a major effort to build up its own arms industry, it would be a logical step to supplement the existing arms embargo with a ban on arms imports from South Africa.

51. I also wish to express our concern about the nuclear policy of the Government of South Africa. We call upon that country to enter into unequivocal non-proliferation commitments and to accept full-scope safeguards on its nuclear facilities. Furthermore, the Netherlands supports the call for an oil embargo and measures to limit new foreign investments in South Africa, also on the basis of a mandatory decision by the Security Council. Consistent with this policy, the Netherlands has traditionally co-sponsored the General Assembly's draft resolutions on investments in South Africa and has voted in favour of draft resolutions on an oil embargo against South Africa.

52. Although our preference is for action within the framework of the United Nations, my Government does not rule out the possibility of taking further unilateral measures against South Africa. The Netherlands has revoked its cultural treaty with South Africa, and this year visa requirements came into force for South Africans visiting the Netherlands. This enables the Netherlands authorities to restrict, *inter alia*, the admission of South

African sportsmen wishing to participate in sporting events in the Netherlands.

53. In another domain, the Netherlands Government actively urges Netherlands companies operating in South Africa to abide strictly by the guidelines of the European Community's Code of Conduct, which advocates the total abolition of racial barriers within companies and stimulates efforts to bridge existing gaps between white and non-white employees. Because the Code has proved to be a valuable instrument in the efforts of the Ten to contribute to the social and economic emancipation of South Africa's non-white population, the Netherlands will endeavour to enhance its effectiveness even further and to strengthen its guidelines. Moreover, my Government, in consultation with employers' organizations and trade unions, intends to consider in what way investments by Dutch companies in South Africa can be influenced as effectively as possible.

54. As a complement to our policy of increasing pressure on South Africa, the Netherlands will continue its efforts to contribute to peaceful change in that country. This will be done by using contacts with those in South Africa who actively strive for the achievement of meaningful reforms and by rendering assistance to political prisoners and other victims of *apartheid*. Moreover, the Netherlands is a major donor to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and gives financial support to international organizations like the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa and the World Council of Churches, as well as to Netherlands non-governmental organizations which pursue similar objectives. Governmental support for non-violent activities of South African anti-*apartheid* groups will be continued.

55. The negative effects of *apartheid* do not stop at the borders of South Africa. The tension produced by the institutionalized racial discrimination in South Africa has inevitably spilled over into neighbouring countries, which have become objects of South Africa's aggressive behaviour. Those recently independent States are forced to cope with the fall-out of the regional security problem posed by South Africa's *apartheid* system at the expense of the energies needed to confront the urgent task of developing their vulnerable economies.

56. The Netherlands Government, in addition to its substantial assistance to countries in southern Africa through bilateral and international programmes, makes an important contribution to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference set up by those States in order to increase their self-reliance through the development of regional economic co-operation.

57. But whatever efforts we make to alleviate the problems caused by South Africa's racial policies, only the elimination of the root cause of conflict in South Africa will allow the peoples of the region to devote themselves to the urgent task of development. The South African Government can continue to ignore the formidable odds ranged against it only at its own peril. It is our duty to bring home to South Africa that simple truth and, through our concerted action and pressure, prevail upon its leaders to tear down the racial barriers which they have erected and to reach out towards their fellow citizens in order to build together a society founded on equality, dignity and freedom for all.

58. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to express the Sudanese delegation's deep appreciation for the great efforts exerted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* during the past year under the chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule. I should also like to compliment the Committee on its report. This timely report covers all aspects of the policies

of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the racist Pretoria régime. It also covers all the Special Committee's efforts in carrying out its mandate to support the international campaign to eliminate *apartheid*.

59. The policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, which has been at the forefront of United Nations concerns for more than 30 years, has now come to represent a major challenge to the credibility of the Organization and clearly reflects the Security Council's inability to deal with one of the greatest threats to international peace and security. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority régime in South Africa, in flagrant violation of basic human rights, and its oppression and exploitation of the great majority of the indigenous inhabitants, makes it necessary to take firm international action to eliminate that policy in order to restore the rights of the majority and achieve peace in the region.

60. The continuation of the illegal practices of the racist Pretoria régime and their escalation make it necessary for the international community to take measures to bring that régime to seek a peaceful solution, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, through negotiations with the leaders of the national liberation movements in order to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and to create a democratic State in the interests of all the peoples of the region. The only way to achieve a peaceful solution is to bring the Pretoria régime to accept the principle of universal adult suffrage for all races and to proclaim unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners, detainees, persons under house arrest, deportees and armed militants, as well as to lift the ban on all political movements and parties, so that the national liberation movements can participate in the negotiations.

61. Sudan is following with great concern the deterioration of the situation and the increased tension in South Africa owing to the escalation by the racist régime of acts of torture and repression against the majority of the indigenous inhabitants. The racist régime is continuing its barbaric campaign of persecution, detention, torture and elimination of the militants who reject the policy of *apartheid*, a policy also firmly rejected by the international community. This year, the racist régime did not stop at deporting the militants; it resorted to executions to achieve its policy through force.

62. Last June, the *apartheid* régime ignored all international appeals, including the appeals of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and carried out the executions of Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung. It has also continued torture of other militants in prison and this has led to the deaths of a large number of them. Yet all this will only increase the extermination of the population to continue its struggle to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* and establish a democratic society. The inhuman conditions under which the opponents of *apartheid* live in South Africa make it necessary for the Members of the General Assembly to support the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee to exert more efforts to free all prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned on Robben Island since 1964, and to stop the arbitrary persecution carried out by Pretoria.

