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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Renzako (Rwanda),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 32 (continued)

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

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/36/719)**

1. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): The judgement of peoples concerning the policies of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa is unanimous: as long as those policies and all other forms of racial discrimination are not completely liquidated in South Africa, human rights and dignity are bound to be grossly violated and international peace and security continuously jeopardized. United Nations instruments pertaining to the policy of the South African racist régime are unequivocal: the *apartheid* régime has repeatedly been condemned as an aggressor, its policy of exploitation and terror denounced as a crime against humanity.

2. Any assistance rendered to the régime, be it political, military, economic or financial, constitutes a contribution towards the crime of *apartheid* and calls for international proscription.

3. Resistance to the *apartheid* régime and the armed struggle for its elimination are only too justified. They deserve the solidarity and support of all peace-loving mankind.

4. Despite those clear statements repeatedly reaffirmed in resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and documents of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Fascist régime in Pretoria is escalating its policies of *apartheid*, aggression and terrorism. No week passes without the South African racists trampling international law underfoot in order to achieve their

hegemonistic goals. The main target of their criminal actions has been and still is the People's Republic of Angola. From the territory of illegally occupied Namibia they have increased their attacks on that sovereign African State and expanded them into a large-scale expedition. Whole districts have been devastated. Many people have been murdered. The material damage caused has been enormous.

5. The Government and the people of the German Democratic Republic, like the majority of Member States, strongly reject South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. It cannot be overlooked that by such hostilities South Africa not only intends to weaken and destabilize the people's power in Angola but also wants to create new facts in order to undermine the implementation of resolutions of the Security Council concerning the question of Namibia.

6. Other African States, too, have become the object of South African terrorism. Starting with Namibia, mercenaries of the racist régime are infiltrating Zambia, perpetrating aggressive acts against it. Zimbabwe is exposed to a policy of threats and blackmail. In Mozambique South African refugees fall victim to Pretoria's murder squads. Subversive acts such as the shelling of industrial plants by South African artillery, are committed against Lesotho. With good reason Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, has declared that Pretoria does everything to bring the independent States in southern Africa to heel and to create chaos.

7. The most recent example of this is the attempt at an armed invasion of the Republic of Seychelles directed against its sovereignty and the process of development on which that young State has embarked. It is no accident that mercenary action coincides with similar designs of reactionary forces directed against independent States in the Caribbean. Such designs, like those in Seychelles, are doomed to failure.

8. The terrorism of the *apartheid* régime is reflected not least in the brutal suppression of the majority of the people in South Africa itself. Any resistance is stifled by brutal force. With the highest number of death sentences carried out—almost exclusively of black and Coloured persons—and the maximum number of political prisoners compared with the number of inhabitants, the *apartheid* State holds inglorious records.

9. Through the comprehensive collaboration of international monopoly capital the racists are enabled to maintain a system which deprives millions of people of their elementary rights. It is a system which, with its very modern war machinery equipped with North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] weapons, is kept alive by oil supplies from the transnational corporations and credits from Western banks, and is increasingly jeopardizing international peace and security. Thus, the report of the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa states

that "As a result of the continued military and nuclear collaboration by several Western and other States . . . South Africa's programme of military expansion and nuclear development has further advanced." From Notes and Documents 15/1981, it follows that in the course of nine years—that is, from 1972 to 1980—banks of Western countries pumped \$7,000 million into the economy of the *apartheid* State, out of which \$854 million were credits. The imperialist monopolies are at the same time the main source of the supply of technology to the *apartheid* régime. Via subsidiaries and directly from the headquarters of Western countries they are delivering weapons and military equipment to the South African State of suppression and aggression, thus circumventing and violating the mandatory arms embargo adopted by the Security Council.

10. In the capitalist part of the world South Africa has become the second biggest exporter of uranium. According to a statement by the Minister of Mining and Energy of that State, South Africa is even producing today on its own up to 45 per cent of the total amount of enriched uranium. The *apartheid* régime is working feverishly on the implementation of its nuclear plans. It is a matter of the highest priority to make a strong demand for the cessation of any collaboration with that régime, especially in the nuclear field, so as to eliminate the great danger threatening Africa and all other regions of the world.

11. Anyone who supports the crimes committed by the *apartheid* régime, whether by economic, financial or military means, need not feign indignation, deny facts or even threaten to make counteraction if he is condemned by the international community. It is not the position of the majority of States—a position characterized by humanism and international responsibility—that must be called in question, but rather the policy of the collaborators, which is contradictory to the interests of the African people.

12. The blame for the fact that the imposition of comprehensive and effective sanctions against South Africa has been prevented so far has to be placed on those who, while rejecting the policy of *apartheid* with high-sounding phrases, do not take the appropriate measures for its elimination. Fresh evidence of this position was provided by the veto of the Western States permanent members of the Security Council in April this year.² Therefore, it is all the more necessary to strengthen the broad front of those opposing the policy of *apartheid* so as to mobilize ever more people and to co-ordinate their actions.

13. In this context, the mass media and the non-governmental organizations have a role to play that must not be underestimated. The German Democratic Republic feels deeply committed to the recommendations contained in the Berlin Declaration of the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid* [see A/36/496], which appealed to peoples and Governments to support the legitimate struggle of the South African people and its national liberation movement to expose the crimes committed by the *apartheid* régime and its accomplices; to advocate effective and comprehensive sanctions against that régime; and to contribute to the international isolation of the *apartheid* régime.

14. The German Democratic Republic shares the concern of all peoples about the aggravation of the situation in southern Africa threatening international peace. Pretoria is encouraged by the very same forces which defame the peoples' liberation struggle by calling it terrorism and

thus try to justify the acts of aggression launched by the racists. The campaign to slander socialist Cuba serves the same end. It is the same forces that choose the course of confrontation and super-armament, declare whole regions of the world to be their "spheres of national interest" and call the *apartheid* régime a "friendly power". Also alarming are the endeavours of imperialist circles to turn South Africa into the centre of a new military pact in the South Atlantic. That course is primarily directed against the vital interests of the peoples in southern Africa.

15. It is high time to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and racism, as well as *apartheid*, and to end all neo-colonialist machinations. The peoples in southern Africa are becoming ever more aware of their strength. Evidence of this is the ever-increasing actions of the South African patriots fighting against the hateful policy pursued by the *apartheid* régime. It is the obligation of all people of goodwill to support that struggle. The German Democratic Republic is and remains a reliable ally of the people of South Africa in its just struggle, headed by the African National Congress [ANC] for almost 70 years.

16. The imposition of sanctions against the régime in South Africa is an appropriate means to put an end to the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and to contribute to the final triumph of peace and freedom in South Africa. The German Democratic Republic will continue to advocate the imposition of such mandatory sanctions. My delegation welcomes the intention to declare 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

17. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): The *apartheid* régime in Pretoria has often claimed to constitute an exposed bastion of Western civilization on a troubled continent of less-developed and unfriendly black countries, easy preys for outside influence. This claim has been put forward as a rationale for advocating various ideas about strategic alliances around the world in which a *status quo* South Africa would constitute an important and stable element. Critics of *apartheid* inside and outside South Africa, representing democratic movements, media and countries, have been referred to as "decadent". Opponents of *apartheid* in the South African press were recently characterized by a member of the South African Government as "negative, destructive and anarchistic". He threatened that steps would be taken against the press if it did not put its house in order.

18. As a matter of fact, "order" means here exactly the opposite to what characterizes Western democratic civilization. It means a system which violates the very idea of a democracy itself. The bastion South Africa constitutes on its continent is not a bastion of democracy. The bastion of *apartheid* is a bastion of shame. The human degradation in which the majority of the country's population has to live is surpassed only by the human and moral degradation of the régime itself.

19. As for the pretension to stability, the systematic repression by a racist minority can only create increasing tension, expressing itself in occasional outbursts which eventually may trigger a cycle of uncontrollable and dire developments for the peoples of South Africa, of the region and of the world. There will never be peace in and around the *apartheid* society. To ensure social and racial harmony in South Africa itself, and normal relations with its majority-governed and independent neighbours the *apartheid* society must be scrapped, from its foundations.

