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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. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): As this is the first time I have addressed the Assembly at this session, please allow me, Mr. President, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election to preside over this thirty-fourth session. My delegation appreciates the skilful and intelligent manner in which you have conducted our work so far.

2. The Republic of Haiti, my country, attaches major importance to the *apartheid* policy of the South African racist régime, a policy which poses the most crucial problem to the conscience of Africa, if not all mankind. It calls into question the basic values of present-day civilization, which are based upon the principles of freedom, equality and justice that it systematically violates. To all peoples of the world today, *apartheid* is the symbol of flagrant injustice.

3. Because of its inherent violence and its harmful effects on the maintenance of international peace and security, *apartheid* has—for nearly three decades—been the most serious concern of the United Nations, which has dedicated itself to its complete elimination.

4. The debate this year gives us an opportunity to take stock and to decide on ways and means for the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities to the real people of South Africa, who have been under the yoke of the most degrading and ferocious system ever conceived by mankind. An entire people must be rehabilitated and its fundamental, inalienable and undeniable rights must be restored.

5. The unanimity constantly demonstrated by the in-

ternational community in its rejection of the iniquitous *apartheid* system, which it has condemned as a crime against humanity, had led us to believe that the monster could be defeated without too much difficulty and replaced by a society governed by the principles of law and human values.

6. But the picture painted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its annual report [A/34/22] hardly encourages optimism: the situation as regards the *apartheid* policy of the South African racist régime, far from improving, seems to be worsening from day to day. The information at our disposal shows that repression has intensified as resistance to oppression has grown. Torture, sentences under arbitrary laws, assassinations and the massacre of innocent women and children are methods resorted to by the South African régime to defeat the opponents of *apartheid*. The creation of the so-called State of Venda proves that South Africa intends to pursue to its limits its pitiless policy of bantustanization, which aims at making black South Africans foreigners in their own country, not to mention its aggression against neighbouring African countries, the most recent victim of which was the People's Republic of Angola, scarcely a week ago.

7. All this shows that the racist régime of Pretoria is determined arrogantly to ignore the United Nations resolutions on all aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, ranging from diplomatic, trade and financial relations and relations in sport to military, nuclear and other forms of co-operation. Pretoria's actions clearly indicate that it has no intention of abandoning its racist policy and that it will continue to perpetuate and consolidate its system of domination and exploitation of the South African people for as long as it has the means to do so.

8. However, the question we must ask ourselves is this: how has it been possible for South Africa by itself to stand up to both the United Nations and the international community?

9. It is not at all difficult to find an answer to that question. We can say immediately that South Africa has never concealed its contempt for the United Nations, its principles, its Charter and its resolutions. We care little that South Africa has chosen to defy the Organization with which it has found itself in conflict from the outset. The real problem is that South Africa has never been alone, isolated, as it should be under the terms of United Nations resolutions. In this Assembly, South Africa has a few sympathizers, collaborators and reliable allies who provide it with the means to resist international pressure on one hand and the struggle of the national liberation movements on the other. While in the minority, the supporters of *apartheid* have proved to be more powerful than the majority. By their actions alone, they have succeeded in rendering ineffective all United Nations General Assembly and Security Council decisions aimed at eliminating racism, racial discrimina-

tion and *apartheid*, the vestiges of colonialism in southern Africa. These actions are to be seen both in the United Nations where, through the use of the veto, they have prevented the adoption of mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime even when it has been found guilty of crimes against humanity, and in South Africa itself where the weight of their economic and technological power assures the continuation of the domination and racist exploitation of Africans through their direct investments, banking loans and transfer of technology, particularly in the areas of the armaments industry and nuclear research for military purposes.

10. There is a direct link between these foreign investments and the maintenance of the South African people under the harsh rule of the white racists. First, they make it possible for the multinational corporations to reap enormous profits because of the virtually slave labour force available to them and secondly, it has been possible for the Pretoria régime to allocate a larger share of its gross national product to its military budget.

11. With regard to the arms embargo, we know that it was not adopted by the Security Council, in resolution 418 (1977), until the Western members were sure that South Africa could be largely self-sufficient. In spite of everything, they have not hesitated to take advantage of the smallest loop-hole in the text of the resolution to provide that country with material which could be used for military purposes. Their co-operation in South Africa's military programme has led very recently to the detonation of a nuclear device, the news of which Africa learned with horror.

12. Despite the irrefutable proof of their guilt, the Western countries continue to deny that they are providing the support essential to the survival of *apartheid*. Far from seeking to condemn them, our purpose is to appeal to their conscience—if conscience they have—so that all of us together may succeed in doing away completely with the evil of *apartheid* in order to build a human community in which all its members stand united.