63. The constitutional changes proposed by the racist régime and adopted on 2 November of this year by the racist minority which supports that régime have been totally rejected from the beginning by the great majority of the indigenous inhabitants and by the international community. It has become very clear that the racist régime, despite all international condemnation, is insisting on enacting more racially discriminatory laws in an attempt to keep itself alive. We believe that the constitutional

manoeuvres undertaken by South Africa are merely a way of allowing the white minority to impose its control, continue its exploitation of the wealth of the land and to persist in its refusal to recognize the rights of the great majority of the indigenous inhabitants. The time has come for the racist régime of Pretoria to realize that the situation in South Africa does not call for marginal constitutional changes, but for major changes which would entail uprooting the racist régime and setting up a just, democratic society which would grant to the great majority its legitimate rights to freedom and equity, rights that will undoubtedly be restored thanks to the heroic struggle and national resistance.

64. Sudan has followed with great concern the escalation of the acts of aggression, destabilization and terrorism perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa against independent African States. The recent increase in military activity carried out by the *apartheid* régime against Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and other States, as well as its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia and its clandestine activities, including the use of mercenaries, saboteurs, executions, kidnappings, destruction of bridges, roads, railways and pipelines, are a clear indication of the aggressive nature of the *apartheid* régime. The front-line African States, which support the national struggle in South Africa with great courage and many sacrifices, must have all assistance from the international community necessary to protect their independence and territorial integrity and to rebuild the economic infrastructures destroyed by the barbaric raids carried out by the *apartheid* régime.

65. Last year we witnessed many activities aimed at eradicating racial discrimination. Foremost among those was the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August, which declared that *apartheid* is the basic form of racialism representing a blot on mankind's conscience and dignity and a threat to international peace and security. In its Declaration,<sup>1</sup> the Conference declared that those who contributed to the maintenance of *apartheid* were accomplices in its crimes. The Programme of Action adopted by that Conference<sup>1</sup>, forms a good solid basis for the international community to make concrete efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid* completely.

66. Earlier this year there was also held the International Conference in Solidarity with Front-line States, in Lisbon, Portugal. We appreciate and commend the recommendations of that Conference and we can state that it has succeeded in drawing the attention of the world to the important and heroic role undertaken by the front-line States in the face of the Pretoria régime's aggressions.

67. We also attach the greatest importance to the results of the International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in Vienna last July. The mere holding of that Conference stresses the organic link between those two racist régimes. The Conference very clearly showed the increasing evil collaboration between the two régimes in the political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields. The coincidence of the increasing racist and inhuman hegemony against the African inhabitants by the Pretoria régime, on the one hand, and the practices of the racist Tel Aviv régime, on the other, shed more light on the unholy alliance between those two régimes, which have both been condemned and rejected by the international community.

68. We call on the international community to continue its efforts and to take steps to bring those two régimes to reason and to force them to respect international law and international norms, as well as the principles of the

Charter of the United Nations, the main principle being the right of all peoples to self-determination.

69. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Three and a half decades after the institution of the methodical organization of racism in an elaborate system of laws called *apartheid*, the international community seems to have made little headway. The people of South Africa continue to suffer and struggle despite the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly. This underscores the fact that the Assembly has not fully measured up to the magnitude of the challenge which the *apartheid* system presents. Over all these years and on an almost daily basis, the international community has reiterated its condemnation of *apartheid*. Though admittedly these condemnations have not brought about the dismantling of *apartheid*, significant gains have been achieved, for not only has the sustained campaign to isolate *apartheid* South Africa been effective, it has galvanized the struggle within South Africa. Regrettably, we are today also witnessing a sustained campaign to reverse the victories which have been scored by the international community. Almost daily the international community is waking up to new revelations of a larger campaign to rehabilitate the *apartheid* régime. Now, through the notorious policy of so-called constructive engagement, South Africa is being armed with the most sophisticated weapons and support systems, in total violation of the arms embargo.

70. Investments exceeding \$14 billion have been pumped into the *apartheid* economy. Full diplomatic, military and political links are being forged between some Western countries, particularly the United States, and the *apartheid* régime. South Africa is being supported with all means available in the nuclear field. Consistent with that, negative votes on draft resolutions to censure South Africa have been a constant assurance to that country that it will not be forsaken. Indeed, to some, even the mere condemnation of *apartheid* is becoming increasingly difficult. In short, the trend is most disturbing, for it is through this new-found partnership that *apartheid* has acquired new vigour, the result of which is now evident both inside South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

71. Within South Africa *apartheid* is on the rampage. Massive repression and perpetration of violence, as exemplified by detentions, torture, assassinations and murder, have been escalating to unprecedented proportions. The campaign of bantustanization, aimed at stripping South African citizenship from black people in their own country, is being complemented by an unprecedented level of militarization at home and an active policy of aggression abroad.

72. Perhaps, to understand the full implications of *apartheid* brutality inside South Africa, one needs to look at the increasing policies of aggression, destabilization and occupation directed against the neighbouring independent African States. Today Angola remains occupied and the independence of Namibia is held hostage to the fulfilment of conditions totally unacceptable and unrelated to the agreed framework for the independence of that Territory under Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

73. Instead of being forced to cease aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa is being encouraged to be obstinate and to entrench its occupation and aggression, in contravention of United Nations resolutions. Similarly, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho and Botswana are constant victims of South African acts of destabilization, including armed intervention, mercenary and dissident attacks, acts of sabotage against civilian

installations and the economic infrastructure, and other forms of blackmail and intimidation.