20. During the past year the conflict in Namibia has, for good reason, demanded considerable attention from the Organization. South Africa's acts of armed aggression against its neighbours, in particular Angola have been presented by the Pretoria régime, with some propagandistic success, as a consequence of the situation in Namibia, whose population it claims to protect by defensive actions. But attempts to cloud the issues will not make us forget the real context of the conflict in southern Africa today.

21. The root of the conflict is nothing other than the *apartheid* system of South Africa, which casts its towering shadow not only over the majority of its own population but also over its less well armed and equipped neighbours. South Africa's operations in Angola have been called a "secret war" by the information media. Few facts are reported about them. But we must not let this war go unnoticed just because the pattern of aggression has become so familiar. Let us be explicit about it: there would be no illegal occupation of Namibia, nor would there be a war in Angola were it not for the *apartheid* system in South Africa itself. The *apartheid* régime is increasingly at war, internally and externally, because it has built up a system which constantly violates the most fundamental human rights as well as the laws of international behaviour.

22. During the past year, instead of bringing forth reforms, the *apartheid* régime has further escalated its repression. The sad record comprises new death sentences for political activists, the detention under the suppressive security laws of hundreds of people, including journalists and student and trade union leaders, and alarming reports of unfair trials and the torture of detainees. One of the most spectacular expressions of human degradation of the *apartheid* régime is the regular practice of evicting black working people by force from so-called squatter camps. Another recent event, the murder of Mr. Griffith Mxenge, testifies once again to the brutality and desperation of those defending *apartheid*. The kind of statistics that confront me as Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa are exemplified by the report of the South African commissioner for prisons which showed that as many as 67,000 people were given gaol sentences last year, an abominable figure by international standards. Also, the extensive use of capital punishment in South Africa can hardly be seen as a practice characterizing a civilized society of our time. At this moment, six members of ANC are facing death sentences under the laws of *apartheid*. It has been sadly noted that in South Africa every black person is a prisoner, or about to become a prisoner, under the laws of the *apartheid* system.

23. It becomes increasingly clear that both the ruling minority and the suppressed majority are now at an important crossroads. For the whites the choice is to accept either fundamental change or increasing tension and violence. At the same time, events that have taken place within South Africa during the year indicate that important sections of the majority increasingly see little alternative to armed action to achieve fundamental change. This trend will undoubtedly be strengthened if the Government does not embark on the total dismantling of the system, and to that end start a dialogue with the real leaders of the majority. My country has repeatedly appealed for the release of Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned majority leaders, who would have an important contribution to make to the transition of South Africa to a democratic society in which all the people of the country,

irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, would enjoy equal and full human rights and fundamental freedoms, including participation in the determination of their own destiny.

24. What can the outside world do to contribute to the efforts to abolish *apartheid*? What is necessary is to put strong international political, diplomatic, moral and economic pressure on the régime in South Africa. Much effort in this direction has been put in over the years by countries, collectively and unilaterally, by organizations and by individuals. But the fact remains that the Security Council and the leading Western Powers have a decisive role to play in this regard. They must take the lead in putting that pressure on South Africa which may bring about the necessary change by peaceful means while such an option still exists.

25. My Government believes that in order to become effective sanctions must be decided on by the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Sweden has repeatedly supported the General Assembly in requesting the Security Council to consider such measures on a comprehensive scale. In 1976 Sweden introduced a draft resolution in the General Assembly³ the text of which has since become traditional, urging the Security Council to consider effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

26. Moreover, Sweden has also taken a series of measures outside the framework of the United Nations, both unilaterally and on the basis of the Joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa adopted in 1978. I should like to mention especially the law on prohibition of investments in South Africa and Namibia, passed by our Parliament in 1979. That law is now being reviewed in the light of its effects up to the present and of possible practicable supplementary measures, in the area, for instance, of the transfer of technology. It is encouraging that a number of countries are today taking unilateral measures of various kinds adapted to their own specific circumstances and possibilities. This drive for ever increasing international pressure against *apartheid* must and will continue.

27. Humanitarian assistance to the victims of the South African policy and to the liberation movements in southern Africa is an essential part of the measures we have taken in the struggle to eliminate *apartheid* or to limit the damage it causes. My Government also assists the front-line States in their efforts to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and their vulnerability in the event that international sanctions against South Africa should be adopted. The Swedish assistance for these different purposes has continued to increase through the years. In the present fiscal year it amounts to more than 1 billion Swedish kronor—about \$200 million—of which 960 million kronor are provided to the front-line States and 120 million to the liberation movements and the victims of *apartheid*. It is our hope that other States will also increase their assistance for these various purposes.

28. As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I should like here to underline the importance of international solidarity in alleviating the plight of the victims of *apartheid*. As is demonstrated in the present report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the General Assembly [see A/36/22 and Corr.1], a large number of States are contributing to various programmes established for such pur-

poses. In the draft resolution concerning the Trust Fund we shall appeal for increased generous contributions to the Fund and to the programmes of various voluntary agencies engaged in assisting the victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and Namibia. Our appeal is directed especially to those countries which have contributed to the Fund in recent years but are now considering reducing or withdrawing their contributions for financial reasons. As we see it, humanitarian support of the Fund means a clear refusal to accept the *apartheid* system and is an expression of compassion for its victims.

29. The Freedom Charter of South Africa adopted in 1955 by ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization and the Congress of Democrats—that is, by an assembly comprising all races—states that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.”⁴ The realization of this ideal would mean the establishment of true democracy in South Africa in place of the present system of degradation. My country is determined to make its contribution to the broad national and international efforts to achieve that goal.

30. Mr. FLITAN (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Recent developments in southern Africa, one of the areas of the most acute tension in the world, have once again brought out the complexity as well as the gravity of the problem that we are debating.

31. The hateful policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the Pretoria régime constitutes an anachronism, in complete contradiction to the realities of the African continent and of the world in which we live, and has repeatedly been denounced by the United States.

32. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* introduced by the representative of Nigeria, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Maitama-Sule, has once again confirmed the intolerable, unique situation which the international community is facing as a result of the policy of *apartheid* and practices of racial discrimination, considered quite rightly to be a crime against humanity and a particularly serious threat to international peace and security. The report once again denounces the repression and crimes perpetrated against the majority African population and the Namibian people, as well as the repeated infringements of peace and acts of aggression committed against independent African States in southern Africa.

33. For the United Nations and world public opinion the *apartheid* policy of the racist régime of Pretoria has long since become the symbol of injustice, inequity and legislative oppression, the salient features of which are, among other things, the flagrantly unequal distribution of the national wealth between the white and the majority populations and the brutal violation, in the most degrading ways, of elementary human rights.

34. As part of the efforts it exerts to promote one of its noble objectives, that of ensuring respect for human rights and the freedom and independence of all peoples, the United Nations has shown increasing concern about the grave situation that prevails in that part of the world. Strong condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* has been accompanied by measures aimed at stepping up efforts to abolish this obsolete system based on the most debasing forms of racial oppression and exploitation. The United Nations has exerted every effort to give increased assistance to the majority African population and to its lib-

eration movement in their legitimate struggle for national emancipation.

35. Despite the acts of repression by the racist régime of Pretoria, opposition to the policy of *apartheid* has grown constantly. The struggle of the majority African population, which is ever more strongly demanding a change in the system imposed by the racists, has gained a new impetus. Acts of protest have spread among the various sectors of the majority African population and have found a far from negligible echo within the white community. The forms and modalities of organized struggle conducted by the majority African population have multiplied and diversified. Feeling itself ever more vulnerable, the racist South African Government, despairing of success in the face of the intensified struggle for equality and social justice, has become increasingly brutal and inhuman, multiplying its acts of aggression against opponents of the régime and flinging many patriots into prison.

36. The situation in southern Africa has been further aggravated by South Africa's manoeuvres to prolong at all costs its colonial sway over Namibia and to impose upon the country's internal structure a solution totally contrary to the will of the Namibian people and the requirements of the United Nations, with the obvious aim of continuing its exploitation of that people and Namibia's natural resources.

37. The external corollary of the policy of *apartheid* is constituted not only by the maintenance of the state of occupation of Namibia, but also by the policy of aggression and subversion against independent African States through insidious acts of destabilization of those countries and the implementation of a programme of nuclear armament for purposes of expansion and domination.