13. Finally, it is our hope that the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*ibid.*, paras. 212-331], which are before this Assembly, will, through the unanimous and genuine support which they will receive, make it possible to attain this noble objective.

14. In this struggle against *apartheid*, the Republic of Haiti, for its part, faithful to its historic traditions, will not fail to give its complete support to the programme recommended.

15. Mr. LUDWIKOWSKI (Poland): For more than 30 years now, the painful problem of *apartheid* has been the subject of thorough discussions in the United Nations and in so many other international organizations and conferences. *Apartheid* has been denounced by the world community as the most heinous system of racial discrimination, a racist doctrine contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and fundamental human rights.

16. The United Nations has not only condemned this brutal system of racial domination and declared it a crime against humanity, but has repeatedly pressed the South African régime to abolish *apartheid* and allow the

African majority to enjoy fully its basic human rights. However, all resolutions of the United Nations have been ignored by the racist régime in Pretoria. The events of the period since the last session of the General Assembly have proved, once again, that the Pretoria régime has no intention of changing its policy and is making every effort to consolidate the odious system of *apartheid* at the expense of the indigenous South African population.

17. During the last year, the situation in South Africa has continued to be a matter of great concern to the United Nations. As can be seen from the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the racist régime of South Africa has not changed its attitude. On the contrary, it has reinforced the repressive measures against the opponents of *apartheid*, a fatal example of which is the execution of Solomon Mahlangu despite repeated appeals and demands by the international community to refrain from the execution of freedom fighters. It continued its policy of bantustanization of the country through the illegal proclamation of so-called independence for Venda. Furthermore, the savage aggression committed against neighbouring African States, in particular against Angola and Zambia, and the massacre of innocent people have demonstrated the barbarous nature of the South African régime.

18. Recent reports of a nuclear explosion carried out by South Africa reveal a danger of even greater proportions. My delegation has already pointed out on many occasions that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the Pretoria régime would create the most direct threat to the security of African States and would greatly escalate the instability and tension in southern Africa and intensify the nuclear threat on a global scale.

19. As we are now observing the International Year of the Child, we are compelled to give special attention to the plight of children oppressed by *apartheid* in South Africa. Most revealing in this regard are the findings of the International Seminar on Children under *Apartheid*, held at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris from 18 to 20 June 1979. The Seminar concluded [*see A/34/512, annex*] that in every area—health, education, family and social relations—children in South Africa were deprived of the right to a normal existence. Moreover, black children are subjected to violence on the part of the brutally oppressive *apartheid* régime which has resulted in the gaoling, torturing and even killing of hundreds of them. It is more than distressing to learn that some 650,000 African children between the ages of 10 and 15 work on white-owned farms. Often these children are forced to work against their will, and there is evidence that they suffer brutal punishment, resulting in death or permanent disability.

20. My delegation is convinced that it would be futile and naïve to wait for a gradual transformation of the *apartheid* system. As the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Javana from 3 to 9 September 1979, correctly pointed out:

“ . . . 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.]

21. The strength of the moral force and positive measures of the international community must be effectively applied to compel the South African régime to put an end to the injustices of its system. Meaningful steps must be taken, before it is too late, to eliminate the inhuman system of racial discrimination in South Africa. Our responsibility in this regard is greater than ever before. The General Assembly should do all it can to achieve real progress towards changing the plight of the black majority in South Africa.

22. It is common knowledge that the system of *apartheid*, furthermore, is able to afford to commit its crimes because of its strong economic foundation. The situation prevailing now in South Africa and Namibia provides the white minority and the transnational corporations with a good opportunity for ruthless exploitation of the natural resources of the occupied territories and for obtaining the highest possible profits. It is no secret that the economic, military and other interests of some Western States are served by the maintenance of *apartheid* in South Africa, as well as by prolongation of the illegal South African occupation in Namibia. Therefore the racist régime is continuously assisted and strengthened by those countries which preserve their economic interests through a large number of transnational corporations. That is how they contribute their own share to the mass violation of human rights, whereby the majority of the people is being exploited as a source of cheap labour. Access to natural resources, rich and fertile lands, is reserved for whites only, while the indigenous population is forced to suffer in its barren reserves or bantustans.

23. The existing situation can be changed only by measures provided for in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Poland also supports the just demand of the African States for the application of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the South African régime.

24. The implementation of these measures certainly calls for political will on the part of all Member States to act decisively against the *apartheid* régime. Of special importance in this regard is the need for an increased awareness and understanding of the true nature of *apartheid* among the people in the countries which provide economic and military assistance to the racist régime. This is also incumbent upon States under the terms of the United Nations Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted last year by the General Assembly in its resolution 33/73 which stipulates, among other things, that:

“Every State has the duty to discourage all manifestations and practices of colonialism, as well as racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination and to other human rights and fundamental freedoms.”