74. We have, over the course of the past few months, heard concern being expressed at what is called "cross-border violence". We are just as much concerned about violence; but what we find unacceptable is that those who express those so-called concerns seem not to see South African acts of violence. To over-emphasize cross-border violence is, therefore, to ignore the genesis of violence. Violence is inherent in *apartheid*, as brute force is its means of existence.

75. Therefore, it is clear that the root cause of violence inside South Africa, as well as the general state of insecurity in the region, is the system of *apartheid*. That and that alone is the greatest threat to peace and security in the region. Whether it be the occupation of Namibia and parts of Angolan territory or acts of aggression and destabilization against the other neighbouring independent African States, all these are attempts at preservation and entrenchment of *apartheid*.

76. That is why it is important to recognize that violence in southern Africa cannot be avoided without the eradication of *apartheid*, and those who purport to be keen on restoring peace and justice to the region must bear this in mind. It was the case during the fight against Portuguese colonialism in Africa as it is the case today; for it is one thing to profess moral indignation towards *apartheid* and another to pursue policies which are diametrically opposed to the eradication of that system. This type of support for *apartheid* makes those friends of *apartheid* no less guilty accomplices to the perpetration of violence in the region than South Africa itself.

77. There are, however, those States which have made appreciable efforts to remove the discrepancies between their moral indignation about *apartheid* and their official government policies. We wish to express our gratitude to those Governments.

78. Evidently the most recent twist to *apartheid* is the so-called constitutional proposals, which some delegations even had the heart to applaud. An arrangement designed to entrench and perpetuate institutionalized racism through the creation of constitutional appendages, excluding over 70 per cent of the South African population, cannot be applauded. It has been clearly shown that even those Coloureds and people of Asian origin who have been hoodwinked, if not coerced, into accepting the arrangement will participate in deliberating on a predetermined agenda of their so-called own affairs on the basis of segregation. Thus, far from being a retreat from *apartheid*, this is indeed the highest form of institutionalized racism—that is, *apartheid* in the legislature itself. The details of the procedures by which this bogus arrangement is supposed to work only testify to its sole intent. Those dispensations are aimed at dividing the ranks of the struggling people of South Africa and pitting them against one another.

79. Accordingly, my delegation rejects totally the dangerous assertion that the constitutional manoeuvres constitute "a step in the right direction" or suggestions that "it is not up to other nations to prescribe how a free and equitable society in South Africa should be organized". The solution to *apartheid* does not lie in defence of a referendum, confined to the racist minority, whose purpose it is to entrench racism.

80. Racism and racial discrimination as manifested through individual biases exist in most of the countries represented here. It is in realization of this fact that not only have most Governments taken appropriate steps, through political and legal frameworks, to ensure racial

harmony, but they have also made it clear that those biases are not legalized. Though this has by no measure been adequate to ensure total eradication of such biases, it has enabled Governments to make a distinction between government policy and individual prejudices.

81. Yet we know this is not the case in South Africa. In South Africa, it is not a question of racism or racial discrimination. It is that of official and institutionalized racism. It is a question of a vicious white minority with an illegitimate racist machinery of government which has subjected the black people of South Africa to the most monstrous forms of oppression. Those so-called constitutional amendments, which are being lauded as "constructive change", constitute a perfected instrument of that oppression. That is why we are not impressed when attempts are made to portray those insidious manoeuvres as a positive step towards the establishment of a democratic form of government in *apartheid* South Africa.

82. We are, equally, not impressed by those who come to this rostrum to shed crocodile tears on the suffering of the black people of South Africa. Those delegations are well aware that they are partly responsible for the continuing oppression and enslavement of the very same black people whose welfare they purport to hold so dear—to the extent of computing it in monetary terms, as though the freedom of the black people were exchangeable for money.

83. Support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa or elsewhere should not be allowed to be a function of, or subject to, individual foreign policy prerogatives, and certainly not those of any State Member of the United Nations. Rather, it must be realized that membership in this Organization creates obligations, among which is the duty to work towards national liberation, independence and the promotion of human rights. The fundamental philosophy contained in Article 1, embodying the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and in Articles 55 and 56, underlines that obligation. The obligation of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all must therefore preclude any sustenance of policies which undermine those rights and freedoms. To be a Member in this Organization is to make a reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights and of respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples. Accordingly, support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and in Namibia is a Charter requirement.

84. Consequently, we have sought to impress upon those who still find it acceptable to continue supporting South Africa in its intransigence that not only is that support immoral, but, even more serious, it undermines the Charter of the United Nations, for commitment to racism and endorsement of aggression cannot be regarded otherwise. Likewise, engagement with South Africa, whether one calls it constructive or otherwise, undermines the Charter.

85. We would have wished that the determination with which certain countries respond to less serious situations would be demonstrated when dealing with the *apartheid* régime, for if, indeed, there is a place where democratic institutions need to be restored, that place is certainly South Africa. If, indeed, there is justifiable use of force, it should be used against South Africa to free the black people from *apartheid* and slavery. But the reality is that even when we seek minimum measures, such as sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, those who underwrite *apartheid* and occupation in Namibia and Angola have not hesitated to use their power to prevent action. When we seek to uphold the principles of the Charter or to implement the decisions of the General Assembly, it is

again those States, including some permanent members of the Security Council, which, while priding themselves on being founding Members, have taken the lead in frustrating the efforts of the United Nations. It was in similar circumstances, when speaking in the Security Council, on 25 October 1974, on the question of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa that the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, stated that:

"those who claim to be the guardians of our Charter should indeed be the last people to take any action that would undermine it. Is this too much to expect of them? Those who eat and pride themselves on eating at the table of *apartheid* must recognize that their pleasure comes from the sweat of *apartheid* slavery. They do not therefore escape the guilt for *apartheid*, for they help to give sustenance and nourishment to the policies of *apartheid*."<sup>2</sup>

This was, and remains, our position.

