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(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 28

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (continued)*:

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow, Wednesday, 7 November, at 12 noon. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. LOEIS (Indonesia), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: It gives me great pleasure to introduce the annual report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22], as well as a special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa [A/34/22/Add.1]. These are submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970.

3. I should like also to say that it is I who am presenting the reports, owing to the early departure of my predecessor, Mr. Anthony Yeo of Malaysia, from the post of Rapporteur, and to add that I feel privileged in presenting this comprehensive report that he was so instrumental in preparing.

4. The annual report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which was adopted by the Committee on 25 October 1979, gives a brief review of numerous ac-

tivities undertaken by the Committee during the international mobilization against *apartheid*. It contains the conclusions and recommendations which the Committee considers essential in regard to the repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression by the *apartheid* régime. In this connexion, the Special Committee has regretted the failure of the Security Council to recognize that *apartheid* is a threat to peace under Chapter VII of the Charter.

5. The Special Committee was requested by the General Assembly in its resolution 33/183 B of 24 January 1979 to promote an international mobilization against *apartheid*, which was launched on 21 March 1979. The Special Committee viewed the mobilization as a comprehensive campaign with emphasis on sanctions against the *apartheid* régime and full support for the South African national liberation movement.

6. In this connexion, the Special Committee considers that, in view of the growing crisis in southern Africa, the United Nations must urgently launch an international campaign for total sanctions against South Africa, as a matter of priority within the context of the international mobilization against *apartheid*.

7. In pursuance of its responsibilities, the Special Committee held consultations with numerous Governments and organizations, participated in many conferences and took a series of steps to encourage action by Governments, specialized agencies and public opinion in all countries.

8. The Special Committee gave particular attention to nuclear collaboration with South Africa during the past year and organized an international Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London on 24 and 25 February 1979, with the participation of Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and southern African liberation movements, as well as individual experts.

9. The Special Committee has transmitted the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar to the Security Council.¹ The Special Committee regrets that the Security Council has taken no action in response to General Assembly resolution 33/183 G or in the light of the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar.

10. The Special Committee considers that the continued existence of the *apartheid* régime in itself constitutes a constant menace to world peace. The past year in South Africa, the Special Committee notes, has been characterized by a further aggravation of the situation, caused by the enactment of new discriminatory and repressive legislation and by the intensification of repression of all opponents of *apartheid*.

* Resumed from the 47th meeting.

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13157.

11. The Special Committee reaffirms its conviction that the *apartheid* régime is defying world opinion and continuing to commit crimes because of the refusal of the major trading partners of South Africa to respect United Nations resolutions and because of the activities of transnational corporations. The Committee also reaffirms that any collaboration with the *apartheid* régime encourages it to persist in its criminal, racist, repressive and aggressive policies.
12. The Special Committee also expressed great concern at the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, particularly in the nuclear field, despite General Assembly resolution 33/183 G, which requested Israel to put an end to such collaboration. This concern has prompted the Special Committee to bring to the attention of the General Assembly the extent of this collaboration, details of which are contained in document A/34/22/Add.1.
13. To this end, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly and the Security Council call on all States to adopt effective legislative and other measures, including the seizure of vessels which violate the embargo, to prevent petroleum companies and shipping companies, as well as banks and other financial institutions, from giving any assistance to the South African régime in circumventing the embargo.
14. The Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly authorize it, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and in consultation with all other appropriate bodies and organizations, to organize a United Nations-OAU international conference on sanctions against South Africa.
15. The Special Committee also recommends that the General Assembly reaffirm international solidarity with the front-line States and appeal to all States to provide them with all necessary assistance against acts of aggression and subversion by the *apartheid* régime.
16. The Special Committee further recommends that the General Assembly endorse the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar on Children under *Apartheid*, held at UNESCO House from 18 to 20 June 1979, and commend them to all States and organizations concerned [see A/34/22, paras. 180-189].
17. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly strongly condemn the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of the bantustan of Venda, and the plans of the *apartheid* régime to continue and accelerate its policy of bantustanization.
18. Finally, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly appeal to the mass media to contribute to international efforts by providing truthful information on the situation in South Africa, on the aspirations and activities of the South African national liberation movements and on the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*. The mass media should be requested to counteract false and deceitful propaganda by the *apartheid* régime and reject advertisements for *apartheid*.
19. I should like to conclude by expressing the warm appreciation and thanks of the Special Committee to the Secretary-General for his unfailing co-operation in the work of the Special Committee.
20. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: Of all the political and human rights issues confronting the United Nations today, none commands such unanimous condemnation as the inhuman system of *apartheid* in South Africa. No other matter on today's international agenda holds such tragic and explosive potential for a race war of continental proportions.
21. My Government, and indeed all the Governments of independent Africa, consider this debate a crucial one. It is crucial because the racist and colonial character of the South African régime derogates from the dignity of each and every African as a human being. It is crucial because *apartheid* is contemptuous of our sovereignty and political independence. To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, Africa cannot remain part free and part in slavery. This debate is crucial because we cannot forget the innocent blood spilled in the streets of Sharpeville, Soweto and other black townships in South Africa in defence of Africa's freedom. Nor can we remain insensitive to the massive violations of human and political rights, incessantly made more poignant by the anguished cries of the patriots and heroes of the African liberation struggle who are today being held in racist prisons and detention camps. We also consider this debate crucial because the policies of the Pretoria régime, within and beyond South Africa, constitute the gravest danger to the peace and stability of Africa.
22. Some four decades ago, at Nuremberg, after the terrible Second World War precipitated by that fake prophet of racial superiority, the international community declared racism to be a war crime, a crime against humanity. The South African apostles of that prophet, notably Malan, Verwoerd, Vorster and now Botha, who concealed neither their admiration and support for nazism nor their enmity against the Africans, the British and the Jews, not only imitated but actually perfected their arrogant white-supremacy racist theories from the ashes of the holocaust. *Apartheid* therefore, as a State policy and an institutionalized programme of action, is doubly condemned as an historic crime against humanity and threat to international peace and security.
23. This debate is being held against the background of momentous events. A few days ago, the world woke up to the news that the racist régime of South Africa had reportedly detonated a nuclear device. The consequences for international peace and security of this grave development are yet to be fully assessed as we await the Secretary-General's report for which we have called [see 47th meeting, para. 18]. But one thing is certain. Those Western Governments and transnational corporations, which through offers of capital, technology, equipment and political support, have assisted South Africa to acquire nuclear capability, bear a heavy responsibility to history.
24. A few days after that frightful news, came reports that South African armed forces had again attacked Angola and Zambia. If the motive was to intimidate those States in the front-line trenches of the liberation war in southern Africa, the South African marauders were woefully mistaken. Those African States were born of the fire of the African liberation war. They can-

not therefore be frightened by the logic and consequences of that war. The damage done is mainly to the image and credibility of the United Nations, which always responds to the repeated, premeditated and persistent acts of aggression by South Africa against loyal Member States with pusillanimous resolutions, like resolution 454 (1979) adopted by the Security Council on 2 November 1979.