25. Mindful of its own well-known bitter historical experience, the people of Poland has a special sympathy for the oppressed people struggling against colonialism

and racial discrimination. Therefore I wish to reaffirm Poland's full solidarity with—and support for—the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

26. Before I conclude, my delegation wishes to commend the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its tireless efforts to stimulate and promote concerted international action in combating the humiliating phenomenon of *apartheid*. In our view, the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee, as set forth in its report, deserve the most serious consideration and support of the General Assembly. We feel sure that the fruitful work of the Special Committee, under the new chairmanship of Mr. Clark, will be vigorously continued.

27. Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me to express our appreciation and gratitude to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts to bring into the open the dangers of *apartheid* not only in South Africa but in other parts of the world. Discussion of this item in the plenary meeting shows the special interest which the international community takes in this subject.

28. Our country shares that great interest, not only because of our total commitment to the cause of freedom and justice in the world, but also because of the circumstances prevailing in certain countries of the world and in direct conflict with the requirements of human dignity.

29. The General Assembly has adopted a series of resolutions condemning *apartheid* and demanding that it be eradicated. We all agree that *apartheid* is a disgrace to all mankind and violates the principles of equality and justice that are the foundation of civilized society. It is paradoxical that such an odious régime persists at this period in the history of the world, which bases itself on the strengthening of justice and the elimination of injustice and violations to human dignity.

30. In recent decades, the values and principles upon which rest human relations have undergone profound changes, which have emphasized the spirit of cooperation and unity.

31. Our common goal is to liberate man from oppression, persecution and exploitation, because we believe that political freedom and social and economic equality, as well as national independence, are the principal features of our modern history and the fundamental elements of contemporary society and international relations.

32. Despite these developments, we all have to contend with the racist oppression that prevails in South Africa. That oppression derives from a primitive instinct and an odious and barbaric attitude that existed in the past. The level of persecution practised by the South African régime has increased as the struggle against it has intensified. The repeated massacres in that part of the world call to mind those who lost their lives in their struggle against that régime. We must ask ourselves the following question: how can such a régime, which is an affront to civilized man, be permitted to survive?

33. The racist régime of Pretoria is flourishing because it knows full well that the countries which are able to ex-

ercise pressure upon it are not prepared to abandon their economic interests, which underlie the survival of that régime. Therefore the international community has a duty to ask why certain States follow such a policy when the whole world condemns such odious exploitation. Why do those States continue to co-operate in the economic, political and nuclear spheres with South Africa? It is only natural that such a régime should receive aid and support from that other racist régime, Israel. This is illustrated by the special report contained in document A/34/22/Add.1 of 2 November 1979, and we need not dwell on it.

34. My delegation continues to believe that *apartheid* is the main reason for the deteriorating political situation in South Africa. This situation constitutes a grave danger to international peace and security. We must support the oppressed people of South Africa in their just and legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence. In the present circumstances, the Security Council in particular must also adopt effective measures to deal with the challenge resulting from the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and the institutionalized racism practised in South Africa. Only thus can the Security Council discharge its essential responsibilities under the United Nations Charter. And the countries which are giving assistance and support to South Africa must revise their policies as regards that régime.

35. The struggle for liberation of the people of South Africa will undoubtedly succeed, because their cause is just and right, and no human community, no race, no matter how superior and strong, can continue indefinitely to usurp the inalienable rights of others. No matter how much South Africa intensifies its acts of repression of the militant masses in Namibia and South Africa, it will not be able to prevent the peoples from gaining their independence.

36. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm that my country supports the struggle of the people of southern Africa. As in the past, my country will spare no effort to give the necessary aid to the oppressed and persecuted people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, in accordance with the noble principles and lofty purposes of the United Nations Charter.

37. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): The final elimination of racism and racial discrimination and the liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system, first of all in southern Africa, are among the most urgent problems of the present day. The solution of those problems is considered a cardinal task by all those who work for the progress of mankind towards a social system of greater justice.

38. It is obvious that the major imperialist Powers are not, of their own free will, going to abandon their positions in the remaining parts of the colonial system. We have to fight them, first and foremost at their advanced post or rearguard, the South African régime.

39. The United Nations is making increasingly greater efforts to enforce a total boycott of the *apartheid* régime and to wipe it off the face of the earth once and for all. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Government is deeply concerned at seeing that, while the United Nations is doing its best for the sake of the oppressed people of South Africa, the full rage of terror continues there, creating a serious and increasingly explosive

situation in that part of the African continent. A careful study of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22] again reveals the obvious causes and the whole background of that situation, showing and proving that, with the support of the leading capitalist countries, the South African régime has become able to build the biggest arsenal of arms in Africa, to create the strongest army of mercenaries in the continent and even to develop a capability for the production of nuclear weapons.