86. The agonizing question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the wicked and atrocious policies of *apartheid* must be seen in all its ramifications. *Apartheid* constitutes permanent aggression against the black people of South Africa. The General Assembly has judged *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity and has underlined that it poses a constant threat to international peace and security. We should not accept any justification of facts. It is the *apartheid* régime, with its acts of terrorism, destabilization and aggression, which is the sole obstacle to peace and security in southern Africa. It is consistent with this position that my Government continues to demand that total isolation of *apartheid* South Africa is a necessary component of a campaign to force that régime to abandon its nefarious policies. Accordingly, we reiterate our demand that the Security Council adopt appropriate measures against the *apartheid* régime under chapter VII of the Charter.

87. I cannot conclude my statement without paying a deserved tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Maitama-Sule. His indefatigable commitment to the relentless struggle against *apartheid* underlines his deep-rooted personal commitment to freedom and justice and also that of his country, Nigeria, which he now has the well-deserved honour to serve as its Minister of National Guidance.

88. We applaud the Special Committee for its campaign of mobilization against *apartheid*. Its anti-*apartheid* programmes, including the campaigns for sports and cultural boycotts, for the release of political prisoners and for disinvestment, have begun to register success. My delegation therefore commends those individuals, support groups, legislative bodies, organizations and countries which have been supportive, and urges them to continue.

89. In this connection, it is only appropriate to pay a special tribute to the Nordic countries for their continued assistance in the fight against *apartheid*. Similarly, the recent courageous stand of the Australian Government in support of the campaign aimed at stopping sporting links with South Africa deserves the recognition of the international community. The socialist countries, which have always stood with us in the struggle against the evil system of *apartheid*, deserve the special commendation not only of Africa but also of the international community as a whole.

90. Of course, our own efforts would have been in vain had they not been merely a complement to the struggle of the people of South Africa themselves who, faced with banishment, imprisonment, detention and murder, as well as other forms of brutal repression, have not capitulated.



Their unyielding dedication to their freedom reinforce our commitment. At the same time we commend the work being done by the liberation movements of the ANC and PAC.

91. The frenzy of panic of the racist régime resulting from the recent victories scored on the diplomatic and military fronts testify to the effectiveness of the struggle. We appeal to the international community to extend all-round support in order to enable these movements to prosecute the struggle effectively.

92. Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): One of the regions where the greatest and most dangerous tensions exist in this tormented world is that of southern Africa, and this is due to the aggressive and pernicious policy of the Pretoria régime, which possesses immense resources and exploits them to perpetuate the domination by the white minority over the great African majority, including what they describe as Coloureds. The thinking of this minority has been distorted by a group of perverted politicians who employ all kinds of stratagems to disguise what is in reality a form of slavery that has survived into the modern day: *apartheid*, which is synonymous with brutality.

93. There can be no doubt that that is a problem of universal significance which arouses the feelings of the entire world, even though the consciences of some are weighed down by a measure of complicity and fraudulent dealings which enable them to flout the condemnation of the United Nations and the sanctions applied against the Pretoria régime.

94. This fact emerges clearly and unequivocally from the report of the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, and it is important for the Security Council to ratify and broaden its terms of reference.

95. The Pretoria régime's *de facto* domination of the Territory of Namibia, whose population is suffering from the effects of *apartheid*, a domination which is illegally obstructing the establishment of the independent State of Namibia, is a matter of anxiety and indignation.

96. The Secretary-General has taken a very firm and constructive stand on all these questions.

97. Thanks to the welcome and effective co-operation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*, which we greatly appreciate, the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid* was held in our capital city, from 16 to 18 September 1983, just before the opening of this session of the General Assembly. The Caracas Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*, adopted by that Conference, condemns *apartheid* and emphasizes "the solidarity of the Governments and peoples of Latin America with the Governments and peoples of Africa in their struggle for the total emancipation of their continent, as well as for peace, freedom and justice" [A/38/451, annex, para. 42].

98. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, José Alberto Zambrano Velasco, in his statement before the General Assembly spoke of this problem at some length. He said:

"We are proud that this solidarity was proclaimed at Caracas, and we are proud to have been of use to a cause which we defend and understand, because reason and truth are its foundations and because we do not understand how the stability of a society can be based on the degradation of human dignity." [5th meeting, para. 158.]

99. Nelson Mandela is a figure who has frequently been invoked in this forum because his name and his image

have come to be the symbol of the struggle so valiantly and unflinchingly being waged by his brothers and sisters in arms. We wish to convey to them our encouragement and our admiration, as well as our best wishes for the success of the struggle in which their movement has been the basic force, a struggle that requires from us not only sympathy but also the individual and collective support of the courageous front-line States and of all of us. The pressure must be increased.

100. This blight that is now disfiguring South Africa is destined inexorably to disappear totally because it is in flagrant contradiction to all decent human qualities, which rise up in revolt at such an intolerable situation.

