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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(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: I now call on the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, His Excellency Mr. Sebastian Chale, of the United Republic of Tanzania, to introduce the report which is contained in document A/34/36.

2. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: Sir, allow me first of all to convey to you my sincere congratulations and fraternal felicitations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your talents as a skilled diplomat, your wisdom and the speed which you have maintained in guiding this session with determination, ease and composure, *suaviter in modo sed fortiter in re*, your experience and your personal devotion to the ideals of the United Nations will certainly guide us during our deliberations at this session. Many qualities you have, Mr. President, but to belabour them would be tantamount to lighting a candle to the sun.

3. It is my honour and privilege to introduce the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports. As you may recall, the *Ad Hoc* Committee submitted a progress report to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, to which it appended a draft international convention against *apartheid* in sports.¹ That draft consisted of 23 articles. It was not possible at that time for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to reach consensus on five articles, which necessitated that the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee be extended so that further consultations could be held.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 36, appendix.

4. I am glad to report that the *Ad Hoc* Committee has worked diligently throughout the year. A series of consultations have been held with representatives of organizations concerned and experts on *apartheid* in sports, such as the consultations with the Tripartite Commission of the International Olympic Committee and with the President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

5. It is therefore obvious that the *Ad Hoc* Committee took into consideration the proposals submitted by the Tripartite Commission of the International Olympic Committee, as well as the consultations it had with the President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and informal consultations with several other experts.

6. Consequently, as can be seen from the draft appended to this report, the *Ad Hoc* Committee has reached a consensus on almost all the articles. However, it was not possible for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to reach a consensus on what was formerly article 11 and is now article 10. Therefore, as representatives will see, the annex to the report contains two formulations of that article, and I wish to mention them here for ease of reference. Article 10 A reads as follows:

"States Parties shall use their best endeavours to ensure compliance with the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and the provisions of this Convention and, to this end, they shall take all necessary action to ensure that their nationals refrain from participating in all sports events which include individuals or teams from a country practising *apartheid*." [See A/34/36, annex, para. 8.]

The second formulation, article 10 B, reads as follows:

"States Parties shall use their best endeavours to ensure compliance with the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and the provisions of this Convention and, to this end, they shall take all necessary action to ensure that their nationals refrain from participating in all sports events which include individuals or teams that engage in sports activities with teams and individuals from a country practising *apartheid*." [Ibid.]

Our Committee therefore decided to recommend to the General Assembly that, because of the need for further consultations on this article, the Committee's mandate be extended to enable it to continue its work with a view to submitting the draft international convention to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

7. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting on 21 September 1979, I now call upon the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

8. Mr. MAKATINI (African National Congress of South Africa): On behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, Mr. President, I thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to express,

through this august Assembly, to the international community at large the views of the liberation movement of South Africa on the problem of *apartheid*. The African National Congress attaches a great deal of importance to this debate. We do so because we see dark clouds gathering over South Africa; without doubt these clouds announce an inevitable—if not imminent—storm. It has become urgent and imperative for the United Nations to muster the necessary political will in order effectively to use its power to minimize the now unavoidable loss of human life and the poisoning of race relations in Africa and the world.

9. This debate takes place at a time when the struggle for national liberation in South Africa has entered a crucial and perhaps decisive stage. The two opposing forces, one representing the oppressed and the other the oppressor, are on a collision course. A close, realistic and objective analysis of the situation will lead to the observation that the determination of the oppressed has reached unprecedented heights. They have resolved to pay the supreme sacrifice in order to achieve their long-cherished sacred goal of breaking their chains of bondage, joining the community of nations and having some of their duly chosen sons and daughters, of any race or colour, occupy the vacant seat before me. The same close, realistic and objective analysis will show that the Fascist intransigence of the oppressors has also reached unprecedented heights. Their determination to preserve the *status quo* in South Africa and the subcontinent as a whole, at all costs, is not in doubt.

10. We are encouraged, Sir, by the fact that such a crucial debate for the future of Africa and the world takes place under your presidency. Your country's role in the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent, which it has relentlessly played since its own independence, is well known and universally recognized. Your personal commitment and dedication to this noble cause, as well as the diplomatic skill you have always demonstrated in the discharge of your important duties as Chairman 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, inspire us with the confidence that, under your guidance, this debate will be crowned with success. And for us, as well as for the justice-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world, success in this case means the adoption of decisions intended effectively to isolate and weaken the *apartheid* régime, while strengthening the striking power of the liberation movement.

11. In one form or another, the South African problem has been on the agenda of the United Nations since the inception of this august body, and during this period, it has been the object of endless condemnation. The resolutions adopted on this issue have been clear and unequivocal, particularly after the Sharpeville massacre and the régime's exclusion from the Commonwealth, developments that preceded the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which means the "Spear of the Nation". The *apartheid* system was condemned as a crime against humanity and as constituting a threat to peace and international security.