40. At this stage, I shall refer to the statement of the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* at this Assembly's 47th meeting, on 26 October 1979. He said, among other things, that Africa had over the years raised the alarm because the South African racist régime, with the assistance of Western Powers, was preparing to introduce nuclear weapons into the continent. When in August 1977 it became obvious that South Africa had been planning a nuclear explosion in the Kalahari Desert in Namibia, the only Territory under the direct control and jurisdiction of the United Nations, faint efforts were made to listen to the protests of Africans, but no concrete action was taken by its Western collaborators to cut off all nuclear dealings with South Africa. Now the General Assembly has requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations [decision 34/404] to investigate whether South Africa had actually detonated a nuclear device.

41. Ambassador Clark of Nigeria has explained it clearly, as follows:

"We knew then, as we know now, that its sole objective in acquiring nuclear capability was to threaten and blackmail Africa because Africa opposes South Africa's inhuman policy of *apartheid*. We emphasized . . . that, in spite of denials by South Africa and its Western accomplices in its diabolical strategy, a nuclear-weapon programme is possible for South Africa only because of the assistance and co-operation it has always received from some Western Powers . . ." [see 47th meeting, para. 13].

42. Those facts make clear to everyone why and how the minority racist régime in South Africa is able to resort to the crudest methods of terrorism in order to maintain its rule based on the brutal oppression and exploitation of the black population in Africa. It is no exaggeration to say that the Republic of South Africa is, in fact, a concentration camp for the indigenous population.

43. It is extremely deplorable that, despite the vicious policy of the racist régime and its gross and massive violations of human rights, the imperialist Powers lend all-round support to it. Those Powers, which very often pose as protectors of human rights, maintain extensive relations with the racist régime, in open violation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and its Charter.

44. In every forum, the Hungarian People's Republic comes out consistently against the various forms of racism, especially *apartheid*, its most extreme manifestation. Guided by its position of principle, the Hungarian Government takes an active part in the international struggle for the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism and all forms of racial discrimination.

45. The Hungarian Government and public opinion have always been on the side of African and other peoples in their heroic struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. The Hungarian Government and people, in accordance with their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist foreign policy and within the bounds of what is possible for them, render moral and financial assistance to the peoples and liberation movements fighting against colonialism, racism and foreign aggression.

46. In conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Hungarian Government recognizes the right of peoples fighting for independence and liberation from colonial and foreign oppression to use every means at their disposal, including armed struggle if necessary.

47. As a founding member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Hungarian People's Republic has acceded to all major international conventions that have been concluded to give effect to the equality of civil rights and to eliminate discrimination against citizens on grounds of race, sex, nationality and so on in all fields of life. Those conventions include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XX)*], the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260 A (III), annex*], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*].

48. The Hungarian Government has always strictly observed, and will continue to observe, the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations on the application of economic, diplomatic and other sanctions against the racist régimes in southern Africa.

49. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): From its very inception, the United Nations has understood the odious character of the policy of *apartheid* adopted by the racist minority régime in South Africa. That is why this question has been the subject of detailed and elaborate discussions since 1952. Since that time, this item has been officially on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly.

50. It is indeed regrettable that in the twentieth century such immoral practices should persist against the population of South Africa, depriving it of its most elementary and legitimate rights, while, at the same time, we see man achieving miracles in various fields and making spectacular progress in science and technology, thereby increasing his well-being and progress.

51. The Pretoria régime is based upon racism; it promulgates laws that are discriminatory in character, based on colour and on race, and thus make it possible for the white minority, which does not exceed 20 per cent of the population, to dominate the African population which represents the overwhelming majority. This régime continues to defy the international community, just as it ignores all human values, and it violates the United Nations Charter, which is the expression of the hopes and aspirations of mankind.

52. The violation of the most elementary principles of human rights in South Africa is a disgrace to all mankind. We see that the rights of the African people are trampled underfoot, every day, with the full knowledge of the international community. The African population is enduring the worst possible forms of injustice, oppression and exploitation. In South Africa, the indigenous population represents more than 75 per cent of the total population, but it is living in bantustans, in an area which does not exceed 13 per cent of the total land area of the country, while the white minority lives in 87 per cent of the land area, which produces 97 per cent of the revenue. All these contradictions have created an abnormal atmosphere which compels the Africans to emigrate in order to find work in mines, plantations and factories owned by the whites, where the African is exploited as cheap labour and denied the right to enjoy the wealth of his soil. Thus, the man who owns the land lives on it as a stranger, while the white man disposes of it as he sees fit, and establishes his superiority over the African by means of his position as master, whose annual income grows and whose standard of living improves.