101. We are in solidarity with the long-suffering and valiant people of Azania who are striving to achieve a just and non-discriminatory society.

102. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A distinguished African diplomat has accurately defined *apartheid* as a combination of primitive slavery and the sophisticated barbarity of nazism.

103. This brutal and genocidal system is today attempting to change the colour of its coat by means of the so-called constitutional proposals which were adopted on 2 November by the exclusively white electorate and which are intended, according to the spokesmen of Pretoria, to give limited political participation to people of mixed race and to those of Asian origin. However, the scope of those electoral manoeuvres is very different from the professed purposes of the South African racists. In fact, they are an attempt to destroy the unity of the South African people through measures designed to perpetuate the system by making it more palatable to the country's allies who are already only too willing to give their blessing to what they claim are liberating constitutional reforms in South Africa.

104. Nevertheless, the problem remains totally unchanged. The black majority, which makes up 72 per cent of the population of the country, is still being oppressed and subjugated. The fact is that, in dealing with *apartheid*, no arrangements or solutions that permit its survival can be countenanced. In dealing with *apartheid*, we must keep in view one single, unalterable goal: its total eradication as a phenomenon incompatible with the destiny of mankind and with the ideals of equality and peace of the United Nations and even with the most elastic concept of democracy.

105. The nature of *apartheid*, its very existence and the suffering and repression it brings in its wake, is not accidental, and neither is its survival. It has quite rightly been said that the racist policies of South Africa, especially those of the post-war period, have served to assist the development of a recalcitrant capitalism and have laid the monolithic foundation upon which the country's economic policy and the organization of its production rest. The extremely large-scale presence of Western economic corporations both in South Africa and in Namibia would appear to reinforce this analysis. Extremely harsh conditions of exploitation, slave labour, the lack of any system of job security, subhuman treatment of black workers, anarchy in labour relations to the advantage of the employer with the concomitant reduction in production costs—these are outstanding conditions for attracting investment. Such advantages, along with Pretoria's readiness to act as the policeman of imperialism in southern Africa and in the South Atlantic, have turned the country into one of the most valuable allies of imperialism and one of the modern bulwarks of colonialism.

106. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* unequivocally states that a number of Western Powers and their transnational corporations are responsible not only for undermining the effect of the international campaign against *apartheid* but also for ensuring its perpetuation in Africa. This boundless support encourages Pretoria to increase its brutality and to continue in its arrogant defiance of the repeated appeals made by the international community and of the resolutions of the United Nations. This attitude is curiously similar to that of the President of the United States, who has unblushingly expressed his disdain for the resolutions of this Organization. We have also seen how, during the recent debate on the independence of Namibia, the United States Administration, through its delegation here, supported the arrogant and insulting conduct of the representatives of *apartheid* who came to the Security Council to reiterate their defiance and contempt for the wishes of the world and of the United Nations.

107. Washington sees in Pretoria a reliable guardian of its strategic interests, and a safe place in which to invest capital. Against such virtues, the fact that the country is governed by a criminal minority which denies the vast majority of the population its fundamental human rights and uses brutal methods of political control pales into insignificance. In this case, it is quite irrelevant that there is no freedom of expression and that political prisoners are tortured and murdered in prison; it is acceptable that great masses of the black population are forcefully removed to the bantustans.

108. It is here, in the context of *apartheid*, not of Grenada or Nicaragua—that the United States should be worried about democracy. It is here that we find an unquestionably legitimate struggle for a democratic society in which the rights of its citizens will not be dictated by the colour of their skin, which will never play any part in determining the quality of an individual, and where the will of the majority will decide its future.

109. In spite of the facts, there are those who have no eyes to see the viciousness and the crimes of *apartheid*. On the contrary, the *apartheid* régime is rewarded by friendship and co-operation and benefits from a “constructive engagement” on the part of the United States Administration. Imperialism and racism are locked in an immoral embrace, and racism, in payment for its favours, receives assistance in all fields, including that of nuclear weapons, in which the United States recently authorized multimillion dollar contracts for American transnational companies to supply servicing, maintenance, training and repairs for South African nuclear installations.

110. In the African continent there are two extremes: South Africa and the rest of Africa. In this situation, it is not difficult to see on which side the United States stands, nor is it difficult to foresee that this “constructive engagement” will gradually grow stronger with the passage of time. There have been attempts to sell us the idea that the friendship of some Western Powers, especially the United States, with South Africa might persuade the racists to change course and to fall into step with civilized society. Nothing could be further from the truth. It would be an illusion to believe that those Powers whose investments were basically attracted by the very advantages and profits derived from the *apartheid* system would ever try to cure that disease.

111. Mahatma Gandhi said on one occasion: “What is happening in South Africa involves a loss of dignity, not only for the victims of *apartheid*, but also for those who uphold *apartheid* and those who directly or indirectly encourage it.”

112. Each one of us should draw his own lesson from these wise words. Ultimately, the verdict of history is inexorable and inevitable. Yet it is worth noting that it is a true paradox of our times that some of the nations which are in the forefront of technological development and proclaim themselves the defenders of the cause of human rights, freedom, justice and equality in other parts of the world, maintain the links of close friendship and co-operation with the South African Government. Collaboration with the Pretoria racists is not a question of policy, it is a matter of morality. Any assistance to that régime is an act of aggression against the people. No State can call itself a friend of Africa if, like the United States, it maintains close political, economic and military relations with South Africa, turning its back on the struggle of the South African people against its oppressors and in some cases even condemning that struggle.