38. That policy of contempt for the most elementary norms of international law has found expression in many acts of aggression against neighbouring countries recently taking the form of large-scale military operations against Angola which gravely endangered international peace and security and have been vehemently condemned by the Romanian Government and the overwhelming majority of Member States. Such acts are a brutal expression of the policy of the violation of the norms and principles of international law, a defiant persistence in acts of provocation against independent sovereign African States and a challenge to the United Nations and its resolutions with regard to South Africa. All these factors considerably aggravate the situation in southern Africa and add further elements of tension in the area and in international life in general.

39. The fact that the Security Council once again failed to adopt the measures called for against those acts of premeditated aggression by South Africa against Angola has given rise to deep bitterness.

40. The continuation of the policies and practices we have described demonstrates that the General Assembly is facing a particularly grave and complex problem, which cannot be approached through simple appeals to reason addressed to the South African Government.

41. The establishment of international relations based on equality and respect for the fundamental rights of peoples requires that the United Nations take in future more resolute and more effective action to assist the population that is being subjugated and oppressed by the racist régime. The effectiveness of our actions ultimately depends on the

adoption and implementation of measures that could serve, as well as possible, to fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the majority population of South Africa to live according to its own will, in freedom and dignity.

42. At the same time, those measures must hasten the exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence; they must put an end to the acts of aggression and subversion perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring independent States and must lead to the final liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and racism, to the elimination of the sources of tension and conflict on the African continent.

43. We believe that in order to achieve that, it is particularly important to increase and strengthen political, diplomatic and economic action against the promoters of the policy of *apartheid* and to ensure the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

44. As we have had occasion to stress repeatedly, in the Security Council and elsewhere, Romania favours the application without delay against the South African régime of firm measures in accordance with the Charter, and supports the proposals of African and other States to apply to South Africa the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. My country took an active part in the work of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May this year which provided a good opportunity to rally public opinion in favour of the application of economic and other sanctions against the illegal Pretoria authorities.

45. Certainly, the implementation of firm measures requires that all Member States show their political will and act in a concerted fashion against the odious policy of *apartheid*. It is particularly necessary that the countries which conduct a policy of collaboration with the Government of Pretoria and, by so doing, in one way or another encourage the perpetuation of the practices and policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, cease all relations with that régime and associate themselves with international action against South Africa.

46. Romania, deeply committed to the ideals of national and social justice, has accorded and continues to accord resolute support to the struggle of the countries and peoples of Africa to abolish all imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. We support their efforts individually and in the framework of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], to consolidate their independence and their national sovereignty and to eliminate underdevelopment.

47. Romania's feelings of militant solidarity with the struggle for freedom of the African peoples, for the realization of their sacred right to be the true masters of their own destiny, have been firmly expressed by the President of Romania at frequent meetings he has held with heads of State and Government and with the leaders of the national liberation movements of Africa. These have been occasions to reaffirm Romania's position of consistent support for the struggle of peoples against imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, to assert their right to a free and dignified existence.

48. As was stressed by President Ceaușescu during the recent visit to Bucharest by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe:

"Romania resolutely condemns the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* of the minority régime of Pretoria, its armed attacks against Angola, its hostile acts against the Republic of Zimbabwe and other independent States of the area, and vigorously demands that an end be put to all aggressive actions by South Africa, which are likely to endanger the peace and security of the African continent."

49. Strictly complying with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the policy of *apartheid* of the racist South African régime and actively working for their implementation, socialist Romania lends all its support to the struggle for the abolition of the policy of *apartheid* and of racial discrimination. At the same time, we express our full solidarity with the Namibian people who, under the leadership of their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], are struggling against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and for their right to free, independent and sovereign development. We are firmly resolved to act both within the United Nations and in other international forums in concert with other Member States to agree on the adoption of effective and practical measures in order to support as fully as possible the struggle waged by the majority African population against the policy of *apartheid* and all other forms of racial discrimination, which constitute a challenge to all mankind.

50. The racist authorities of Pretoria will not be able to survive even if they supply their policy of bantustanization, by which they are trying to deceive the world into believing that these are "independent States". We are confident that by our common action we can contribute to hastening the time when the cause of the freedom of peoples and human dignity will triumph throughout the African continent, in the interest of peace and security in the entire world.

51. Mr. BLUM (Israel): As members of the Assembly well know, Israel has always opposed racism and racial discrimination, including *apartheid*. As a direct result of our heritage and national experiences, Israel and the Jewish people abhor racism and racial discrimination in any shape or form. For over 3,000 years, the Jewish people's concept of mankind has always been that of a unit deriving its character and essential dignity from a common origin and a common destiny—the destiny of man, made in the image of God.

52. For those with eyes to see and with ears to hear, the Jewish people and the State of Israel have been in the vanguard of every struggle against the evil of racism in all its manifestations. It could not be otherwise, for our own national identity was forged in the crucible of persecution. Our people were herded for hundreds of years into special quarters, called ghettos, in Europe and elsewhere. For reasons of bigotry, religious and otherwise, we were subjected to unspeakable cruelty, to humiliating and discriminatory edicts, to vicious pogroms and to a painful succession of expulsions. Within the memory of many in this Assembly Hall, the Jewish people were victims of the ultimate expression of racism and racial discrimination, the maniacal and methodical massacre of 6 million Jews whose only crime was to have been born Jewish.

53. I speak, therefore, from deep moral conviction, as well as from bitter experience, when I declare once again before the Assembly that Israel will give bigotry no sanctions, persecution no quarter.

54. The facts notwithstanding, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has once again made my country the object of spurious and malicious accusations. As usual, these accusations are so wild and so ill-founded that they can only expose the Committee to further ridicule and contempt. Through a cynical exercise in hypocrisy, the Committee summarily dismisses the facts as petty irrelevancies and inconveniences which interfere with certain countries' plans to exploit this issue to besmirch Israel. No other conclusion can be drawn from the so-called special report of the Special Committee, ominously entitled "Recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa" [A/36/22/Add.1].

55. In its opening paragraph this scurrilous special report reaches its conclusions even before it has presented its untenable case. Just as in previous years, the so-called special report contends in an unpersuasive manner that there is "Continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa . . . [which] has become systematic and covers a wide range of political, military, nuclear, economic and cultural relations". Yet nowhere in that so-called report does there exist even a shred of solid evidence for such sweeping and absolutely groundless charges.

56. The report purports to substantiate its arbitrary assertions with largely irrelevant information and second-hand speculations almost exclusively based on newspaper articles, in which the authors seem to have blind faith. For instance, let us take the allegations about economic collaboration with South Africa. Assuming for the sake of argument the accuracy of the figures contained in paragraph 22 of the so-called special report, and comparing them with South Africa's total international trade, as reported by IMF, Israel's trade with South Africa for the first nine months of 1980 amounts to less than half of 1 per cent of all of South Africa's trade with the world—I repeat, less than one half of 1 per cent.

57. What, may I ask, has happened to the other 99.5 per cent of South Africa's trade? Only the lowest of political motives can explain singling out Israel for special treatment because of its trade with South Africa. The only thing special about it, if I may say so, is that it pales into insignificance in comparison with South Africa's trade with its other trading partners, which account for the remaining 99.5 per cent, deemed unworthy of a special report.

58. If the aim of the debate on *apartheid* is to compile a compendium of trade transactions with South Africa, then let us have such a compendium. Few countries would be absent from the list. Israel would take a minor place even by comparison with those most vocal in their condemnation of *apartheid*, including some States represented on the Special Committee. The fact is that 46 out of 52 member States of the OAU have commercial relations with South Africa. Interestingly enough, their trade with South Africa went up by 39 per cent between 1978 and 1979. And how many Arab countries continue to trade billions of dollars worth of their oil against gold, diamonds, foodstuffs and building materials from South Africa? And what about Europe? Yet the special report shrouds all these relevant data in silence and zeroes in on Israel. How convenient!

59. One of the more sensational parts of the report is on the alleged nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa, but anybody bothering to read the paragraphs in question can see that the authors have been unable to

come up with anything. In order to try to cover up the report's inadequacies, at one point in the treatment of this matter the authors refer their readers to a United Nations document. Anyone bothering to check out this reference will find that it, too, is "substantiated" by journalistic speculation.