53. The exploitation of the majority by the white minority, and the promulgation of iniquitous laws giving a legal character to the preservation of the prosperity of the white minority and to the exploitation of the natural resources and human potential of the native population, are in flagrant violation of all human principles and values. The documents of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* constitute an open condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria régime and of the policy followed by all Powers allied with it, because, without the assistance given to it, that régime would be unable to exist and continue to defy the international will. The interests of those Powers are linked with the existence of that régime, to which they give military, political and economic assistance. In spite of the efforts by the United Nations to isolate the racist régime of *apartheid*, statistics show how trade exchanges between the Western Powers and the Pretoria régime are being intensified. Furthermore, transnational corporations are playing a major role by giving the necessary aid and support to the South African economy and by exploiting the natural resources of the country.

54. The United Nations has played an important role in the denunciation of the odious racist policy and in the disclosure of its methods. The General Assembly debates on this question reached an important turning point in 1962, when the General Assembly set up the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*resolution 1761 (XVII)*]. The effect of the General Assembly debates has been to alert public opinion to the odious racist policy of *apartheid* perpetrated by South Africa and to praise the African people for their heroic and legitimate struggle and their rejection of the inhuman practices to which they are subjected. The United Nations has taken a number of appropriate steps in order to reject this policy, among them the adoption of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*; the invitation, at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly,¹ to the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], such as the African National

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, 2254th meeting.*

Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, to participate as observers in the discussions on *apartheid* in the Special Political Committee; the rejection, at the same session,² of the credentials of the representatives of South Africa, and the direct discussion of this item in plenary meetings since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. All this has had positive effects in supporting the struggle against *apartheid*. In 1977, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 418 (1977) on an arms embargo against South Africa. That was in response to the desire frequently expressed by the international Organization in the course of its deliberations. That resolution has undoubtedly had a very important effect upon the efforts made to isolate the *apartheid* régime. It is a prelude to the adoption of other measures pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the strict implementation of which will have positive results in putting an end to the tyranny of the racist Fascist régime, which is spending immense amounts of money to acquire weapons and strengthen its military potential. The report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/34/23/Rev.1, chap. VI] indicates a record-breaking increase in the military expenditure of South Africa which in 1979-1980 will reach 2 billion rand, i.e. one sixth of the general budget of South Africa for that period.

55. The international community was alerted to the danger represented by South Africa's conduct in the sphere of armaments, and particularly in the development of its nuclear potential, when the experts who participated in the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London on 24 and 25 February 1979,³ affirmed that South Africa was capable of producing reasonably sophisticated nuclear weapons. What the experts had foreseen has become almost a certainty, since the information media have informed us that South Africa has recently carried out a nuclear explosion. If that report is confirmed, it will undoubtedly constitute a serious threat to international peace and security and this situation will have very serious results for the African people in South Africa and the front-line States in particular, and for the whole world in general.

56. We should also like to emphasize an obvious fact, namely that the Pretoria régime would never have been able to achieve this superiority in the nuclear field without the technical assistance of the Western States. Consequently, the States that provide technical and material assistance to South Africa bear a direct responsibility for the latest developments, which threaten international security and tend to consolidate the hegemony of the racist minority régime over the peoples of South Africa.

57. The United Nations, through the Secretary-General, has shown on a number of occasions that the situation in South Africa is worsening, thus seriously jeopardizing peace in the area and in the whole world. The Secretary-General has recently expressed his pessimism regarding the policy of *apartheid* in his report on the work of the Organization, when he said:

“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. While the United Nations has expressed concern regarding the policy of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa, I should like to point out the other international conferences that have been held on this subject in order to express solidarity with the African people, notably the International Conference on the European Economic Community and South Africa, held at Dublin on 27 and 28 January 1979, and the special session of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, held at Kingston (Jamaica) from 22 to 25 May 1979. Those meetings have led to the adoption of declarations and work programmes that reaffirm the determination of the international community to reject racism and pursue the struggle to final victory. The whole world has condemned *apartheid*, not only as an odious crime against humanity, but also as a serious threat to international peace and security. That is why we must intensify our efforts to eliminate this evil.