113. We are moved to ask what crime has been committed by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the Palestinian people and the peoples of Central America, that they should become the target for the fury and devastating force of imperialism and its agents. In Namibia, in South Africa and in Central America, in usurped and occupied Palestine, the enemy is one and the same. That is why the similarities among these situations are no mere coincidence. For the moment, I should like to refer only to the natural kinship between racism and zionism. Let us examine some of the features of this kinship. Both are a threat to international peace and security; they serve as imperialism’s policeman; they serve as military bases and garrisons for acts of aggression against the peoples of Namibia, Palestine and neighbouring States; they provide training in counter-insurgency tactics and military aid for despotic and unpopular régimes; they are based on racist ideologies; they exploit with impunity the resources of the territories they are unlawfully occupying; with support from the same source they are now developing nuclear weapons; the force behind both is invariably the United States Government, and they are both internationally isolated. Both show contempt for the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and both ignore the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

114. The problem of southern Africa cannot be solved while *apartheid* still exists. We cannot envisage a just society while this scourge persists. Only a South Africa without fragmentation, where a racist and inhuman minority no longer rules and where dignity and the human value of all citizens is equally recognized, can provide the basis for a just and lasting peace in the region.

115. Only the determination of the people of South Africa to remain united, only their militant and revolutionary spirit, the spirit of Soweto, which survives in full vigour, give us grounds for hope. Nevertheless, we must confess that we have come to this Assembly troubled by doubt as to whether it is enough for us to stop short at denouncing and condemning *apartheid*. Is not the overthrow of infamy and injustice a universal goal and aspiration? I am thinking of the words of the former Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli when he said: “We should be unstinting in our efforts to bring about the liberation of the South African people. A failure here would be a defeat for the cause of mankind.”

116. Certainly, speeches and declarations are important, but in the last analysis, they are mere words. The situation has reached such a point of deterioration that the only alternative is concerted action. Experience has shown us that there are no other courses of action. It is only by means of joint action that the international community

can make a positive contribution to peace, stability and freedom in southern Africa.

117. Consequently, we express our gratitude to Africa as a whole and to the front-line States in particular, which, in spite of all difficulties, are uniting their efforts to eliminate *apartheid*.

118. Nicaragua also reaffirms its unswerving solidarity with the people of South Africa and the ANC in its struggle for the building of a genuinely democratic society, and its unwavering readiness to assist in the elimination of *apartheid*, whose existence is a crime against humanity.

119. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): The region of southern Africa remains one of the most serious concerns for the world today. South Africa, as an *apartheid* entity, is a critical area which represents a most potent threat to world peace and humanity.

120. The *apartheid* Afrikaners, according to their own lights, are a chosen people: those elected by God to fulfil a divine mission. For the world at large and for all humanity, this is dangerous in the extreme. The predecessor of this kind of danger was Hitlerite nazism.

121. Iraq's position on the question of *apartheid* is well known and needs no reiteration. We strongly support the struggle of peoples against all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination for the achievement of their legitimate rights in freedom, dignity and full independence. Solidarity with the African peoples in this connection is one of the fundamental foundations of our foreign policy. Our commitment in this regard is moved not only by our national experience, but also by our ideological outlook.

122. The *apartheid* régime is feeling the impact of the irresistible advance of the struggle for liberation in South Africa, despite the encouragement and protection it receives from some Western interests. We have carefully studied the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/38/22/Add.1]. My delegation wishes to pay a particular tribute to the members of the Special Committee for the work done during the period covered by the report. We whole-heartedly endorse the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee [see A/38/22, sect. III]. We shall continue to lend our strong support to the work of the Special Committee to achieve the eradication of the despicable crime of *apartheid*.

Mr. Elsheikh (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

123. It is impossible for me to pass over in silence the outrageous assessment of the representative of Israel of the report of the Special Committee in his statement of 17 November. At the outset of that statement, the Zionist representative said:

"Most regrettably . . . many of the speakers here do not appear to address the issue of its true causes, underlying factors and consequences. Indeed, the entire item is being once again cynically manipulated—as has become the custom—by those delegations which seek thereby to advance their political interests at the expense of the genuine struggle against this form of racism. Thus the victims of bigotry are forgotten and the genuine revulsion against racism is mocked." [61st meeting, para. 148.]

The Zionist representative went further to describe the report of the Special Committee as being "the latest in a long, tendentious series", and that: "Like its predecessors, this year's report too mendaciously asserts the existence of an 'alliance' between Israel and South Africa" [*ibid.*, para. 151]. In this connection, he told us that the report of the Special Committee "is based

primarily on unsubstantiated newspaper reports and unfounded rumors" [*ibid.*, para. 164].

124. Now let us look into the report, document A/38/22/Add.1. It presents us with facts and recent developments which could not be refuted by the Zionist representative. The factual part of the report does not present the views and judgements of the Special Committee. Where such views are presented, they are those of informed Israelis. Paragraph 15, for example, reflects the writings of Naomi Chazan, senior research fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She refers specifically to the military strategic link between Israel and South Africa, and even more significantly, where *apartheid* is concerned, to their co-operation in the areas of counter-insurgency and joint training. Paragraph 17 of the report quotes Professor Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi of Haifa University about Israeli advisers training UNiTA<sup>3</sup> forces in Namibia. Paragraph 35 of the report quotes the Israeli Ambassador to South Africa, E. Lankin, welcoming co-operation with South Africa and criticizing the calls for a boycott of South Africa. These are facts and views that the Zionist representative cannot and, indeed, could not dismiss as unsubstantiated newspaper reports and unfounded rumors.