25. Those who may still be nursing some doubts as to the nature of the threats posed to world peace by *apartheid*, only have to reflect on the notorious and criminal record of the racist régime's open defiance of the United Nations. Southern Rhodesia's illegal seizure of independence was declared by the Security Council in its resolution 217 (1965), on the initiative of the administering Power, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as a threat to world peace. At the instance of that administering Power, mandatory sanctions were imposed against the racist rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia.² It was the first time the enforcement measures, prescribed so expressly and inevitably in Chapter VII of our Charter to give effect to the decisions of the Security Council, were put to the test. The South African Government has in the last 14 years not only made a mockery of our Organization by refusing to apply those measures, but has also consistently furnished the Rhodesian rebels with arms both to perpetuate their internal repression and for barbarous attacks on independent neighbouring States and refugee camps, in violation of the principles of the Geneva Conventions of 1949.³

26. Furthermore, Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of the decisions of the Security Council and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,⁴ the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Contrary to all good sense and international law, the racist régime of South Africa is still backing dissident elements in Angola, thus destabilizing a sovereign Member State of the United Nations. The question that we must therefore ask ourselves is whether South Africa is not a greater threat to the very existence of the United Nations than we realize? Since Nazi Germany, has any other State been known to break with crass impunity all the rules and norms of civilized international behaviour as South Africa has been doing? Need we hesitate to determine that South Africa has manoeuvred itself into the position of a pariah in the international community and therefore must be expelled forthwith from all international organizations, including the United Nations?

27. Determined to move away from the pious rhetoric of the last 30 years in the condemnation of the racist policies of South Africa, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been addressing itself to specific strategies for action. Earlier this year, in February to be exact, the Special Committee, as if prescient of the dreadful events to come, organized in London an International seminar, the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. In the face of recent developments, I wish once again, here and now, to commend the follow-

ing recommendations of the Seminar to the General Assembly for close consideration:

"11. The Seminar recommends that the Security Council should consider the matter urgently and adopt a mandatory decision, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to end all nuclear collaboration with South Africa, to require the dismantling of its nuclear plants and to warn the Pretoria régime that any efforts by it to continue its nuclear programme or to build a uranium enrichment plant would result in further international action, including effective collective sanctions.

"12. Urgent action must be taken by the United Nations and the international community to ensure that all nuclear contracts and agreements between South Africa and other countries, such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and Israel, will be terminated and the supply to South Africa of nuclear equipment by these and other countries ended. Equally, the following areas of collaboration need to be terminated:

"(a) The training of and exchanges with South African scientists involved in the nuclear sector and the granting of visas to them;

"(b) Contracts and agreements concerning uranium extraction and processing in South Africa;

"(c) The import of South African or Namibian uranium;

"(d) The reprocessing of South Africa's spent nuclear fuel and in particular the return to it of plutonium;

"(e) All financial, economic and other forms of support for South Africa's nuclear industry or any ancillary and related industry;

"(f) The transfer of technology, supply of equipment and financial support for South Africa's uranium enrichment programme, including isotope separation.

"13. Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia should be fully enforced.

"14. All countries concerned should enact effective legislation to make illegal all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa by corporations and institutions. There should be severe penalties for all infringements; parent companies should be held responsible for offences committed by their subsidiaries and associates operating in South Africa.

"15. The Seminar urges African and other Governments committed to the struggle against *apartheid* urgently to take all necessary initiatives at the United Nations, and make direct contact with the States concerned in order to achieve the above objectives."⁵

28. Last week-end, from 2 to 4 November 1979, the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, with which the Special Committee organized the Seminar to which I have just referred, in co-operation with the Special Committee once again organized, also in London, another seminar, the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa. I must

² *Ibid.*, *Twentieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1965*, document S/7021.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

⁴ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13157, chap. VII, para. 203.

confess that I was deeply troubled by the findings and conclusions of that Seminar [A/34/655, annex].

29. In the first place, for instance, from the facts and studies presented, the Seminar concluded that, by the very process of developing the South African economy through investments, trade, loans, export credit guarantees and so on, in order to exploit for high profits unmatched anywhere else, the abundant cheap labour and the vast mineral resources of South Africa, the transnational corporations have become the accomplices and the mainstay of the system of *apartheid* in South Africa. These transnational corporations have, by investing billions of dollars in South Africa, stimulated the industrialization of its economy without any improvement in the political and social status of the black people. If anything, industrialization has vastly increased the economic and political power of the racist white minority. Correspondingly, the black Africans have been forced, on the one hand to herd themselves into overcrowded black townships with a high incidence of crime, infant mortality, tuberculosis, *kwashiorkor* and dehumanization, and on the other hand to become migrant labourers in their own country shorn of political rights, victims of the ubiquitous pass laws and deprived of their manhood. The upshot is that the activities of the transnational corporations are strategically crucial to the economic and political viability of the *apartheid* system.