60. Among its 35 paragraphs not once—not even once—did the Committee see fit to mention any statement by an Israeli official concerning the matters at hand. There is not even a single mention of the letters and notes which have been sent over the last years by the Permanent Mission of Israel in response to inquiries of appropriate organs of the United Nations. Are there no limits to the Committee's eclecticism?

61. The clear and consistent position and practice of Israel was stated in a note verbale of 4 September 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Vice-Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977). In that note, it was stated that Israel "will comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and accordingly Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or related material of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment".⁵ This position has been reaffirmed in notes verbales since then. All that however, was irrelevant to the Special Committee and was not deemed fit to mention in its so-called special report.

62. The Special Committee tried to justify its reason for submitting this essentially non-report to the General Assembly by citing the resolution adopted by the Assembly at the thirty-fifth session which instructs the Committee to keep the matter under constant review and to report to the Assembly and the Security Council "as appropriate"—I stress, as appropriate. Well, if this whitewash which passes for a special report of the Special Committee has been deemed appropriate by its members, it is indeed a sad reflection on the Committee's dedication and discretion regarding its *raison d'être*, namely, fighting *apartheid*.

63. If the Committee were serious about its work, it would have reported that there is no evidence of anything special in Israel's relations with South Africa which makes Israel any different from most Members of the Organization. In the light of this, the Committee should have informed the Assembly that it was not appropriate to submit a special report—and that should have been the end of the matter.

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

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

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

67. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the very first sessions of the General Assembly, we have been discussing South Africa's policy of *apartheid*. Although there has been unanimous international condemnation of this racist policy, *apartheid* is still practised in South Africa. The judgement of future generations on us will be harsh when they read of the thousands of victims—including old men, women and children—of this inhumane policy, and learn of our failure for more than a quarter of a century to eliminate this despicable practice.

68. The Pretoria régime has committed innumerable crimes. The Egyptian delegation draws the Assembly's attention to the discussion at the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa held in London from 29 June to 3 July this year. Human rights violations in South Africa were discussed at the meeting, and many innocent victims of *apartheid* gave evidence.

69. The situation in southern Africa is deteriorating more and more because the Pretoria régime is now intensifying its efforts to maintain its racist domination by pursuing a policy of aggression, repression and persecution, and by completely flouting the will of the international community and continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia.

70. All these policies are in open violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As a result of those policies, the situation in southern Africa is fraught with the danger of bloody explosions. International peace and security are threatened. The best evidence of this is South Africa's aggression against the front-line countries, particularly Angola.

71. The Pretoria racist régime has completely disregarded the resolutions of the United Nations. In order to delude the world public, it proclaims that it is making changes in the policy of *apartheid*. But these are not real changes and they are an insult to the intelligence. We reject them, particularly when the racist régime is obstinately pursuing its inhuman policy and is accelerating its plan to dismember South Africa by establishing bantustans in order to deprive the indigenous population of its most fundamental rights. For example, there is the current implementation by the Pretoria régime of its plan to declare the so-called independence of Ciskei on 4 December, despite the universal condemnation of the policy of bantustanization.

72. It is now clear that the Security Council must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the Charter. The international will to impose such sanctions has been expressed, as we know, in many resolutions adopted by international and regional organizations. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, confirmed the international community's view that sanctions are imperative. We regret that some countries did not take part in that Conference, although they have tremendous possibilities of making sanctions effective. The Paris Conference stressed the measures that States must take to increase the effectiveness of the isolation of the South African régime.

73. When the Assembly was considering the question of Namibia I said, at the 66th meeting that approval by States of recommendations imposing sanctions gave them a binding character since it must be regarded as a legal international act. The fact that countries did not approve sanctions, expressed reservations about them or abstained during the voting means that the Security Council must adopt resolutions imposing mandatory sanctions to compel those countries to join the majority of the international community in imposing sanctions to ensure that South Africa abandons the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and complies with the will of the international community by granting true independence to Namibia.

74. Sanctions are the only practical and peaceful way of demonstrating solidarity with the people of the African continent and giving real meaning to the rhetorical declaration in support of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. We wish to emphasize that so far only six countries, including Egypt, have replied to the Secretary-General's letter to Member States on 21 September 1981 calling on them to communicate to him the measures they have taken with regard to the imposition of sanctions.

75. Some countries have put forward arguments explaining why they have not adopted legislative or administrative measures against their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction owning or administering corporations in South Africa. One of those reasons is the separation of the Government and the corporations; they also state that foreign capital is not responsible for the situation which prevails or will prevail in southern Africa and that capital has no influence over South African policy and that the activities of transnational corporations are playing a role in raising the living conditions of the black population and are a means of effecting gradual change in the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria Government.

76. These are theoretical arguments based on false ideas that have been rejected in various studies and at various symposiums, including the one organized from 29 June to 3 July this year by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in co-operation with the Commission on Human Rights, to study effective ways of preventing co-operation between transnational corporations and South Africa.

77. We should like here to draw attention to the study published last August by the Centre against *Apartheid* on the role of transnational corporations with regard to the policy of *apartheid*. We can sum up the conclusions arrived at by that symposium and the study as follows: there is unanimous agreement that the policy of *apartheid* could not have survived without the support of transna-

tional corporations. It is not logical for us to expect that those corporations will work for the elimination of the policy of *apartheid*, for they have chosen to carry out their activities in South Africa for various reasons, including the existence of the policy of *apartheid*, which provides tremendous profits for them since they benefit from cheap labour. In this respect the Egyptian delegation wishes to emphasize what was said by the Secretary-General of the Party in power in France at the time of the Paris Conference: "Conservative forces claim that economic development would lead to the gradual elimination of the *apartheid* régime. But history has shown us that that is not the case."*

78. From what I have said it can be seen how important it is to put into practice what has already been proposed by the General Assembly—that is, to mobilize at the international level opposition to *apartheid*. In this respect we should like to emphasize the recommendations of the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid*, held from 31 August to 2 September this year in Berlin [see A/36/496]. It is obvious that the concentration must be on the countries collaborating with the Pretoria régime. This international mobilization must be aimed at parliaments, political parties, trade unions, religious institutions and organizations of students, youth and women, so that they urge their political leaders to sever their relations with the racist régime and ensure its complete isolation to force it to abandon its policy.

79. We should like to reaffirm our commitment to support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, under the leadership of their national liberation movements. We shall continue to provide all possible material and moral assistance until that most despicable policy is completely eradicated, power is transferred to the black majority and Namibia gains true independence.

80. In conclusion, I wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Maitama-Sule, representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his efforts aimed at putting an end to this criminal policy. We also wish to express our appreciation to the members of that Committee for their continued efforts in co-ordinating the action of Member States and movements against *apartheid* in order to put an end to this crime against the human conscience and the dignity of man.

81. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): In recent years the national liberation movements have continued to grow, dealing more and heavier blows against the anachronistic system of colonial domination. This successful development of the liberation struggle of peoples and the growing support for their just cause on the part of the international community lead us to the conviction that the day is not far off when the last remnants of the shameful system of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* will be wiped off the face of the earth once and for all.

82. The elimination of the inhuman policy and practice of *apartheid* has been and remains one of the most important tasks of the United Nations. The international community has frequently taken decisions strongly condemning the policies and practices of *apartheid* and calling for their elimination. But the Pretoria racist régime, completely disregarding the decisions taken by the United Nations and the demands of the world community, continues

to violate the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the non-white populations of South Africa and to practise and intensify the policy of *apartheid*, which has been condemned throughout the world as a crime against humanity. Ruthless exploitation, persecution, repression, wanton shootings—that is what the rule of the white minority means to the indigenous population of southern Africa.

83. It is not surprising that in that citadel of racism and racial discrimination there is growing opposition to the policy of terrorism and repression. The events in Soweto and the subsequent mass demonstrations by the indigenous population bear witness to the fact that increasingly broad sectors of the people are showing that they will not tolerate the policy and practice of *apartheid* and that they are firmly resolved to struggle by all possible means for their inalienable rights.

84. The growing struggle of the South African people and the increasing condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* throughout the world are forcing the racists to resort to all kinds of tricks and manoeuvres to preserve their domination. They have proclaimed so-called reforms and they are granting so-called independence to separate bantustans. But this cannot mislead the world community or conceal the true nature of the policy of bantustanization.