125. Nor, indeed, could he deny the fact that 10 members of the South African Paratroopers Association were invited to attend the international congress of paratroopers held in Israel in March 1983, as referred to in paragraph 19 of the report. Could he deny that the President of the so-called "independent" State of Ciskei visited Israel in March 1983, as mentioned in paragraph 31 of the report, or that the Education and Manpower Minister for the bantustan of Bophuthatswana visited Israel in May 1983, or the large advertisement that appeared in the Israeli press offering jobs, including that of director of a television service to be started in Bophuthatswana in 1985, as we learn from paragraph 32 of the report? Can he deny the fact that General Shlomo Gazit, the former head of Israeli Military Intelligence, visited South Africa in June 1983, and made statements about Israeli methods in fighting against the Palestinians, as is mentioned in paragraph 34 of the report?

126. Can he deny the fact that David Ben-Gurion, accompanied by the ex-intelligence chief, the current President, Chaim Herzog, visited South Africa in 1969? Can he deny Herzog's second visit in 1974 to South Africa as a guest of the South African Government? Can he deny the visit of South Africa's former boss of the Bureau of State Security, General van den Bergh to Israel? Can he deny that the purpose of these high-level exchanges between Israeli and South African security and intelligence chiefs cannot be other than that of co-ordinating so-called counter-insurgency and security measures, which means repression and punishment of blacks in South Africa and Palestinians under Israeli occupation?

127. Let us put him to the test, let us see whether he can deny these facts.

128. As for the complaint that the speakers here do not address the issue as to its true causes, underlying factors and consequences, let us examine these, for they happen to be the very causes and factors which resulted in the collaboration and virtual alliance between South Africa and Israel.

129. South Africa is a settler colonial régime engaged not only in the exploitation of a territory's natural and human resources, but also in the transfer of the indigenous people from that territory. So is Zionist Israel. Those who stay in the territory are subjected to legal and political devices which keep them permanently subordinated to the settler-colonialists—the whites in South

Africa, the Jews in Palestine. In their study on internal control in Israel and South Africa, "*The Mechanism of Colonial-Settler Régimes*", published by the International Organization for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Christopher Mansour and Richard P. Stevens observe that there are

"numerous similarities—ideological, historical, political and economic—observable in the establishment and maintenance of Israel and South Africa. Beginning with similar religious and historical myths used to justify their initial establishment, both the Afrikaners of South Africa and the Zionists in Palestine-Israel would proceed to the creation of legal structures designed to discriminate against the indigenous population and maintain settler control."

130. Accordingly, both Afrikaners and Zionists felt the need—and, indeed, feel the need—to dissociate themselves from their own imperialist-colonialist roots. They not only reject these origins but assert that they themselves led the fight against imperialism, which had laid its heavy hand upon them. The study rightly points out that:

"Both Afrikaners and Zionists bolster their claims to settle in and control their respective lands through what can be termed a historical-religious amalgam. Both claim they are in effect a 'Chosen People' of God which justifies their superiority and necessary separateness from the 'lesser' peoples around them. Furthermore, they attempt to maintain this separateness by making mixed marriages illegal in South Africa and by imposing legal restrictions in Israel which would severely inhibit Jewish-Gentile amalgamation; when it does occur the Jewish element must predominate. Another argument put forward by both Afrikaners and Zionists is that the land which they colonized was uninhabited at the time of their own arrival. Thus, Afrikaner historians advance the spurious claim that both whites and blacks arrived at the same time while ignoring the presence of the Xhosa population. Foreign Minister R. F. Botha insisted before the United Nations Security Council in 1974 that whites and blacks converged 'upon what was then an almost uninhabited part of the continent'. Thus, the Afrikaners claim that they did not dispossess the blacks since there were none living there.

"The Zionist position in this regard is more extreme in that they would even deny the existence of a 'native people' in their 'land of Zion' . . . Golda Meir, as Israeli Prime Minister, would re-emphasize this Zionist attitude and mentality when she stated that 'it was not as though there was a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist'."

131. In his book, *Weizmann and Smuts: A Study in Zionist-South African Co-operation*,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Richard P. Stevens traces how Smuts and Weizmann immediately recognized their similarity and commonality of interest and laid the groundwork for the relationship between South Africa and Israel.

132. Mansour and Stevens also point out that the determination of one's personal status is of the utmost importance in South African and Israeli society; to be white in South Africa, or Jewish in Israel, is a very different matter socially, politically and economically, than to be black, Coloured or non-Jewish. To be members of the first group is to have greater political rights, to have access to economic advantages denied the other groups and, most important, to know that the Government, the police, the courts, the system is working for you rather than against you. These things are all denied to the native

black and Arab peoples. They are made to feel like strangers in their own land, the land of their ancestors for past generations. One has only to consider the Population Registration Act of 1950 in South Africa and the Law of Return of 1950 and the Nationality Law of 1952 in Israel to realize the extent of the racial discrimination against non-whites in South Africa and non-Jews in Israel.