59. At a time when world public opinion is unanimous in condemning co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa, a close and growing co-operation between the racist Pretoria régime and the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine has been clearly apparent, especially during the last few years. The similarities between the two régimes are clear to all. They have been confirmed by General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), which affirms that Zionism is a form of racism; it is natural for those two régimes to collaborate. They are both founded on the expulsion of indigenous populations, on racism and on legislation that establishes discrimination between the settlers and the indigenous inhabitants. Both régimes pursue a policy of oppression and terrorism against the indigenous population in a desperate attempt to frustrate its struggle. But that is not all. Those two régimes attack their neighbouring countries on the pretext of pursuing those who are carrying on an honourable struggle. The clearest example of this is the aggression committed against Angola by the South African racist régime. That aggression has been condemned by the Security Council in spite of the opposition of the United States, France and the United Kingdom, an opposition that clearly shows their attitude with regard to racism, the extent of their commitment to the racist régimes and the close alliance that exists between them. The reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and particularly the special report in document A/34/22/Add.1, contain complete information concerning the collaboration and the alliance between the two régimes. The continuation of this collaboration is a defiance of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and of OAU, as well as of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries which has repeatedly denounced that odious alliance.

60. Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the efforts it is making under the chairmanship of Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, a sister republic, and we wish that

² *Ibid.*, 2281st meeting.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13157.*

Committee every success in its efforts to promote this humanitarian cause.

61. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ever since 1946, when India denounced the racial policy of South Africa,⁴ Panama has stood by the countries that initiated the combat and the protest against the infamous system of *apartheid*. Ever since then, both in the United Nations and at all international meetings, my country has participated in efforts to encourage the international community to make decisive use of the coercive means available to it within the bounds of legality, including economic sanctions, to force the ruling racist minority to recognize the rights of the overwhelming majority of the South Africans it is oppressing for its own benefit.

62. This position, which we have maintained unwaveringly over such a long period of time, is a justifiable source of satisfaction giving us a sense of having fulfilled our duty and of having worked for lofty goals. But we are not here to express self-satisfaction and to proclaim that we were among the first, and that we are in the vanguard of this struggle. Instead, we must see what we have accomplished, we must assess the effectiveness of the measures we have adopted and try to find new means of action. The fact is that, while we have achieved relatively positive results on other fronts in the struggle against racism, as regards South Africa — where the Pretoria Government exerts its baleful influence — time and again we have found that our efforts seem to run into a wall of vested interests that enable the racist minorities to defy the world majority represented here.

63. Not so long ago, in his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General, referring to the burning issues of Zimbabwe and Namibia, complained that the situation was critical, for there could be no genuine settlement of the problem if the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council were not satisfactorily implemented — that is, if the will of the majority of the population were not genuinely expressed in the forms of government it wished to establish. The Secretary-General went on to say:

“Unless this can be done soon, there is a serious danger that all the progress made on this question will be lost in bloodshed, disorder and ruin with serious implications for the security of the whole region.” [See A/34/I, sect. III.]

64. Furthermore, the racists' incursions into the territory of other States, with their train of death and devastation, attest to the fact that they consider themselves exempt from any measure that would compel them to respect human rights and democratic principles.

65. These repeated crimes of the racists, both domestically and internationally, have a common origin and go by a single name: *apartheid*. To put it bluntly: until the South African Government is forced by international action to overhaul its whole approach to society, its racial prejudices and its monstrous governmental system, there can be no peace or security in southern Africa. And as we state this unassailable truth, there arises another serious issue, made up of many thorny questions.

66. How is it that, throughout the 33 years since the adoption of the first resolution condemning South Africa [*resolution 44 (I)*], the racist minority Government has been able to remain in power and, indeed, increase its strength to such an extent that it is now on the brink of equipping itself with atomic weapons, if it has not already done so?

67. In this connexion, I would hasten to add that the majority of Member States are not responsible for the fact that the *apartheid* régime is still in power. However, the same cannot be said of certain States which, contrary to the will of the General Assembly and the Security Council, through indirect dealings, or else through legal stratagems, have been continuing to traffic with South Africa, thus giving it tacit but effective support.

68. It is disgraceful that despite Security Council resolution 181 (1963), adopted 16 years ago, whereby all States were called upon to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunitions of all types and military vehicles to South Africa — a ban which was reiterated and reinforced in 1964, 1970 and 1972 — South Africa has increased its military might.

69. In 1976, after the killings in Soweto and elsewhere, the Security Council, in its resolution 392 (1976) sponsored by my country and yours, Mr. President, once again expressed its repudiation of the racist Government of South Africa, condemning it for having resorted to widespread violence against the African people and for having engaged in the killing of schoolchildren, students and others who were opposed to racial discrimination. The resolution further reaffirmed that the policy of *apartheid* was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disrupted international peace and security.