12. One can reasonably argue that after such a determination—which the international community never had the opportunity to make in the case of the Hitlerite régime, the equally Fascist régime which none the less

was crushed thanks to the collective effort of world Governments of all political and ideological persuasions—a firm basis had been created for similar collective action by the United Nations. This proved not to have been the case. However, we were happy with the decision which we welcomed as being in response to the African National Congress's appeal for sanctions and which called on all Member States to sever cultural, diplomatic, political, economic and military relations with the Pretoria régime. This we welcomed as corresponding to our desire to limit the international role in combating this common cancerous evil to supplementing our own efforts to ensure the fullest exercise of our right to self-determination. The major trading partners and traditional allies of the Pretoria régime whose multinational corporations reap super-profits, thanks to the semi-slave wages paid to black workers under *apartheid*, did not only ignore this call; they progressively stepped up their economic and military involvement. And we have repeatedly witnessed the use of the veto by three permanent members of the Security Council, the United States of America, Great Britain and France. Even at this late hour, when there is mounting evidence not only that the *apartheid* system is a crime against humanity, but that its champions and allies are tenaciously bent on the repressive, aggressive and expansionist programme designed to perpetuate the plunder and exploitation for which *apartheid* is but an instrument, the traditional allies of this régime continue to buttress it while counselling patience and moderation to its victims at home and abroad.

13. When we talk of the menacing dark clouds, we mean the explosive situation that today obtains in South Africa and southern Africa. And in order that we may fully appreciate the gravity of the danger before us, it is important to recall that here we are faced with elements who are descendants of a people who left Europe before the industrial revolution and before the emancipation of slaves. We are dealing with a people whose doctrine of *apartheid* is based on the strong belief that their superiority is born of race and faith, a quality divinely given which cannot be transmitted to other races or acquired by them. "The black stinking dogs", as Jan van Rieberck called the Africans, suffer from an inferiority, predestined and irreparable, which fixes their place in a society of white men. Economically, they have their place in the field and the kitchen; socially and politically, they stand outside the circle of the rights and privileges of white men; even legally, they exist in an ambiguous region between law and the arbitrary will of their masters.

14. We are dealing with a people who strongly believe they are God's chosen people who are to rule over the inferior black races. The situation which obtained when Angola and Mozambique were under Portuguese domination and served as a protective belt around South Africa was for those people ideal and in keeping with what they believed to have been a predestined state of affairs. And for them the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, which upset their strategy for the preservation of what they believed to have been the divinely inspired *status quo*, must be reversed. For it is in their eyes as ungodly as was the practice of freeing slaves in South Africa in the wake of the emancipation of slavery—a development that led to the Great Trek.

15. The unfolding programme of repression, aggression and expansionism by the *apartheid* régime must be seen against this background. And in this programme

the members of that régime are encouraged by the continued collaboration of some Western countries which they see as partners and allies because of their common superiority born of race and faith, as they believe. And to all this should be added their doctrinal links with the Hitlerite régime during the last world war.

16. How then does the régime's programme of so-called reforms fit into this pattern? Vorster, the former Prime Minister of the Pretoria Fascist régime, answers this question clearly when, in one of his statements, he advocates flexibility in the tactics adopted at a given time with unyielding firmness on the strategy and supreme objectives. Realizing that the volcano on which they are sitting is threatening to erupt, as the events of Soweto have proved, the régime has embarked on measures which, in their totality, constitute a much more insidious and sophisticated instrument of oppression since they are projected as reforms, when in fact they are intended to divide and weaken the African people and perpetuate the domination of the blacks. For example, the so-called relaxation of labour laws provides for the registration of black unions in order to ensure stricter control. Membership in those unions provides no rights enshrined in the law and they remain dependent on the exemption granted by the régime's minister.

17. And this makes the position of the black unions worse, because, once registered, they cannot take part in activities considered political in terms of the law. The rest of these so-called reforms of a cosmetic character, such as the 99-year lease for houses in Soweto, the integration of five-star hotels and of some theatres, is part of the programme to create a black élite to serve as a buffer force against the liberation movement.

18. This is a vain attempt to divert the attention of the people from the basic economic and political issues, in order to diffuse the revolutionary situation obtaining in the country. The wide publicity given to these measures at home and abroad is also intended to give the impression of liberalism while the régime is engaged in the programme of full-scale repression, war preparations and aggression against the neighbouring States. What is more, the rapid deterioration of the living conditions of the blacks, as shown by the spiralling infantile mortality rate, the unemployment figure which has reached 2.5 million, the mass removals of the African people from their birth-places, and so on, gives the lie to this highly orchestrated campaign.