133. Instead of dealing with these true causes, underlying factors and consequences, the Zionist spokesman saw fit to state that the slave trade in Africa was dominated by Arab traders; then he spoke of some acts allegedly committed by Arab merchants in Ghana during that country's struggle for liberation. By making such references he was not only holding Arab Governments responsible for the actions of individual traders and merchants, but openly inciting anti-Arab racist propaganda. At the same time, the Zionist representative conveniently overlooked the fact that history's most horrendous chapters of slavery were visited upon the black Africans by the present-day Zionists' closest friend and ally. It is even more astonishing to find that someone so clearly concerned about black Africans should also have almost nothing to say about South Africa's avowed racism and continued oppression of the black majority in the land. Then, too, while he proclaims that "the reputation of a Member State of the United Nations is . . . a matter that should not be taken lightly" [*ibid.*, para. 162], the Zionist representative heaps every possible calumny not only on the Arab States but on all the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and on the Eastern European countries. The Zionist spokesman fancies Israel—and he is encouraged by the United States and certain Western countries—to be a democracy. South Africa too believes it is a democracy; a democracy for whites, as Israel is a democracy for Jews. Van den Berghe, in his book, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict*,<sup>5</sup> calls it a "*Herrenvolk* democracy", a political duality with parliamentary democracy for the settler colonists and a colonial régime for the natives. In his other study, *Race and Racism*, published in 1967, van den Berghe defines this so-called democracy as a "parliamentary régime in which the exercise of power and suffrage is restricted *de facto*, and often *de jure*, to the dominant group".

134. As for Israel's actions in Africa, while the Zionist representative here spoke of the behaviour of Arab merchants in Ghana, the world at large and the Africans in particular have not yet forgotten Israel's collaboration with Portugal in its efforts to maintain its colonial domination of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. The late leader of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral, specifically pointed out Israel's training of and armaments supply to Portuguese troops conducting a colonial war against African peoples. He also noted Israel's training of counter-revolutionary elements from Guinea-Bissau to infiltrate the revolutionary ranks. After the collapse of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola in 1976, Vorster met with Israeli Defence Minister Yigal Allon and Henry Kissinger in Bavaria to discuss the new situation and the balance of power in southern Africa. A reference to these facts may be found in "South Africa and Israel: A Special Relationship", a paper that was presented at the Conference on the Socio-Economic Trends and Policies in Southern Africa, held at Dakar in September 1975.

135. One should not forget, in this context, the report contained in document A/AC.115/L.602 on the development of South Africa's nuclear capability and particularly the paragraph on Israeli-South African co-operation.

136. It is fitting to conclude with a passage from the official organ of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, "Jewish Affairs", which carried the following in its issue of November 1970:

“The argument that Israel and South Africa have a basic community of interest in the Middle East and further south has more than a grain of truth in it. There is nothing secret or sinister about it. The strong ties between the two countries, closer than ever since the 1967 war, are inseparable from their geographical and strategic position, from their anti-communist outlook, and from all the realities of their national existence. . . . In short, the destinies of the two countries . . . are interwoven in a much more meaningful sense than any enemy propagandist could conceive. . . .”

137. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Once again the General Assembly is considering the item entitled “Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa”. In that regard, my Government notes that the racist régime of South Africa continues to suppress and exploit the majority of the people of that country.

138. As a country and a people which enjoy freedom, peace and harmony in a diversity of more than 700 different languages and ethnic groups, the people and the Government of Papua New Guinea are concerned and must condemn the policies and practices of *apartheid* in South Africa.

139. It is obvious that the Government of South Africa considers the oppressed majority to be inferior; that they should live less comfortably and be denied the wealth, rights and privileges that have been earned more often than not by the sweat and toil of those oppressed South Africans.

140. The ghettos of Soweto are an affront to the dignity of man and an indictment of the callous, degrading and inhumane policies of the South African Government. Persistent failure to deal effectively with this abhorrent offence to mankind is likely to have an horrendous outcome for both the white and non-white populations of South Africa.

141. We believe that racism, along with the arms race, is one of the most serious threats to peace and stability in the world today. As the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Mr. Michael Somare, said in his address to this Assembly on 13 October 1983:

“Racism and *apartheid* are by their very nature inconsistent with any concept of lasting . . . order. They offend the principles on which societies like mine are founded. Practitioners of racism and *apartheid* deserve not only condemnation but isolation. The opponents of racism deserve our strong, continual support.” [31st meeting, para. 38.]

142. Papua New Guinea also notes that, despite many pleas, the South African Government remains steadfast

in its determination that the oppressed majority be held back and prevented from seeking the freedoms and fulfilment that are the right of every human being.

143. My delegation is concerned at the contradictory stance that many Members of the United Nations have taken on this issue. On the one hand, some nations, both developed and developing, endorse the view that *apartheid* is barbaric and has no place in the world; yet, those same nations lend considerable support to the Government of South Africa through active socio-economic, cultural and political relations.

144. If the international community is seriously opposed to *apartheid* it should take positive steps designed to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to abolish *apartheid*. We believe that properly enforced trade embargoes and other such policies would eventually make South Africa relent and adopt a more humane attitude towards its black people. Papua New Guinea for its part has severed all relations with the racist régime of South Africa. We therefore have no trade or sporting links with that country.

145. My Government is convinced that if there is a high sense of moral conviction at the individual level among States Members of this body then, presumably, Governments can be made to think otherwise about the inhumane practice of *apartheid* perpetuated by the racist régime in Pretoria.

146. However, it is gratifying to note that the international community agrees that *apartheid* is the worst crime against humanity. Papua New Guinea looks to the day when *apartheid* is completely wiped off the face of the earth.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1803rd meeting, para. 79.*

<sup>3</sup>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

<sup>4</sup>Richard P. Stevens, *Weizmann and Smuts: A Study in Zionist-South African Co-operation* (Beruit, The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975).

<sup>5</sup>Pierre L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1965).