85. The Mongolian delegation condemns the intended declaration on 4 December this year of the so-called independence of the bantustan of Ciskei as a standard manoeuvre of the racist régime of Pretoria. There is no doubt that all these actions by the South African racists are intended to preserve and, indeed, to consolidate the *apartheid* régime.

86. The existence of this racist régime of Pretoria is a clear source of tension in southern Africa and indeed creates a serious threat to international peace and security also. The South African authorities are building up their military potential now. As is indicated in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the military budget of the racist régime rose from .36 million rand in 1959-1960 to 2,465 million rand this year. Where does all this money go? It is not difficult to answer that question. As was reported in *The New York Times* of 13 August 1981: "The South African Government today increased its military spending by 40 per cent in 1981-1982 to counter what it described as external threats."*

87. What this money is used for is to crush the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and of South Africa, to carry out active armed aggression and subversive activities against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other front-line States and to establish South Africa's own nuclear potential.

88. It should be emphasized once again that the main obstacle to carrying out the relevant decisions of the United Nations, to applying comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and to ensuring recognition of the legitimate rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence is the policy of encouraging the racist régime of South Africa pursued by the United States and other Western countries. It is thanks to the economic, financial and military assistance and support given by a number of Western countries and the activities of a broad network of their transnational corporations that the Pretoria racist ré-

* Quoted in French by the speaker.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

gime has survived to date. Those States not only are blocking United Nations efforts to isolate the *apartheid* régime, but are even expanding their co-operation with Pretoria in a number of areas. The new United States administration has openly proclaimed its policy of developing close relations with South Africa and establishing a strategic alliance with it. This policy is reflected in practical actions designed to ensure and actually establish a new military alliance, a South Atlantic alliance. The expansion of co-operation between a number of Western countries and Israel with Pretoria in the military and nuclear fields is a matter of serious concern. It is in violation of the well-known United Nations decision on an arms embargo against the racist régime.

89. In talking about the *apartheid* policies of South Africa, we must pay due tribute to the important contribution made to the final liberation of that area by SWAPO and ANC, the recognized leaders of the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. On behalf of the Mongolian delegation I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate ANC most warmly on its seventieth anniversary and to wish it all success in its struggle against *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination. I should also like to pay a tribute here to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the tremendous amount of work it has done in mobilizing international efforts in support of sanctions against racist South Africa. My delegation fully supports the decisions adopted by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. In our view, proclaiming 1982 the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa is extremely important and deserves all-round support from the United Nations.

90. The growing aggressiveness and terrorism of South African policies recently reflected in its attempts to destabilize the progressive régime in the Seychelles requires us to take effective measures urgently now, above all the introduction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Accordingly we join in the appeal made to the United States and other Western Powers to stop their obstructionist policy and to comply with the demands of the international community for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria racist régime. It is essential that all the Members of the United Nations without exception should comply with the embargo on the delivery of weapons and military ammunition, and that they should put an end to all their collusion with the South African racists.

91. The Mongolian People's Republic will in the future remain true to the cause of national and social liberation and will continue to stand side by side with the just struggle of the peoples of Namibia and of South Africa against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Mongolia agrees with the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the importance of efforts to ensure political, moral and material assistance and support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

92. In conclusion I am sure that at this session the General Assembly, having considered the question of the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa, will adopt the recommendations made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the taking of effective measures against the Pretoria racist régime.

93. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): Jamaica's views on the *apartheid* policies pursued by the racist régime of South Africa have been stated and reaffirmed on many previous

occasions before the General Assembly. We condemn the racist ideology and practice of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and as a threat to international peace and security. Over the past year we have witnessed once again the familiar pattern of events in southern Africa—brutal repression inside South Africa and armed aggression against neighbouring African States carried out by the *apartheid* régime. Delegations which have spoken before me have elaborated on those events and I need not repeat them. It is enough to say that the persistence of that pattern of events confirms that the racist régime of South Africa will stop at nothing to maintain white domination and the virtual enslavement of the black population.

94. We recognize, however, that opposition to the racist régime is assuming more and more significance and that the forces for national liberation continue to gain momentum, causing the régime to become more and more desperate. In order to survive, it has to resort more and more to brute force and terror, not only against opposition in South Africa itself, but also to create conditions of instability in the neighbouring States in the region. Jamaica believes that the international community has a serious responsibility to eliminate this menace to peace and to assist the oppressed people of South Africa. Our efforts must continue to be focused on removing all forms of outside support for the racist régime. It should receive none of the benefits of international contact. It must be totally isolated, as it stands alone and condemns itself by adopting policies and practices which are repugnant to the rest of mankind. Regrettably, the United Nations has not measured up to its responsibility owing to the use of the veto by the Western Powers in the Security Council, which has frustrated all efforts to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the *apartheid* régime.

95. We believe nevertheless that there should be a sustained effort to arouse Governments, organizations and people of conscience to action against *apartheid*. We therefore support the proposal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the designation of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The programme for the year should concentrate on promoting concrete action by Governments to end collaboration with the *apartheid* régime and encouraging wider public action, such as a consumer boycott, a sports boycott, a cultural boycott, and divestment of transnational corporations and financial institutions in South Africa. Jamaica, which long ago prohibited by law any relations with South Africa, remains ready to do its part in this campaign.

96. We have studied the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and are satisfied that the Committee is doing commendable work in guiding the campaign against *apartheid*, and we continue to give it our full support. Clearly, the work of the Committee is assuming new importance in the light of the increasing scope of international action against *apartheid*. We believe it is therefore important for the Committee to have wider participation by Member States in its work. Accordingly, we believe that the Committee should be expanded.

97. Finally, we have studied the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on *Apartheid* in Sports [A/36/36 and Corr.1] and we are satisfied and encouraged by the progress achieved. Jamaica is therefore in agreement that the mandate of the Committee should be renewed to allow it to

complete its important work of preparing a draft convention against *apartheid* in sports.

98. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic): I am compelled to speak on this subject in English because I have not been able to obtain all the documents in Arabic.

99. The establishment of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* 20 years ago included the United Nations determination to monitor and denounce all aspects of the policies of *apartheid*. More important, the decision to set up a Special Committee constituted a breakthrough in the United Nations approach to combating *apartheid*, the most pernicious form of racism. For the first time in contemporary history an international organ was created in order to defy a system violating the elemental tenets of that new world order which the founders of the United Nations sought to establish and preserve. This step accompanied a successful decolonization process.

100. Yet, despite the progress achieved in the field of decolonization, *apartheid* remains a stumbling-block, the ugliest and most inhuman relic of the colonial era. Nor should we forget that long before it was known by this name the practice of *apartheid* had a *de facto* existence, perhaps as early as when the first colonialist set foot on African soil. Protected by his army, the white settler arrived with a master's mentality and, as Fanon put it, a relationship of inequality was immediately established between him and the native. This inequality among human beings made into a system of government, irrespective of the perverted ideology which motivated it, can best be described as internal colonialism. Colonialists have risen and fallen, but the white man of South Africa, descendant of the same European colonial system, has decided to dig in and govern through the institutionalization of the despoliation, exploitation and enslavement of the black masses, all against the logic of history.

101. The principle that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity is reversed, culminating in the system of *apartheid*. What is *apartheid* if not a political, economic and social régime which cannot function without nullifying liberty and equal dignity? Racial segregation is essential for the operation of a régime by which the white minority rules and exploits the vast majority; and the so-called separate development is in fact a philosophy whereby the exploiter recognizes the fruits of labour as accruing only to him, not to the labourer.

102. Yet, no wall of separation exists between the settler colonialists of South Africa and their colonial background and heritage. The umbilical cord between the settler colonialists and their home countries is unsevered, making the Pretoria régime a dependent of and an appendix to the ancestral colonialist mother system which sustains, feeds, and defends it.

103. The current report of the Special Committee contains alarming information, corroborated by facts and figures, regarding the intensification of South Africa's military capabilities and economic growth, mainly thanks to the foster mother's defiance of the will of the international community, so strongly and systematically expressed in United Nations resolutions, conferences and seminars. In particular, five points made in the report require the immediate attention of the General Assembly as well as that of the Security Council.