30. Secondly, the Seminar found and concluded that the transnational corporations actively undermine international action to promote freedom and human dignity in South Africa. For instance, in order to counter the oil embargo which all the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have imposed, in order to circumvent the mandatory arms embargo which the Security Council decreed in its resolution 418 (1977) — endorsed in its resolution 421 (1977) — and in order to defeat the provision in that resolution enjoining all States to refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the acquisition, manufacture and development of nuclear weapons, the transnational corporations have been providing funds to the racist régime of South Africa to finance its public expenditures so as to increase South Africa's self-sufficiency in the energy field through its Electricity Supply Commission and the Strategic Oil Fund. Thus, oil would be made from coal and South Africa would no longer be vulnerable to a possible world-wide oil embargo. To this end, the Fluor Corporation of California has received two contracts totalling more than \$4 billion to expand South Africa's facilities for converting coal into oil. Similarly, other transnational corporations have either established an arms industry in South Africa in partnership with the racist régime or mounted a booming undercover trade in arms to South Africa. It is superfluous to quote United States District Judge Robert C. Zampano in the Plowman Case in order to discredit these despicable acts calculated to defeat the mandatory arms embargo. By facilitating its nuclear plans, by the transfer of technology and by providing it with capital through investments, credits and loans, transnational corporations have also assisted South Africa in acquiring nuclear-weapon capability.

31. I can only add at this stage that we are compiling dossiers on all the key transnational corporations and banks which assist South Africa in the military and nuclear fields as well as in the petroleum industry. Their

names will be released and blacklisted and co-ordinated campaigns will be mounted against them. These transnational corporations will be denounced for their love of blood-money and excoriated for their crimes against the African people.

32. Consequently, the Seminar rejected the argument that transnationals have become instruments for the promotion of freedom and equality through their economic involvement in South Africa. Adverting to the so-called Sullivan principles and the codes of conduct of the European Economic Community and others for improving workplace conditions, the Seminar concluded that, although they may have been well meant, their practical effects were partly to legitimize and increase existing and new investments at a time when the régime faced an acute economic crisis and shortage of capital and partly to serve as a deflector of criticisms of the obnoxious policies of *apartheid*. Those principles and codes of conduct do not challenge the system of *apartheid* itself, and foreign investments continue to maintain that system.

33. It was therefore not surprising that the Seminar made the following recommendations, which I should like to commend highly to the General Assembly for adoption.

34. In the area of military and nuclear collaboration, the Seminar urged that there be an urgent international campaign to implement and strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa by prohibiting: the transfer of licences and technology to South Africa; the supply of any military equipment or equipment for military use, or components thereof, including particularly electronic and communications equipment, aircraft, four-wheel-drive vehicles and so on; involvement in arms manufacture in South Africa; and all nuclear collaboration with South Africa. In this connexion, special attention should be paid to legislation and regulations by Governments in implementation of the arms embargo.

35. In the area of finance, the Seminar recommended that a campaign to end the flow of finance to South Africa be co-ordinated internationally and that special attention, with a view to securing their discontinuance, be focused on: external financing of South Africa's nuclear programme and Sasol oil-from-coal projects; termination of credits by IMF to South Africa; expulsion or suspension of South Africa from IMF and GATT; boycott by the United Nations and other international organizations and by Governments and organizations of banks with links to South Africa; Eurobond market loans to South Africa; and insurance institutions' services to South Africa.

36. Allow me to conclude this part of my statement by quoting two opinions on the subject. The first is a statement by that man of God, Bishop Desmond Mriolo Tutu. He had called on our friends, the Scandinavian countries, to stop importing coal from South Africa. When it was suggested that many black men would go unemployed in South Africa if Denmark stopped buying South African coal, that great man of conscience in the tradition of the late Nobel laureate Chief Albert Luthuli said:

“They would be unemployed and suffer temporarily. It would be a suffering with a purpose. We would not be causing what is happening now, where Blacks are suffering, and it seems to be a suffering that is going to go on and on and on.”

The other is the view of a white settler colonialist, a former member of Parliament of the Union of South Africa, who said:

“The discovery of the diamond and gold mines and the opening of industry are primarily responsible for this dangerous stage of evolution. Any consideration of the future of the Natives as a race is antagonistic to the exploiting of the Natives as an economic asset and is therefore strenuously opposed by those who benefit from the labour of these people. Were it not so, the mines and industries of the country would fail to pay the dividend that is expected of them.”

37. Lately there have been reports that there are certain developments inside South Africa pointing towards a liberalization of its race laws. They refer to the supposed intentions of Mr. Botha, the Prime Minister, to abolish the Immorality Act, to introduce new industrial relations laws and to remove discrimination in sports, canteens and toilets. If indeed these are budding changes, imperceptible or not, to what factors should we attribute them? Are they due to the growing internal unrest and uprising? Are they the products of external pressures? No one has so far bothered to ask whether these reports are the products of a clever public relations blitz, fuelled and financed by the more than \$US 72 million which Mulder, Rhodie and company have “laundered” to buy influence and public opinion in certain Western countries. Nor has any effort been made to compare and contrast these reports with the official advertisements in the National Party newspaper, *Die Transvaaler*, in which Mr. Botha’s stand on race laws was made clear: “The Prime Minister talks of improvement, no abolition” of the *apartheid* system, the advertisements say. By way of riposte, that brave woman, Mrs. Motlana, was reported to have said in *The Voice of South Africa* of 9-15 September 1979: “We do not want our chains made comfortable. We want them removed.”

38. Consequently we must all support the appeal of the Methodist Church of South Africa made recently in Cape Town that leaders of South Africa like Nelson Mandela must be released so that they may negotiate the future of their country with the racist régime in order to avoid the racial blood-bath that is looming on the horizon. Similarly, we must all support the recent call by the Black Sash, a white women’s organization, to the South African régime to put an immediate end to the reckless gaoling of blacks without trial and the banning or house arrest of white liberals.

39. The reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22 and Add.1] before the Assembly are, therefore, of critical importance. The former report notes that the situation in southern Africa has been aggravated in the past year by the inhuman and implacable policy of *apartheid*. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa not only has enacted new and more Draconian repressive legislation; it has intensified its dismemberment of the country, thereby further dispossessing the African people of their lands and liberty through bantustanization. The statement of 21 September 1979 by the President of the Security Council,⁶ on behalf of the entire Council, declaring null and void the purported declaration of Venda as a so-called independent ban-

tustan State is a case in point. The report further has drawn attention to the constant menace to world peace which the continued existence of the *apartheid* régime poses. In this context, it has reminded the General Assembly of the numerous resolutions of OAU to the effect that the main crisis in South Africa is racist domination, plunder and exploitation.