70. A year later, the same Security Council, in its resolution 417 (1977), also sponsored by Panama, demanded that the Government of South Africa put an end to its reprehensible actions, release political prisoners, halt its indiscriminate violence against the opponents of *apartheid*, stop the killings of detainees and the torture of political prisoners, abrogate bans on the news media, abolish the whole “Bantu education” system, discontinue its policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality. In an effort to launch a programme of action along those lines, the Security Council called on all Governments and organizations to take all appropriate measures to achieve those objectives.

71. That same year, the Security Council, pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, adopted resolution 418 (1977) — of which my country was one of the sponsors — by which it imposed an obligatory arms embargo against South Africa, also as part of an effort to put an end to all forms of military co-operation between the Pretoria and the Smith régimes.

72. Nonetheless, the fact remains that, despite the above-mentioned resolutions, the racist South African Government is still in power; this is due to international complicity whereby, one way or the other, the will of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations is flouted.

73. More recently, the General Assembly, in resolutions 32/105 G of 14 December 1977 and 33/183 E of 24

⁴ See document A/149.

January 1979, called upon all Member States to take appropriate action to impose a complete oil embargo against South Africa. In the latter resolution, adopted with only six opposing votes, the General Assembly called upon the Security Council to give urgent consideration to the imposition of a binding embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

74. Obviously, if the oil embargo against South Africa were to be effective, the position of the South African racist régime would be intolerable. My delegation believes that every effort should be made to implement that resolution and to lay stress on its aims, for it surely is an effective way of wiping out the cancer of *apartheid*. And let no one hypocritically say that the people of South Africa would then suffer, for there can be no greater suffering than that of the vast majority of Africans today, who do not have even the basic satisfaction of seeing the foundations of their oppressors' mechanical and military might being shaken.

75. Let us invite, let us call upon, let us implore the nations that have the power to do so, once and for all, to force the Government of Pretoria, which is responsible for all the present evils in southern Africa, to abandon its barbaric social concepts. Because of the grim myth of the superiority of one race over another that inspires the minority in power, because of the cruel ways in which its power is expressed, and because of the abominable system of *apartheid* which is aimed at perpetuating itself, the South African situation is one of the most ignominious evils of our time.

76. With the passing of the years, when the suffering and humiliation of the peoples of South Africa are no more than the dust of memory and have passed into the pages of history, it will be difficult indeed for future historians to comprehend how it was possible for such a régime to exist in the same era and at the same moment as space ships were launched from our planet to Jupiter and Saturn, and when in our laboratories science had exploded racial myths and proved the common origin of our species.

77. As nationals of small countries, we can do little ourselves to put an end to the monstrous situation in South Africa. Our limited resources do not permit us to take direct and effective action in the field of economic sanctions; but we can, on the other hand, band together and fervently urge the great nations to combine their weighty resources in order to destroy the racist régime of South Africa.

78. If those countries adopted the means available to them, the fate of *apartheid* would be sealed without delay. They, and only they, hold the solution in their hands; and when I say the solution, I mean a peaceful solution, because the other kind, that of a vast popular uprising, will surely come if things continue as they are and if the resolutions of the principal organs of the United Nations remain dead letters.

79. We must not lose sight of the fact, as the Secretary-General has said, that it is possible that the patience of the African peoples, their capacity to resist the taunts and humiliation which they constantly suffer and their innate kindness will one day be exhausted, and that the oppressed people of South Africa will decide to

take the law into its own hands. Then we shall hear lamentations and cries of woe, and we shall see repentant faces and hands raised to heaven.

80. There is still time to prevent the worst, to remedy, by means of economic and legal sanctions, the long list of crimes committed by the Pretoria régime, whose spokesmen are a disgrace to Western Christian civilization.

81. It is our earnest hope that by adding our voice to the growing clamour of the oppressed peoples, we shall help build a future of justice and redemption for the millions of human beings whom the *apartheid* régime has enslaved and forced to live in conditions unworthy of twentieth-century man—the man who has already conquered outer space and to whom the very secrets of the origin of life are about to be revealed.

82. In conclusion, Panama would like to state that we support the request of the thirty-third ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, to the Secretary-General of OAU and the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* to organize an international conference in 1980, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and OAU, to mobilize world public opinion in support of the effective implementation of economic and other sanctions against South Africa [see A/34/552, annex I, CM/Res.734 (XXXIII)].

83. Furthermore, my country considers that the time has come to support the efforts promoted by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana, to strengthen and make operative as soon as possible the fund of solidarity and support for southern Africa in an effort to give effective support to the liberation of the peoples of that region.

84. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): The question of the policy and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than a quarter of a century. Nevertheless, the measures adopted thus far have yielded no tangible results. On the contrary, the situation has considerably worsened and poses now a grave threat not only to neighbouring countries but also to the international community.