104. The first point relates to the grave consequences and implications of the escalating progress of the

apartheid régime in the nuclear field, demonstrations of which were recorded in the form of nuclear explosions in the South Atlantic in September 1979 and again in December 1980, both ventures conducted in partnership with Israel, whose strategic alliance with the United States is public knowledge.

105. The second point is that the report draws our attention to a higher qualitative stage of open collaboration between the United States and the Pretoria régime, speaking of the latter hailing the new United States Administration as one more favourable to South Africa and expecting close military co-operation between the two. Visits by South African military and other officials to the United States of America led them, we are told by the report, not only to the riches of the United States death arsenal, but also to the offices of the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. A conclusion to be drawn is that South Africa, Israel and others are concocting a grand design of strategic co-operation to impose United States hegemony on both Africa and the Middle East.

106. The third point is that the escalation of military incursions by Pretoria into neighbouring African States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, is described by the report as an ominous development. The Security Council's paralysis over the large-scale invasion of Angola in August 1981, thanks to the veto of the United States,⁶ constituted a violation of a permanent member's responsibility under the Charter and furthered the protection and encouragement of the racist minority régime. We call upon the United States and other NATO countries to right this wrong, which entails a threat of wider conflict, with grave repercussions on world peace and security.

107. The fourth point is that, despite the numerous United Nations resolutions requesting States, particularly the Western ones, to refrain from economic co-operation and trade with the Pretoria régime and to suspend investments, and despite calls to impose sanctions against South Africa, the report indicates that trade, investments and economic co-operation in all fields, including the flow of technology, have been on the increase. The Special Committee reiterates that this collaboration, along with the increasing role played by the transnational corporations, is an essential cause of the continuation and escalation of South Africa's acts of aggression and oppression, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia.

108. The fifth point is that yet another similar development comes in the form of a flow of white immigrants to South Africa. The number, as the report states, reached 30,000 in 1980 and, according to our estimates, is expected to reach 40,000 in 1981. This new wave of settler colonialists is bound to strengthen the industrial, military and agricultural potential of South Africa. The arrival of every new *colon* deprives the indigenous population of its job opportunities, and perpetuates the shortage of trained black technical and managerial personnel, and skilled and semi-skilled labour, while enhancing South Africa's military capabilities.

109. The Syrian Arab Republic fully endorses the conclusions and recommendations contained in chapter III of the report of the Special Committee [A/36/22 and Corr.1], three of which are essential to the eradication of *apartheid* and should be heeded by all States, particularly the NATO countries. The first such conclusion concerns the urgency of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The second con-

cerns the importance of the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo, particularly since the situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, has become much more explosive since the adoption of that resolution. The third concerns our even greater duty to support by all means available the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements in southern Africa, as the right of those movements to utilize all available means, particularly armed struggle, for liberation has been fully recognized by the international community.

110. The special report entitled "Recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa" [A/36/22/Add.1], is a valuable document since it unmasks the collaboration of the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv. Israel, which has been posing as an island of democracy and claiming to be a source of assistance to certain African countries, is revealed by the report as Pretoria's closest friend and ally. This co-operation, particularly in the nuclear field, between the two settler/colonialist régimes should awaken us to the fact that the security of Africa and the security of the Middle East are threatened by one and the same force, the two racist entities being a territorial extension of Western colonialism and American imperialism, with a common history and similar destinies.

111. Substitute Tel Aviv for Pretoria and substitute the Palestinians for the native Africans; substitute Syria and Lebanon for Mozambique and Angola; and then reread the report before us today. Read it over and you have read the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

112. The ominous objectives of the military and nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa are best illustrated by the following quotation from a United Press International dispatch from Jerusalem, dated 17 August 1981:

"In August 1981, Mr. Jaacov Meridor, Minister of Economic Affairs of Israel, announced that Israel hoped to increase its arms exports as 'proxy arms salesman of the United States, by more than \$2 billion, to politically sensitive areas such as South Africa and Taiwan'. Mr. Meridor said that Israel was going to ask the United States 'not to compete with' Israel; and furthermore, 'Israel will be your [the United States] proxy. And this would be worked out with a certain agreement with the United States where we will have certain markets'. According to Western military publications, Israel's weapons sales totalled \$1.45 billion in 1980 and were expected to total \$2 billion by the end of the current year."

113. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic is totally committed to the struggle for liberation of the peoples of southern Africa and will spare no effort to extend all the necessary support to the people of Azania and of Namibia in their heroic struggle to eradicate the *apartheid* régime once and for all and sever its tentacles wherever they exist. Moreover, we believe that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and therefore those who commit this crime, as well as their accomplices, will be fought, suppressed and punished. We salute the struggle of the trade unions, student movements, women's movements and churches in South Africa, as well as the anti-*apartheid* movements throughout the world. We salute also the efforts of the front-line States to accelerate the liberation

of South Africa by all means available, and we firmly believe that victory is at hand.

114. In conclusion, I should like to express our admiration to Mr. Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his excellent performance in conducting the business of that Committee.

115. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): The question of eradicating the system of racial segregation and discrimination in South Africa—also known as *apartheid*—and of assisting the South African people to establish a non-racist society, has for many years been in the limelight of the United Nations and the international community. Actually, this question has been on the agenda of the General Assembly six times for consideration in plenary meetings. Indeed, it has been high on the agenda, in one form or another, ever since the inception of the United Nations.

116. This fact is quite meaningful. It obliges us to consider why *apartheid*, which is universally acknowledged to be the most abhorrent social phenomenon of our time and a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, continues to exist although it is universally condemned and rejected. This question logically leads to another: can the international community afford further delay in acting to destroy *apartheid* and to enable the people of South Africa, as a whole, to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination?

117. Beyond any doubt, those questions are not easy ones. In order to give a satisfactory answer to them, one has to take into consideration the essence of the problem of *apartheid*, as well as present developments in South Africa.

118. The numerous United Nations documents and resolutions provide an exhaustive and thorough characterization of the *apartheid* phenomenon as a State policy of domination by one race over another in its vilest and most monstrous form. As a result of that policy, over 3 million people in South Africa have been uprooted from their homes and suffered untold misery. The *apartheid* régime has denied the vast majority of the population its right to equal education, health services and other benefits. It has consistently escalated the repression of all those opposed to the system of *apartheid* and has even resorted to the indiscriminate shooting of unarmed men, women and children, to the torture and execution of patriots and to the banning of national organizations of the oppressed people.

119. *Apartheid* in South Africa is, over and beyond that, a system of capitalist exploitation in its most blatant form. Eloquent testimony to that fact is that, whereas the whites in South Africa constitute only about 16 per cent of the entire population, their share in the gross national product totals more than 76 per cent. The ratio between the average incomes of white and black workers in South Africa is 11 to 1, and in Namibia it is even worse, 12 to 1. Although the gross national product in South Africa increased 32.5 per cent in 1980, that has not bettered the lot of the majority of the population. On the contrary, the cost of living for the average black family increased 20 per cent.

120. On the international scale, the system of *apartheid* is accountable for major violations of the norms of international law and decisions of the United Nations. It suffices to recall the case of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and its flouting of all decisions

of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice on this issue.

121. What in reality is the present situation in South Africa? What does the train of events since the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly show? An exhaustive answer is provided by the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which contains an in-depth and objective analysis of the facts. I take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation of the comprehensive and fruitful work of the Special Committee and its Chairman, Mr. Maitama-Sule of Nigeria, in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

122. A careful scrutiny of the report and other relevant documents shows beyond any doubt that during the period under review there is not a single fact that adds any new element to the essence of *apartheid* in all its aspects. This conclusion is especially important since, during the period under review, the racist régime and its advocates have spared no effort to prove that "internal reforms" of the system of *apartheid* are being introduced to make it acceptable to the oppressed people. As the report of the Special Committee rightly points out, those so-called reforms were "intended to preserve the basic system of *apartheid* while making the necessary adjustments in the context of changing economic and political circumstances. Those initiatives, however, have failed to stem the tide for demands for political liberation" [see A/36/22 and Corr.1, annex I, para. 96].