40. The report has also drawn attention to the following conclusion of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979:

“The Conference declared that southern Africa as a whole constitutes one single theatre of operations in which *apartheid* South Africa is the central strategic issue. Freedom, peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in southern Africa unless the *apartheid* system of institutionalized racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is crushed and is replaced by a democratic State whose policy will conform to the principles of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.” [See A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 78.]

41. The report has also quoted the following relevant passage from the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice:

“We reaffirm that it is the duty of all the peoples of the Commonwealth to work together for the total eradication of the infamous policy of *apartheid* which is internationally recognized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and the very existence of which is an affront to humanity.” [See A/34/439-S/13515, annex.]

42. As a result of all these expressions of concern and anger, the Special Committee’s report has called for specific actions in certain important areas. We hope in the course of the debate to submit appropriate draft resolutions for the Assembly’s consideration and approval. One significant initiative, which has already been endorsed by the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979 [see A/34/552, annex II] and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979 [see A/34/542, annex], is the proposal to hold an international conference in 1980 under the auspices of the United Nations and OAU, to consider how best to accelerate concerted international action, particularly in the area of comprehensive sanctions, for the eradication of *apartheid* and the liberation of the South African people.

43. In spite of the gloominess of the situation, the picture would not be complete without mention of the help and assistance in carrying out the mandate of the Special Committee given by the socialist countries, particularly the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as some Western countries, notably the Nordic States and Canada. We pay them a warm tribute for that. Some other Western States have also, to their credit, denounced the evil system of *apartheid*. But they must move from declarations to concrete action. We are all sitting on the top of an active volcano. In combating racism and *apartheid* within the framework of the United Nations, we are defending the eternal truths about the

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year*, 2168th meeting, para. 1.

rights of man. By failing to do so, we narrow the spectrum of options open to the liberation movements of South Africa. No pro-South African policy can be right which antagonizes the entire continent of Africa.

44. Nigeria is irrevocably committed to the cause of liberation in southern Africa. We shall continue to judge our relations with other States, including their organizations and business enterprises, in the light of that wider interest of Africa. Those who do lucrative business in Nigeria, but remain insensitive to our feelings about the plight of the black man in South Africa, must learn to heed our warnings seriously. We believe in economic interdependence; we welcome investments in Nigeria and guarantee fair dividends from them. But we put principles and honour before profits. We therefore remain as committed as ever to the cause of freedom, equality and human dignity in South Africa.

45. The Nigerian Government will therefore spare no effort in the crusade for the liquidation of *apartheid*. No sacrifice will be too great for it to bear in its struggle to rid our continent of all vestiges of racism and colonialism. The racists themselves, we are confident, will know no rest and have no sleep until they concede basic and elementary rights to our people, as they are granted to other free citizens in a free world. That is the goal we have set for ourselves. The road to full emancipation in Africa may be long, agonizing and even bloody, but there is no other road. We are determined to follow it to the bitter end.

46. Mr. SAHLOUL (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country, as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, has followed closely all the efforts made by that Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Clark, in drawing up the report which is now before the General Assembly for consideration [A/34/22]. The efforts constantly made by the Committee in past years to enlighten world public opinion about the atrocious crimes committed by the racist régime in Pretoria against the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, through the practice of the policy of *apartheid*, will continue to retain the interest of the international community and to arouse its appreciation until humanity is rid once and for all of this practice.

47. We live in a world in which disagreements and divergent views play a very important part, a world in which the East is different from the West strategically, ideologically and politically; a world in which, while the South has been pursuing a dialogue with the North for 10 years, the gap between them grows from day to day. While we understand the background, the nature and the motives of these divergences, we remain convinced of the need for the world to stand in solidarity in combating policies of discrimination between men because of differences of colour or race.

48. A world that has undergone a world war which caused millions of deaths and which visited on people the odious nightmare of nazism, cannot be indifferent to the tragedy which is being inflicted on the people of southern Africa because of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the South African Government. The policy of *apartheid* will remain a disgrace for all mankind so long as that policy continues to exist in any part of the world. To speak in those circumstances of liberty, democracy and human rights would be tantamount to saying nothing at all.

49. Despite the fact that there has been at all levels, growing condemnation throughout the world against the *apartheid* policies practised by the racist Pretoria authorities, the reaction of South Africa to those words of condemnation has been simply to promulgate more laws imposing racial discrimination. South Africa is pursuing its policy of creating so-called bantustans in full awareness that the world, represented by the General Assembly, has rejected this policy and will continue to reject it, in its entirety, as null and void. The independence granted to what has been called Venda is a flagrant defiance to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. We are convinced this will not change the situation and that Venda, like Transkei and Bophuthatswana, will always be rejected by the international community.

50. The South African Government is intensifying its barbaric campaigns by arresting and eliminating all nationalists who reject the policy of *apartheid*. They are thrown into prison and cruelly tortured. Successive reports which have reached us from Pretoria have described the psychological and sanitary environment in which political prisoners live on Robben Island and other prisons in South Africa. Therefore, we believe that it is incumbent on all men throughout the world who love freedom and justice to make every possible effort to have these prisoners released and to put an end to the barbaric trials to which they are being subjected by the Pretoria authorities. Those authorities are not content with merely torturing and imprisoning people. They have also assassinated hundreds of prisoners in ambiguous and shady circumstances. We wish to take this opportunity to salute the militant martyrs who have been assassinated by the criminal authorities of South Africa. Those martyrs are led by Steven Biko and Solomon Mahlangu. The blood of these martyrs will not have been shed in vain. As Solomon Mahlangu said a few days before he was put to death last April: "My blood will not have been shed in vain because it will water the trees of victory which will produce the fruits of victory in the near future."

51. The Government of Pretoria has made its measures even more severe—those oppressive measures which it has imposed within South Africa and also in connivance with its lackeys in Salisbury—by carrying out aggressive attacks against the front-line African States, particularly Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, causing enormous damage and loss of human life and property in those countries, which continue courageously and perseveringly to shoulder their responsibilities by giving refuge to revolutionaries who are the victims of the intensive campaigns launched against them by the fascist régime. We must give every help and assistance to those States, so that they may preserve their independence and their territorial integrity and may be compensated for the damage inflicted upon their economies and their natural resources because of the continual attacks which have been perpetrated against them.