19. We have deemed it necessary to speak today before any ally or apologist of the Pretoria régime or well-meaning opponent of *apartheid* dares to insult our illustrious leaders, like Nelson Mandela and others who are languishing in gaol where they are serving life imprisonment, and the scores of patriots like Solomon Mahlangu and Steve Biko who have been executed on the gallows or assassinated in detention, by suggesting that they made these sacrifices to share bath-rooms, theatres and restaurants with whites, or to marry them.

20. The problem of *apartheid* is not simply one of racial discrimination as was the case, and perhaps continues to be, in certain countries like the United States. The difference between the situation in the United States and South Africa is not just that the racists break the federal law in the former case while the racists make the laws in the latter. But in addition, and as the report of the Special Committee says, in South Africa *apart-*

heid is institutionalized racism, plunder and exploitation. And nothing short of the fundamental transformation of the system will satisfy the oppressed people of South Africa. The objectives of our struggle are clearly defined in the Freedom Charter,² whose twenty-fifth anniversary we hope will be observed throughout the world on 26 June 1980 by the adoption of measures aimed at effectively isolating the *apartheid* régime. The paramount objectives for which our people are daily laying down their lives include the restoration and the transfer to the people as a whole of land, the natural wealth of the country, the mineral resources beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industries, and the end of exploitation of man by man.

21. At his trial in 1963 and before being sentenced to life imprisonment together with other colleagues, such as Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg, Neison Mandela said:

"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices—submit or fight. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom."

22. These words eloquently underscore the analyses and decisions adopted by the African National Congress in response to the régime's increasing repression and aggression and massacres when it became clear that non-violence had proved as futile as it would have been had it been tried in the struggle against the Hitlerite régime.

23. The "Spear of the Nation", formed on 16 December 1961, when it announced its existence by the launching of a protracted campaign of sabotage, has considerably stepped up its programme of armed action, despite the extraordinarily difficult conditions obtaining in the country. It draws its membership not only from the African people but also from the Asian and the so-called Coloured people. Armed action has become frequent both in the countryside and urban areas. The armed struggle waged by the African National Congress patriots for the establishment of a democratic State based on the will of all the South African people, securing to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief, has been endorsed as legitimate by the United Nations.

Mr. Sharif (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

24. The number of political trials going on in the various parts of the country can be seen as the barometer of the steadily escalating struggle for national liberation. The most important is the Pietermaritzburg one, in which 12 members of the African National Congress are charged with high treason and 43 alternate counts under the Terrorism Act. Judgement on this case will be delivered on 15 November 1979. The accused have contested the legitimacy of the racist court which has ruled that the trial be held *in camera*, ostensibly for the protection of informer witnesses.

25. We propose urgent action by the Security Council to save these patriots from the gallows of a régime that is already responsible for over 50 per cent of executions throughout the world. We also propose the intensifica-

² *Ibid.*, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14, para. 295.

tion of the world campaign for the unconditional release of political prisoners as well as the according of prisoner-of-war status to all captured freedom fighters.

26. We welcome with satisfaction the realization by the United Nations that non-violence against the *apartheid* régime has proved futile as it would have been—as I already said—in the case of the world struggle against the Hitlerite régime from which the architects and current champions of *apartheid* drew and continue to draw inspiration and example. It was no doubt in recognition of this fact that in 1976 the General Assembly went beyond the pious condemnation of *apartheid* and recognized the legitimacy of the struggle [resolution 31/6 I] in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa.

27. Similarly, the position taken by the General Assembly, in declaring that the problem of *apartheid* is the special responsibility of the United Nations, creates the basis for the formation of an international alliance against the system condemned as constituting a threat to peace and international security. And yet some Western countries have continued their policy of stepping up economic, military and nuclear collaboration with this régime, as well as their diplomatic protection through the use of the veto, to frustrate the international effort aimed at the application of Chapter VII of the Charter. There could be no better way to demonstrate the unholy alliance which is frequently claimed by the Pretoria régime in its usual pronouncement that it is the indispensable ally of Western interests in Africa and the southern hemisphere.

28. The active support given to the *apartheid* régime by the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and other Western countries must be stopped before it is too late to avoid a situation that will provoke a third world war. Developments in South Africa prove that this is not an exaggerated statement.

29. The South African white civilian population is today the world's most heavily armed. The régime is armed to the teeth and has built up the strongest arsenal in the southern hemisphere. Equipped with more than 100 licences which enable it to manufacture genocidal weapons on the spot, it continues further to strengthen its strong arsenal. It has arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries. In its programme designed to perpetuate and further entrench the white minority settler domination, it has created a formidable basis, the key element of which is the militarization of the entire South African society. Its ever-increasing military budget has this year reached the figure of 3 billion rand. It has accelerated the programme of bantustanization which, amongst other things, is intended to create strategic hamlets and tribal armies to be used as buffer forces against the liberation movement. The ever-increasing black unemployment rate, which has now reached 2.5 million, is being exploited to recruit the Africans and the so-called Coloureds into the army, whilst the Indians are being recruited into the navy.