123. The growing resistance to *apartheid* which has encompassed all segments of the oppressed population is evidence of the fact that the black people in South Africa reject all attempts at cosmetic adjustments of the régime. Despite the brutal repression by the racist régime, the organized struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement has gained new momentum. Of special importance is the progress of the armed struggle of the oppressed people, whose legitimacy has been reaffirmed by the General Assembly and by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held last May in Paris. The black people of South Africa have resorted to armed struggle not for its own sake but because they have been prevented from using peaceful forms of resistance to protest against and remedy their desperate plight. Their armed struggle is the ultimate effort to end a shameful era of human history.

124. Alongside its cosmetic "reforms", the *apartheid* régime is enhancing and reinforcing its capacity to repress resistance and defend its position. A wide range of forms of oppression are being used—from intimidation of people attending meetings to direct physical violence, detention, torture and physical elimination of freedom fighters. The other day we learnt about a new wave of arrests made without charges of trade union leaders, students, researchers, political activists and other patriots.

125. Especially sinister is the danger which the racist régime poses to peace and security in Africa, as well as to international peace and security. In order to preserve its system the racist régime, with the help and assistance of its Western allies and in defiance of both the letter and the spirit of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), has created a huge military arsenal and continues to intensify its military build-up. The data contained in paragraph 256 (e) of the report indicate a spiralling growth of the régime's military spending, which jumped from 36 million rand in 1959-1960 to an incredible 2,465 billion rand in the current year. Thanks to the generous help of the

NATO countries and Israel, the South African régime has also acquired a nuclear capability.

126. It is self-evident that the building of such an enormous war machine is not intended only to suppress internal opposition to the system of *apartheid*. It is an integral part of the strategy of the régime, which fully coincides with the new strategy of the United States of buttressing South Africa as a vital and integral part of the Western military alliance system, retaining Namibia in the sphere of Western economic interests, destabilizing progressive régimes in the independent African countries and undermining their policies of socio-economic reconstruction. It suffices to mention the continuing escalation of South African acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States, particularly the large-scale invasion of southern Angola last August, which took the lives of hundreds of peaceful people and inflicted extensive material damage.

127. The existence of a new United States regional approach with regard to southern Africa is beyond any doubt. As is well known, on 29 August of this year it was officially stated that "the Reagan Administration does not intend to destabilize South Africa to please others". Recent events, such as the visit by a South African military intelligence team, the visit by Mr. Botha in May 1981 to Washington for consultations, and many others, have confirmed the existence of a new strategy. The sole uncertainty about it is just how new this strategy really is. President Reagan himself expounded the basis of this policy by declaring that between the United States and Pretoria there had always existed and there continued to exist a *de facto* union, thus setting the whole problem in its right perspective.

128. The picture would, however, be incomplete if one did not take into account the basic reason for this strategy, namely, Western economic interests in South Africa and Namibia. Over 2,000 Western companies have economic interests in South Africa and more than 540 of them are American. In Namibia over 88 foreign companies plunder the mineral resources of the Territory while a number of others are prospecting for new deposits. All those companies are taking full advantage of the system of *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia. American companies control the commanding branches of the economy of the *apartheid* régime, namely, 33 per cent of the motor vehicles market, 44 per cent of the petrochemical products market and 70 per cent of the computer market.

129. In the light of those facts, we can more readily grasp the motivations and the concealed intentions behind the manoeuvres around the settlement of the question of Namibia. They also shed light on the triple veto in the Security Council on the proposal to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. They also explain the manoeuvres of the so-called contact group, which under pressure from the United States is trying to modify the United Nations plan for Namibia in order to guarantee to the white minority and the transnational corporations the opportunity to continue to exploit the population and the rich natural resources of the Territory after its formal independence.

130. I do not think it is necessary to give a specific answer to the question I asked at the beginning of my statement, namely, why, despite its universal condemnation and rejection, the régime of *apartheid* continues to

exist. It is obvious that the *apartheid* régime continues to exist because of the generous and all-round assistance extended to it by certain well-known NATO countries and, above all, the United States. There are many facts and documents that point to this. It is also obvious that the United Nations cannot afford to tolerate this situation any longer.

131. The *apartheid* régime is not going to abandon its inhuman policies of its own free will. It must be compelled to do so through constant pressure on the part of the international community and through struggle in the country itself. A crucial step in that direction could be the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and the provision of all necessary assistance to the national liberation movement at this decisive stage of its struggle.

132. My delegation welcomes and fully endorses the decisions of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa and the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

133. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the firm and steadfast support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, against all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination and oppression.

134. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, of which the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has the honour of being a member, has submitted to the General Assembly reports which show quite clearly that the invidious system and practice of *apartheid* and mass terrorism in respect of the African population of South Africa have this year become even more evil and widespread. The so-called reforms of *apartheid* have in fact turned out to be new measures designed to strengthen the racist régime.

135. The Ukrainian delegation agrees with the statement in the report that "It has now become clear, except to those who prefer to profit from the crime of *apartheid*, that humanity confronts an unparalleled and unique challenge in South Africa as a result of policies and actions of the *apartheid* régime" [A/36/22 and Corr.1, para. 256]. The *apartheid* régime has elevated racism to a state policy of the entire country. It consistently intensifies the policy of repression against all those who oppose *apartheid*, resorting to the mass shooting of defenceless people, the torture and execution of patriots and the banning of the activities of national organizations of the oppressed people. According to a July issue of *The Times*, at the present time, South Africa is carrying out the most ruthless and cruel repression of political opponents of the *apartheid* régime since the Botha régime came to power. The *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa provided documentary proof in support of that conclusion at its London meeting, where new evidence of the rampages of the South African racists was provided.

136. The racist régime is guilty of carrying out many acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression against the independent African States of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola. It continues illegally to occupy Namibia, subjecting its population to terrorism and using the Territory as a bridgehead for acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries. With its policy of bantustanization, the

apartheid régime is trying to deprive the African population of citizenship of its own country. On 4 December, that is, this very week, South Africa intends to grant a fictional independence to a fourth bantustan, Ciskei. We strongly condemn this new crime of the *apartheid* régime.

137. *Apartheid* is the cruelest form of tyranny, a blot on the conscience of mankind and a flagrant challenge to the peoples of the entire world. It is also a serious threat to peace and international security. And this monster has been described by the President of the United States as a natural strategic ally of the United States.

138. We thus have grounds for asking ourselves how long and until what point will the racists of South Africa go unpunished and flout with impunity the norms of international law, cynically and insolently ignore the will of the international community and the decisions of the United Nations, which has so properly condemned the policy and practice of *apartheid* as a crime against mankind and the cruelest form of flagrant and mass violations of human rights. When will these arrogant criminals meet their proper punishment?

139. We are firmly convinced that it is only the support from certain leading Western Powers which have opposed the application of international sanctions and in particular the policy and actions of the new United States Administration, that have kept the *apartheid* régime alive and encouraged it to commit further crimes. The continuing political, economic and military co-operation of certain Western Powers and their transnational corporations with South Africa are the main obstacle to the eradication of the system of *apartheid* and to the attainment by the people of Namibia of their self-determination, freedom and independence. This conclusion was reaffirmed by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

140. We are indignant at the fact that in the face of frequent breaches of the peace and acts of aggression on the part of the *apartheid* régime the Western Powers and the permanent members of the Security Council continue to refuse to allow the Security Council to take decisions on the application against the South African régime of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter—a measure, which has been urged upon it by virtually all the Members of the United Nations. Such an attitude and such actions on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council are a violation of the obligations entered into under the Charter. What they are in fact doing is protecting the criminal régime of the racist minority and virtually encouraging them in a further escalation of crimes against mankind and peace.

141. Thanks to the deal with separate Governments and transnational corporations, the South African régime has been able to ensure for itself not only supplies for the maintenance of its military equipment but also new, sophisticated military systems and technology. The establishment of the nuclear military potential of South Africa represents a terrible threat to international peace and security. All of this is a crude violation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which imposed an arms embargo on South Africa.

142. Many delegations in their statements here have expressed deep and legitimate concern over press reports that an idea is being hatched for a so-called South Atlantic alliance. The Ukrainian delegation would appeal to the

General Assembly to respond in all due seriousness to CM/Res.854 (XXXVII) adopted at the thirty-seventh ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, which:

“*Strongly condemns* the present United States Administration for reviving manoeuvres to create the South Atlantic Treaty Organization which includes the racist South African régime and appeals to the United Nations to undertake such measures as would ensure that this sinister organization is not established”. [See A/36/534, annex I.]