52. The experience of the last third of the century has shown that South Africa is not prepared voluntarily to give up its policy of racial discrimination. It must be forced to give it up. It is part of the responsibility—indeed the duty—of all countries to exert the greatest possible pressure on South Africa. They are duty-bound to apply against South Africa all the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, and to boycott

South Africa in the cultural, economic, political and military spheres until that country relinquishes its policy of racial discrimination. The information contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/34/22, para. 43] indicates that the Government of South Africa has increased its military expenditure from \$US 1.79 billion in 1978 to \$2.14 billion in 1979. In 1980, this figure is expected to increase to 2.3 billion. This disturbing increase in military expenditure on the part of South Africa makes it essential for all countries to put an end to any form of military co-operation with South Africa and to act in full accordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

53. The acquisition of a nuclear capacity by the racist régime is a direct threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly, in its resolution 33/183 G, adopted during the previous session, requested the Security Council urgently to consider measures aimed at effectively preventing South Africa from developing nuclear weapons. That resolution requested all States which had not yet done so, to cease forthwith all co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field. The transfer of technology and the extension of loans and economic assistance to South Africa, as well as investment in the country, are of vital importance to the racist régime there. Therefore, if the aid given to this régime were ended, this would be an effective and speedy way of forcing it to give up its policy of *apartheid*. Here we should be gratified, I think, at the courageous and wise decision which has been taken by the revolutionary Government of Iran to cease providing South Africa with oil. This Iranian decision was a blow struck against the racist régime of Pretoria, which imports 90 per cent of its petroleum needs from Iran. The decision taken by Iran is important because it shows that there is a moral commitment to principles and ideals rather than material gain. We should also like to welcome the Swedish Government's decision to promulgate laws that would stop the expansion of Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia. We feel that this example should be followed by countries which continue to maintain economic relations with South Africa.

54. We also welcome the proposal that an international conference be held in order to impose sanctions on the Government of South Africa, a conference which would be organized by the United Nations in conjunction with OAU and which would involve all countries, non-governmental organizations, peoples' organizations, churches and trade unions, in short, all those opposed to *apartheid*. It is our hope that the idea of such a conference, which was so favourably welcomed by OAU and by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana last September, will mark the beginning of the end as far as the racist régime of Pretoria is concerned.

55. The international community, at this stage, must give moral and material support to the liberation movements in southern Africa which are recognized by OAU, so that they may continue their struggle for liberty, justice and equality. My country gives all the assistance within its means to the liberation movements in southern Africa. Offices have been opened for the two liberation movements in Khartoum and, furthermore, the President of the Republic has approved the creation in Kartoum of an institute for training personnel coming from South Africa. Furthermore, for some years now, we have given scholarships to South Africans.

56. The situation in South Africa has deteriorated critically. The African continent can no longer tolerate the scourge of racism which has been sapping its strength for the past centuries. No effort should be spared to eradicate this evil once and for all. Africa has for 30 years now been requesting that a solution be found to this problem through this Organization; it is a problem which has remained on the agenda of the General Assembly without even a glimmer of hope that it will be settled. Africa will sooner or later have to engage in armed confrontation with the racist régime of South Africa if that régime continues to pursue the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination that it has been practising since its very inception. In Africa, we shall spare no effort to give all possible aid and assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa so that they may continue their struggle against exploitation, subjection and racism until the heroic and militant peoples of Azania can exercise their right to sovereignty and live in dignity in their own land, free from any form of discrimination or servitude.

57. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): In his report to the General Assembly this year, the Secretary-General very succinctly summarizes his views on southern Africa. He says:

“Our aim should be the stable and prosperous future of southern Africa as a whole. This will not be achieved, however, as long as the problem of *apartheid* persists. One of the great challenges confronting the United Nations and all the peoples of the region is the absolute necessity of transforming the racial situation in southern Africa so that men and women of different races can coexist and exercise their rights as equals.” [See A/34/1, sect. III.]

58. In essence, this is what our concern for southern Africa has been about throughout all these years. In the many speeches that have been made at this rostrum and in the many documents that have been produced by this Organization on the problems in southern Africa, the leading theme has been a constant one: it is the *apartheid* system in South Africa that is the major and underlying factor which causes these problems.

59. In expressing our abhorrence of this system, we have used stronger language than on any other international issue. In stating our deep concern, we have had vividly in mind the suffering that *apartheid* causes to the large majority of the population in South Africa itself. In warning against the serious national and international repercussions if *apartheid* is allowed to persist, we have pointed to the many acts of aggression that South Africa has committed against its neighbours and emphasized the risk of a widening of the area of conflict. Recent South African raids into Angola have given further weight to these warnings. We have said that South Africa's potential as a nuclear Power makes such a development even more perilous.

60. Thus, our strong criticism of the creators and upholders of the *apartheid* system is an expression of deep concern not only for the present plight of the peoples in the region but also for the fate of future generations. Those generations should be given a chance to live peacefully in stable and prosperous societies, but as long as *apartheid* persists that chance is remote. As long as the white leaders of South Africa shun the necessity of transforming their society in the direction of racial harmony, South Africa itself will steer towards

catastrophe and the peoples in the whole area will continue to live in constant fear for the future. As long as *apartheid* persists, there can be no real peace—only continued violence, suffering and destruction.

61. We are agree that the situation caused by *apartheid* is intolerable and that *apartheid* should not be allowed to exist as a phenomenon within our international community. But the white rulers in South Africa cling to the course they have chosen, apparently blind to its inherent dangers. We certainly have no difficulty in observing the many material advantages and privileges that the present system bestows upon the white inhabitants of South Africa, but we completely fail to comprehend how the present white generation can be content to hand over this legacy to their children. As long as it is founded on injustice, oppression and human exploitation, it can only be a legacy of doom. But let us not forget that the white minority in South Africa does not speak with one voice. Many among the white populations have long since urged the leaders to save the nation and its inhabitants from such a bleak future. They, too, run great risks when working for another and better South Africa, and their efforts should be recognized and supported by the international community.