85. *Apartheid* is one of the most abhorrent social phenomena of our time. The racist régime of Pretoria has institutionalized racial discrimination and raised racism to the status of the official ideology and State policy. The entire political and socio-economic system in South Africa is based upon racial discrimination and exploitation of the black African population. The theory and practice of *apartheid*, condemned by the world community and qualified by international law as a crime against humanity, are deployed to trample upon the inalienable right of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to self-determination, independence and social progress.

86. South Africa has been turned by the racist white minority into an enormous concentration camp for the black Africans and other Coloured people. Colour of the skin is the main criterion on the basis of which the vast majority of the population is deprived of all its civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and

this at the end of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the numerous reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights and other organs of the United Nations testify to the fact that even the very life of the African people is in constant threat.

87. In order to perpetuate the inhuman exploitation based on *apartheid*, the racist régime of South Africa has resorted to the farce of bantustanization, which has been condemned by world public opinion. Pretoria, with the help of its sponsors, is making every effort to keep the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa and of the illegally occupied Namibia in a state of subjugation as long as possible and to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring African States. In this respect, I cannot but recall the recent sad experience of the latest aggressive act of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. Jeopardizing in this way the peace not only of the African continent but also throughout the world, South Africa constantly intensifies its policies of mass terror against the indigenous population. But terror and merciless repression alone are not sufficient to keep the people of South Africa subjugated.

88. The *apartheid* régime continues to exist primarily because it receives significant support from certain quarters. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* points out clearly the fact that the continuing collaboration of some Western States with the *apartheid* régime, in disregard of United Nations resolutions, constitutes the main obstacle to ending the inhuman system of *apartheid*. Several transnational corporations have further strengthened their economic position in the country. They are interested in the existence of the racist régime because the conditions of racial discrimination and the enslavement of the majority of the population of South Africa permit the extraction of high profits. For instance, according to a study prepared at the request of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*,⁵ a small handful of transnational banks holds about two thirds of the assets of the biggest 20 banks in South Africa. The study further states that the transnational banks' southern African affiliates helped to mobilize funds to build up the South African military-industrial complex. Their commercial affiliates, for example, advanced almost 4 billion South African rand in various forms of credit to different sectors of the South African economy in 1975 alone.

89. With the assistance of some countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the South African régime has built up the biggest weapons arsenal in Africa. It has developed the capability of producing modern nuclear weapons and has created the strongest army of mercenaries in the continent. Owing to that continuous assistance, South Africa is tending more and more to become self-sufficient in the field of military production and to become a real threat, not only to its African neighbours but to world peace as well.

90. The whole situation in southern Africa acquires great importance in the light of the manoeuvres of certain Western States to decide the fate of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to the detriment of their national interests.

91. The struggle for national liberation and independence is an objective law of our time. But colonialism, racism and *apartheid* will not give up their positions if they are not forced to do so. That is why it is necessary, now more than ever before, to mobilize all ways and means for the complete elimination of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It is necessary not only once again to focus the attention of world public opinion on the degrading living conditions of the large majority of the people under colonial and racial domination and to confirm moral solidarity with the victims of *apartheid*, but also to take effective measures to increase all-round support for the national liberation movements in southern Africa and for their legitimate struggle to win freedom and independence for the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

92. The United Nations has been appealing for a long time for the termination of all types of co-operation with South Africa, and guidelines for this have been laid out in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and, more specifically, in the Programme of Action against *Apartheid*, adopted at its thirty-first session [resolution 31/6 J]. Those texts call for a boycott against the South African régime in all fields, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

93. It is not enough to state that one is against *apartheid*. The United Nations has been against *apartheid* for years and yet *apartheid* continues to exist. The Pretoria régime will not voluntarily renounce its racist policy. It must be compelled to do so by means of constant pressure from the international community and through the struggle within the country. It is high time that energetic measures, including effective sanctions, were adopted by the Security Council with the aim of breaking off all co-operation with the racist régime of Pretoria and isolating it completely.

94. To conclude, I should like to reiterate the firm position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in defence of the self-determination and independence of peoples and against racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The special declaration adopted by the Bulgarian National Assembly on 5 July 1978 emphasized, *inter alia*, that

“ . . . faithful to its principled policy of support for the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a member of the socialist community, has consistently rendered, and will continue to render assistance and support to the national liberation movements of southern Africa in their just and legitimate struggle to throw off colonial slavery and for freedom and independence.”

⁵ Corporate Data Exchange, Inc., “Bank Loans to South Africa, 1972-1978”, *Notes and Documents of the Centre against Apartheid*, No. 5/79 (May 1979).