143. Preserving this hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa is in keeping with the long-term political, economic and strategic interests of the United States of America and a number of other members of NATO. They see South Africa as their foothold for carrying out their neo-colonialist plots and plans.

144. The international community can no longer delay the adoption of effective measures to eradicate *apartheid*, to enable the South African people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination, to ensure the independence of Namibia and thereby to eliminate this most serious threat to international peace and security.

145. We support the idea that 1982 should be proclaimed the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, and we hope that the Security Council will take effective and practical steps against these criminal racists, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

146. The Ukrainian delegation declares its willingness to co-operate closely with all delegations that are interested in ensuring the adoption of concrete measures to eliminate as swiftly as possible the system and practice of *apartheid*.

147. Mr. FILLIE-FABOE (Sierra Leone): At its thirty-fifth session in 1980, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions under the agenda item relating to the policies of *apartheid* of the South African régime. Those resolutions, like the myriad of others that had been adopted in preceding years, underlined the overwhelming opposition of the Assembly and of the international community as a whole to *apartheid* and set out a multifaceted programme of action to eliminate that odious régime from southern African society.

148. It is sad and regrettable that barely a year since those noble decisions of the Assembly were taken the latter not only is once again considering the same item but is doing so at a time when the *apartheid* régime appears to be solidifying racism rather than loosening its oppressive stranglehold on the black people of southern Africa as a whole, in a continuing show of spite and arrogance towards the Assembly.

149. Sierra Leone, like other African countries, approaches the consideration of the agenda on *apartheid* with profound anxiety. To us, this is more than a routine discussion. In fact, we wish that there were no need for such an item. However, the realities, grim as they are, have to be faced. The sufferings of our brothers and sisters, not only in South Africa but in the entire southern African subregion, as a result of South Africa's *apartheid* policies and practices, are an unacceptable affront and challenge to the dignity of the black race as a whole, and we in Sierra Leone accept that challenge and conse-

quently place maximum emphasis on the elimination of *apartheid* from our continent, recognizing that the primary victims and targets of that criminal policy are black people, not only South African blacks, but black people elsewhere in Africa and everywhere else in the world.

150. At the same time, we note that Africa is not an island. Its problems and potentials cannot be seen in isolation from those of other regions. In an increasingly interdependent age regional concerns need to be examined within a broader international framework. That is why we have always supported and applauded the General Assembly's description of *apartheid* as a threat not only to regional but also to international peace and security, because we see a destabilized Africa as a threat to world peace and security.

151. In this regard, the delegation of Sierra Leone has always expressed similar sentiments with regard to the call for confidence-building measures, but our outlook as regards this call is being thwarted by the real, clear and present danger being posed by the racist terrorist régime of South Africa and its supporters. Less than a week ago the First Committee adopted a draft resolution dealing with confidence-building measures. Among other things this draft resolution recognizes that “confidence reflects a set of interrelated factors of a military as well as of a non-military character and that a plurality of approaches is needed to overcome fear, apprehension and mistrust between States and to replace them by confidence”, and also regards “the concept of confidence-building measures . . . as a useful approach in reducing and eventually eliminating potential causes for mistrust, misunderstanding, misinterpretation and miscalculation.”⁷

152. How can confidence be built if the régime in Pretoria is bent on destabilizing the Governments in the region, with its ability to disrupt and dislocate the social, economic and political structure of those Governments? How can confidence be built if the racist Government violates the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States by the invasion by its marauding troops of the territories of Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola? How can confidence be built, after the aggressive invasion by the racist troops of Angola when the Security Council is prevented from condemning such barbaric actions by the casting of a veto by a super-Power, indicating double standards and double-talk? How do we in Africa curb these apprehensions and this mistrust and build confidence when we can see through the hypocrisy surrounding the call for confidence-building by a super-Power?

153. Having said this, my delegation is deeply concerned about the apparent disparity between the international community's overwhelming support for resolutions calling for action against *apartheid* and the actual implementation of those measures when adopted, while almost all members of the Assembly are on record as opposing racism and *apartheid* and supporting its elimination. It is clear that South Africa could not continue to violate Assembly resolutions with impunity unless it maintained relations with certain powerful members of the Assembly. The end result of this dichotomy between words and deeds is not only the perpetuation of *apartheid* but also the loss of credibility for the Assembly before the world public. Simply stated, if all those who voted for the resolutions in the Assembly designed to bring freedom and non-racial government to South Africa had fully implemented them, *apartheid* surely would have been deflated and eliminated by now.

154. The delegation of Sierra Leone is of the opinion that the question of *apartheid* is doomed to remain a perennial item on the agenda as long as certain influential Governments continue to act and speak in a manner that clearly signals business-as-usual relations with the racist South African Government, if not outright support for that régime, with its odious policy. In our view, there is no justification whatsoever for any really peace-loving democratic and non-racist Government anywhere in the world to act sympathetically, positively, or supportively towards the South African régime. No objective human being can understand, much less accept, South Africa's avowed anti-Communist ideology as a reason for overlooking its criminal racist policies and inhuman practices. That is why we find it difficult to swallow, understand or see the seriousness of the human rights campaigns of certain countries while they are supporting the most oppressive violator of human rights, a violator whose practices are worse than those of Hitler's barbaric régime—namely, South Africa.

155. If the United Nations is to be taken seriously by the world public it is up to all of us, as Members of the Organization, to act in a manner that will enhance its credibility. We must be consistent in our actions and resolute in our defence of the endangered ideals of the Charter. There is something slightly inconsistent and questionable when one of us loudly condemns one proven case of aggression but refuses to condemn another proven case of aggression in similar circumstances. Is the underlying motive racial? Such inconsistency in behaviour hardly contributes to the positive enhancement of the image, conscience and credibility of the Organization.

156. The delegation of Sierra Leone does not intend at this stage to go into detailed descriptions of the crimes of *apartheid*. Those inhuman crimes are fully recorded in various United Nations documents, including the comprehensive reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which reports my delegation supports and endorses. In fact, reports appear daily throughout the world on one crime or the other perpetrated by the tyrannical minority clique of Pretoria. The problem facing us here is not a problem of information. We have had, for more than three decades, ample information to enable us not only to condemn but, indeed, to act effectively to eradicate the tumour of *apartheid* from mankind's conscience.

157. The problem we face is one of commitment and political will to act in conformity with our declared objective. We hope, therefore, that when the draft resolutions under this agenda item are put to the vote in the Assembly, all members will support them. We could not possibly ever understand why anyone should abstain, in the voting and much less oppose measures against savagery and brutality. What could possibly justify a vote for in-

stitutionalized racism, be it in human relations, housing, sports, marriage or education? What could possibly justify a vote for the illegal occupation of a foreign Territory or for aggression against another independent country? To us in Africa today, there is no possible justification for supporting the current régime in South Africa—a régime which, by its inhuman policies and actions, has declared war against all black peoples and countries. Therefore, supporting or sympathizing with that barbaric régime in any way would be tantamount to joining it in a declaration of war against the rest of Africa. Those countries that place a premium on ideology and economic profit over freedom, racial equality and the rule of civilized law are not only arrogantly insulting the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and the rest of the black peoples but also sowing the seeds of a future confrontation which should produce long-lasting and widespread catastrophic consequences for all of mankind. While there is still time, we urge all Members of the United Nations family not only to support the Assembly's draft resolutions against *apartheid* but, even more importantly, to work concretely to implement those that are adopted. In fact, my delegation would be interested in seeing an annual evaluation of what each of us has done concretely to implement the Assembly's resolutions on *apartheid*.

158. We have noted the decisions of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. We fully support the Declaration which was adopted at that Conference.⁸ We seek the application of Chapter VII of the Charter as the only measure by which South Africa's abominable racial policy could be halted, reversed and eliminated.

159. In conclusion, the Sierra Leone delegation would like to applaud the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman for having produced the comprehensive report now being considered by the Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/AC.115/L.547, p. 15.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, 2277th meeting.*

³ Adopted as resolution 31/6 K.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14, para. 295.*

⁵ See A/AC.20/17.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, 2300th meeting.*

⁷ See resolution 36/97 F, subsequently adopted by the General Assembly.

⁸ See A/CONF.107/8, sect. X.