62. It has become a sad tradition for us in our statements during the annual *apartheid* debate, to describe the many tragic aspects of this system. We have pointed out how the majority of the people lack political, economic and social rights. We have condemned the innumerable cases of persecution, torture and other forms of repression. We have criticized the highly exploitative conditions in the labour market. We have been shocked by the inhuman uprooting of Africans as part of the bantustanization policy. We have warned of the threat posed to international peace and security by South Africa's aggressive policy towards its neighbours, including its occupation of Namibia. We have expressed our fear that one day this whole region will become the arena of foreign military intervention and even of large-scale war.

63. But all our appeals to the South African Government to come to its senses and to start speedily on the thorough transformation of its society have been in vain. It is indeed sad to observe that, in spite of slight adjustments, the South African Government continues to stick to its *apartheid* policy as firmly as before and to implement it in some respects in even more inhuman and cruel ways.

64. If this year we abstain from further elaborating on the conditions caused by *apartheid* in South Africa, it is not for lack of concern over the struggle of the majority for freedom, nor for want of facts and documentation, but because we wish to focus this statement on what action the international community should take to convince the South African Government that *apartheid* has to be abolished.

65. As we have repeatedly stated, it is in the interest of all countries to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in southern Africa. We cannot hope to achieve this with any kind of permanence so long as *apartheid* persists. The assistance of the world community is of crucial importance to all those Africans who have to carry the heavy burden of the struggle against discrimination and injustice. For us in the world

community it is therefore imperative that we ask ourselves what our roles should be in this process.

66. We firmly believe that, without the threat of real pressure from the international community, the South African Government is not likely to start the necessary process of transforming its society. The South African leaders are not likely, as experience teaches us, to be persuaded by logical arguments and pleading words. They are founding their sense of security on the existence of a strong police and military apparatus and the knowledge that South Africa is a major partner in the economic system of the Western world. But these intrinsic links to the outside world are the very tools by which we can bring external pressure to bear on South Africa. They are the tools we must use.

67. The world community so far has taken one step of this kind. The mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, although not as comprehensive as many of us would have liked it to be, constituted an important break-through. It was the first time that all the members of the Security Council had accepted the principle that sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter should be applied to the situation in South Africa.

68. We believe, however, that it is important not only to secure the full implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), but also to complement it with other measures.

69. The Security Council could, for instance, consider steps to achieve, at an early date, the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa. Such steps would be a serious warning to the Government of South Africa that the world community is prepared to keep increasing its pressure as long as the white minority insists on excluding more than 20 million South Africans from exercising their rights as citizens and equals.

70. In several previous statements, my delegation elaborated on the reasons why we consider that the Security Council should take such steps.

71. To summarize, a cessation of further foreign investments and financial loans would be an effective complement to the arms embargo. South Africa is now attempting to become self-sufficient in arms production, and foreign capital is directly or indirectly of great significance to such domestic production. Furthermore, measures to curb the flow of capital to South Africa would hit the most sensitive nerve in the South African society and therefore be likely to be taken seriously by those now responsible for its economic welfare.

72. Moreover, the threat of a cut-off from the Western economic world would have a psychological impact on the white leaders in Pretoria. It would show them that the Western countries, after all, take the long-term view, aiming at peace, stability and prosperity in southern Africa, rather than striving for economic benefits of limited duration.

73. In this context, we have elaborated also on the crucial role of *apartheid* in the South African economy as a whole. For instance, without *apartheid* the foreign investor could never count on profiting from a source of cheap labour and a virtual guarantee against strikes and

unrest among the workers. In view of the nature of the repressive laws of *apartheid* and the methods used in upholding them, no calculation of the profitability of investments in South Africa should therefore be made without including also human and moral consideration of the reasons for the high returns.

74. Now, some countries seem to say that business codes of conduct, by improving the lot of the black majority, may act as an agent of change. Obviously, nobody could have anything against such codes of conduct so long as they actually lead to the amelioration of the working conditions of the non-white South Africans. We rather see such principles as something that should be taken for granted, that foreign companies operating in South Africa should never do anything less than what the *apartheid* legislation allows or what the most basic human decency requires.

75. But that is not the point. It is not much more than an illusion to believe that commercial enterprises that have to work within the legal framework of *apartheid* and are interested in making money, not politics, are able to erode the *apartheid* system. An exclusive emphasis on codes of conduct as a means of influence is not likely to contribute much to political and other changes. We therefore persist in expressing the view that the peaceful abolition of the *apartheid* policy will come only as a consequence of pressure on the South African Government, not as a result of appeals to the goodwill of corporate interests.

76. I have chosen to elaborate at some length on the issue of foreign investments in South Africa since this is one essential element of the programme of joint action against *apartheid* that the Nordic Governments have adopted, an element for which we seek the widest possible support in the United Nations.

77. The proposal to put an end to new investments in, and financial loans to South Africa, has already met with overwhelming response in the General Assembly. We hope that the Security Council will find it possible to act without further delay on the relevant General Assembly resolution [resolution 33/183 0]. Only Security Council action has a chance of putting South Africa under really effective pressure.

78. However, in the absence of such further action and in view of the unique and grave situation prevailing in South Africa, Governments must now be prepared to consider also unilateral measures. To this end, the Swedish Parliament passed a bill on 1 June of this year, which entered into force one month later, by which new Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia were prohibited. The main aim of a prohibition of investments is to exert influence on the South African racial policy and social order. Through our initiative, which involves an exceptional measure, we hope to encourage other States and the Security Council to decide on similar action against South Africa. However limited in its scope, such a step with regard to new investments, if taken by a number of countries — or preferably by the Security Council — would be a clear expression of our will and decisiveness as members of the world Organization to show by practical action our solidarity with those who for years have fought against injustice and for human dignity in southern Africa.

79. But, besides a cessation of foreign investments in

and financial loans to South Africa, the Security Council should also explore other avenues in our efforts to put pressure on the *apartheid* régime. Thus, Sweden remains committed to working for proposals in the Security Council that would result in binding decisions against trade with South Africa. Other possible measures that the Security Council should discuss relate to the oil trade and air traffic with South Africa.

80. I mentioned earlier that the prospect of South Africa's developing its own capability to produce nuclear explosives lends to the problem of *apartheid* a particularly perilous dimension. By developing such a capability, South Africa would hang a nuclear sword of Damocles over the nations in the whole region and could use its power in attempts to exert all kinds of pressure against its neighbours.

81. As long as South Africa is not a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and full-scope safeguards are not applied to its nuclear programme, there is no way of preventing such a dangerous development. Adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or, as a minimum, the acceptance of such safeguards, should be a basic requirement made by all countries at present co-operating with South Africa in the nuclear field. However, in order to achieve maximum pressure against the *apartheid* régime, it may be necessary to consider the contribution which a total cut-off of all nuclear co-operation with South Africa could make, as part of a programme of economic sanctions decided upon by the Security Council. Any such consideration must include a balanced judgment of, on the one hand, the persuasive value of sanctions in a sector that is particularly sensitive to South Africa's economy and, on the other hand, the risks to the region — and to the world — of South Africa's action without the restraints of international safeguards and developing on its own a military nuclear capacity.

82. But pressure on Pretoria must not be the only way in which the world community attempts to help in creating just and decent conditions for present and future generations of South Africans. To alleviate the plight of the many victims of *apartheid* and to support the neighbouring countries in the region which also suffer the consequences of the application of that system, the international community has to continue to show solidarity with those peoples and continue its assistance to the various programmes established for such purposes. As Chairman of the Trust Fund for South Africa, I have ample opportunities to witness how greatly needed such assistance is. Sweden's aid to the African National Congress of South Africa for its civilian activities amounts to 16 million Swedish crowns this year. But not least, in view of the constant stream of refugees coming out from South Africa, we have to do more for them and their families — for instance, in the fields of legal aid and educational assistance.

83. It remains our conviction that, by implementing such an approach of applying pressure on those who are responsible for the repugnant *apartheid* system and showing compassion for those who are its victims, the world community can best secure the aim of a stable and prosperous future for southern Africa, so that men and women of different races can live and work together and exercise their rights as equals in peace and harmony.

84. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The Members of the United

Nations are committed under the Charter to promoting the realization of a life of dignity, freedom and equality for all peoples. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the conventions and covenants on human rights adopted by the United Nations, all reflect this endeavour of the international community. It is most regrettable that, while such endeavours continue all over the globe, there should be regions in Africa where men are being denied their basic human rights. In South Africa, the practice of *apartheid* has taken the form of an ideology and a political doctrine which has been consecrated in the Constitution of the State. The systematic discrimination, exploitation and persecution of the people of South Africa are a sad mockery of our contemporary standards of civilization and a burden on the conscience of mankind.

85. Every standard, regulation, law and act of the racist régime is tainted with this pernicious doctrine, distorting and destroying all the normal relationships between human beings in that society. The peoples of South Africa have been dispossessed of their land and its resources; the whole country has been turned into a vast prison.

86. The system of *apartheid* has been universally and systematically condemned and rejected by the peoples and nations of the world. The General Assembly has declared *apartheid* "a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind". Year after year, in this august Assembly and in other forums, the voices of protest and abhorrence, anger and anguish, have been heard speaking against this cruel system. That the system remains entrenched is a profound tragedy of our time.

87. International peace and security cannot be durable as long as the peoples of South Africa remain under the brutal system of racial oppression and exploitation. In the ultimate analysis, world peace is based on the international obligation to respect the dignity and equal rights of all the peoples of the world. Unfortunately, the international community has remained powerless in the face of the challenge posed by racist South Africa. Our resolutions have been disregarded. Our condemnations are treated with contempt.

88. The question arises, how is it that a régime that is universally reviled has found it possible to defy the will of the peoples of the world? Why is it that the United Nations has found itself unable to adopt the measures of censure and the sanctions which the Charter provides for those very circumstances? How can the handful of racists in South Africa continue to impose their abhorrent system on the vast majority of the people of that country?

89. The answers to those questions lie in the continuing support and collaboration which Pretoria receives from certain circles which seem to be more devoted to profit than to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

90. The Centre against *Apartheid*, in a series of reports, has documented the dimensions of the external role played by other countries in the expansion of South Africa's military-industrial complex. Despite the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in November 1977, transnational corporations have continued to play a crucial role in strengthening Pretoria's oppressive rule by providing technology and

finance, which enable South Africa to produce domestically 75 per cent of its military requirements. The military spending of the racist régime in South Africa has now reached the figure of approximately \$2 billion. A similar situation prevails in the economic field. According to a study by Corporate Data Exchange, Inc., on *Bank Loans to South Africa*, during the period 1972-1978 South Africa obtained 158 loans, totalling nearly \$5.5 billion, from 382 banks in certain Western countries. In 1974, there were 1,632 foreign companies operating in South Africa and their number has increased steadily since.

91. The special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22/Add.1], exposing the growing collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and Israel, is a matter of serious concern and calls for firm international action.

92. History will surely run its course in South Africa, as it has elsewhere. But those Governments which gain from collaboration with South Africa must understand their responsibilities. They must ask themselves which is the greater threat to world peace, as well as to their own long-term interests: a rupture of relations with South Africa now or the disastrous racial war that is inevitable if Pretoria persists in its defiant course? To my delegation, as to the majority of States represented here, the answer is evident.

93. The threat posed by South Africa racism has now assumed ominous dimensions. I refer to the recent reports of South Africa's having conducted a nuclear explosion. The acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability by the racist régime of Pretoria poses incalculable danger not only for the oppressed people of South Africa but for the entire continent of Africa and, indeed, for world peace and security.

94. The struggle against *apartheid* and racism is at the core of the international community's efforts to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. My delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Special Committee and the Centre against *Apartheid* of the contribution which they have made to this struggle. My delegation has taken full cognizance of the annual report of the Special Committee and fully supports its conclusions and recommendations [A/34/22, chap. II, paras. 212-331]. We endorse the proposal that the United Nations should urgently launch an international campaign for comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime and convene an international conference for this purpose in co-operation with OAU. We also support the recommendations set out in the report on nuclear and military collaboration with South Africa [*ibid.*, paras. 241-255]. At the same time, we must recognize the urgent need for increased assistance to the liberation movements by providing all the necessary moral and material assistance. The front-line States, which have so heroically participated in this battle against *apartheid* and suffered grievous human and economic losses, also have the right to a more tangible manifestation of our solidarity. The international community has an obligation to assist them in the defence of their independence and territorial integrity against acts of aggression and subversion by the *apartheid* régime.

95. Pakistan's consistent and resolute solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa is well known and needs no reiteration. Pakistan joins the international

community in affirming its deep appreciation of the heroism of the South African people and their liberation movements in carrying on their noble and righteous struggle in the face of a most brutal oppression. Their sacrifices will be a glowing chapter in the history of the struggle for human dignity and equality.

96. Pakistan's abhorrence of and opposition to *apartheid* and racial discrimination has its roots in our very ideology. Fourteen hundred years ago, the Prophet of Islam declared the commitment of the Moslem peoples to human rights and laid the foundations of a society which recognizes no distinction on the basis of colour, creed or sex. In Pakistan, we are endeavouring to conform our lives with the eternal precepts of Islam. Hence, our commitment to the struggle against the inhuman system of *apartheid* is a matter of deep conviction arising from the well-springs of our faith.

97. Since its inception, therefore, Pakistan has, within the constraints of its limited resources, extended all the help it can for the eradication of *apartheid*, and we reaffirm our support for any further step that the international community may take to accelerate the process of the establishment of a just and peaceful society in South Africa.

98. The year 1979 has been declared the International Year of the Child. Let us, therefore, commit ourselves in this year to a course of purposeful action which will enable the children of South Africa to live in the conditions of freedom and equality that are their birth-right as much as they are those of children in other parts of the world.

99. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): *Apartheid* is a facet of the old world order which has enabled a minority to raise their standards of living at the cost of poverty, misery and deprivation of rights for the majority of the people in southern Africa. Despite our recognition of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, it has continued to survive. The goals we must achieve are clear enough as they are enunciated for us both in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What is not understood — and is ignored — is that these goals cannot be attained until all nations recognize that civil and political rights are closely related to economic, social and cultural rights. Different standards cannot be applied. It is incumbent on us to create a universal system in which the human rights of all peoples will be protected by the rule of law.

100. We have witnessed the end of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, during which useful contributions were made. It is our duty to commend the Special Committee and the Centre against *Apartheid* for their useful work. However, we must be mindful of the fact that the policy of *apartheid* not only still continues unabated, but is taking on new and insidious forms to crush the legitimate struggle of millions of people. These millions continue to be deprived of their freedom and their right to decide their own destiny. They are compelled to continue with their painful experience of servitude and humiliation.

101. Moreover, *apartheid* also represents a threat to international peace and security. There cannot be peace as long as over three quarters of the population of South

Africa are excluded from the mainstream of national life and from enjoying the benefits of the resources of that country.

102. The racist minority régime of South Africa not only perpetuates the injustices of the *apartheid* system, but also thwarts the will of the international community with regard to Namibia and Zimbabwe. Indeed, South Africa is the central bastion of racism and colonialism in southern Africa. Peace in southern Africa cannot be achieved until *apartheid* is eradicated and the régime in South Africa is compelled to give up its oppression of the majority of the people of that country. The Sri Lanka delegation deplores this situation and supports all efforts to eradicate *apartheid*, which is the core of the problem in southern Africa. My delegation also reaffirms our support of and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements.

103. Despite our efforts, *apartheid* continues in open defiance of the decisions of the international community, the Security Council and the General Assembly. While the policies of *apartheid* continue, the *apartheid* régimes have increased their repressive, aggressive and expansionist tendencies. They invade and systematically attack Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. These acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and their allies are for the purpose of blocking the support given by those front-line States to the liberation struggle which is supported by the international community. It was only a few days ago that the Security Council, in its resolution 454 (1979), condemned South Africa's recent aggression against Angola. The international community must bring its combined will to bear on South Africa to make that State scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line States.

104. The Security Council and the General Assembly have repeatedly expressed concern about South Africa's building up its nuclear-weapon capability. A few days ago, we had a report of an alleged nuclear explosion in that region. South Africa, in its desperate attempts at maintaining *apartheid*, cannot be allowed to confront the world with the fait accompli of its acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability. The report of the alleged explosion has at least been a timely reminder to the international community of the grave threats to international peace and security that could be posed by the racist minority régime in South Africa.

105. The elimination of *apartheid* has been one of the essential objectives of the non-aligned movement and, indeed, of the whole international community. We, in the non-aligned movement, have also reiterated our firmest support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to achieve their full independence and the total elimination of racism and *apartheid*. The United Nations and the entire international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements. *Apartheid* stands at the core of the problems of that region. Thus, the United Nations has an important and vital role in the mobilization of international action for the elimination of *apartheid*. There is an urgent need greatly to intensify the efforts to

mobilize world public opinion for the eradication of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

106. The Sri Lanka delegation believes that, *inter alia*, the following steps are essential for the eradication of *apartheid* and its many manifestations: first, to intensify world public opinion for the eradication of *apartheid*; secondly, to demand strict implementation of all United Nations resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council on this subject; thirdly, to denounce the increase of military, political and economic collaboration by certain countries with South Africa, which helps to maintain the racist minority régimes built on the policy of *apartheid*—all Member States must be requested to give their fullest co-operation to achieve this goal; fourthly, to give support and assistance to front-line States, which must not be left alone in their courageous determination to resist the racist régimes of southern Africa; and fifthly, to ensure that all States refrain from any direct or indirect co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons, as any military nuclear collaboration with South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

107. *Apartheid* and its consequences gravely concern the entire international community. It is a matter of compelling urgency that *apartheid* be eradicated forthwith and replaced by a system based on freedom,

equality and full respect for human dignity. This objective, to which we have often pledged ourselves, can be achieved only by concerted action. Without the attainment of this objective, the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights would have little meaning to millions of people.

108. I should like to conclude by quoting from a recent statement by His Excellency Mr. Jayawardene, President of Sri Lanka:

“We voice our protest against these desperate and ruthless measures being adopted by the *apartheid* régimes as an attempt to maintain the *status quo*. I reaffirm the solidarity of the Government and people of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka with those suppressed and oppressed as a result of the *apartheid* policies and with those who have pledged themselves to use all legitimate means at their disposal towards the goal of eradicating the last remnants of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Sri Lanka, which is unequivocally pledged to democracy, has an abiding interest in the principles and practice of anti-*apartheid* policies. We associate ourselves with those who struggle valiantly to ensure the dawn of a new era of dignity with the ultimate emancipation of all human beings from racial discrimination.”

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.