30. The media have not only been muzzled but have been subjected to strict State control in order to create an atmosphere of war. The African teachers who resigned in the wake of the Soweto uprising have been replaced by white armed military personnel at the African

schools in the towns and the countryside. The régime has stepped up its threats and acts of aggression against the independent African countries. Together with some Latin American countries, it has joined a secret military pact—SATO, that is, the South Atlantic Treaty Organization—which is to link up with some forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in the so-called defence of the Cape sea route.

31. The régime's threat to intervene militarily in Zimbabwe to ensure the entrenchment and recognition of the Smith-Muzorewa régime further underlines its determination to install in Zimbabwe and Namibia puppet régimes, supportive of its political and military programme and hostile to the liberation movement. It has stepped up its military support of Savimbi as part of its aggressive programme against Angola. But perhaps the most ominous development is marked by the régime's recent detonation of an atomic device. On this issue, we wish to place full responsibility for this grave situation on those countries which have always assisted by their policy of nuclear collaboration the South African régime—meaning the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel. We call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Meanwhile, we appeal to Member States seriously to consider the proposals adopted at the thirty-third ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979 [see A/34/552, annex I, CM/Res. 734 (XXXIII)], and at 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, sect. IV, para. 83], and those that call for separate and collective punitive measures against those countries which persist in their policy of collaboration with the South African régime.

32. On our part, we wish to make one thing clear: nothing on earth will deter the oppressed people of South Africa from pursuing their just and legitimate struggle; nothing, not even the atomic bomb. As the French philosopher, Victor Hugo, said: "There is one thing that is more powerful than the strongest armies of the world, and that is the idea whose time has come". The time has indeed come for liberation in southern Africa and in South Africa itself. Victory may be delayed, but it is certain. *A luta continua.*

33. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today, 7 November, the peoples of the Soviet Union are celebrating their national day, the 62nd anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, which not only proclaimed but has in fact confirmed in practice and in real life the economic and social equality of men and put a definite and final end to all types of racial and national discrimination. This is reflected in the respective constitutions and legislations of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the other Republics of the Union.

34. This holiday is observed not only by us but by all the progressive and democratic forces throughout the world, and we wish to express our warm thanks to those delegations which have congratulated us on this anniversary.

35. Unfortunately, the General Assembly is again forced to revert to the question of the criminal policy of

apartheid which is being carried out by the racist régime of South Africa, in disregard of numerous decisions of the United Nations and of other representative international bodies.

36. By openly challenging world public opinion, the racists in Pretoria have intensified even further their oppression of the subjugated people of South Africa and its national liberation movement. Many of those who fought against the hateful system of *apartheid* have been thrown into gaol or subjected to cruel torture and other indignities, which of course has led to loss of life, including that of women and children. This year the racist hangmen have executed the well known freedom fighter, Solomon Mahlangu, despite the numerous appeals of the United Nations and of the world community for a stay of execution.

37. Despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the racist régime of South Africa continues to pursue its policy of bantustanization, which is aimed at dismembering the country along tribal lines so as to strengthen the domination of the white minority and deprive the oppressed people of South Africa of its inalienable rights.

38. This was shown, in particular, by the recent formation of yet another puppet entity, the bantustan of Venda. That action of the racist régime of South Africa was strongly condemned by the Security Council, as is well known. It was also condemned by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and by other organs of the United Nations, and it was declared void. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that similar action will be taken by the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

39. General indignation is the feeling aroused by the continuous acts of aggression which are committed by the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring African States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia. There is no doubt that these aggressive actions are undertaken to slow down the inevitable process of national liberation of the peoples of southern Africa and to preserve the last bastions of colonialism and racism in that region. There is no doubt that the perpetration of aggressive acts against neighbouring African States and the continuous violation of their territorial integrity and sovereignty are abetted by the absence of effective measures on the part of the Security Council against the racist régime of Pretoria, because of the well-known position of the Western Powers. It is perfectly obvious that such criminal acts cannot remain unpunished and that the Security Council must without delay take effective measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

40. We cannot ignore the political manoeuvres and the various manipulations of the South African racists aimed at the perpetuation of the occupation of Namibia and the preservation of colonial domination over its territory. The régime in Pretoria is actively interfering in the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. Quite recently the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa openly threatened direct military intervention against the people of Zimbabwe if national democratic forces come to power in that country.

41. All these facts, along with those which have al-

ready been mentioned in the statements of other delegations, clearly indicate that the racist régime of South Africa is continuing its policy of *apartheid*, oppression, bantustanization and aggression against neighbouring African States, and is thus creating a threat to world peace and to the security of all peoples. That is why the eradication of *apartheid*, as was properly stressed in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22], continues to be one of the most serious tasks facing the United Nations.

42. To achieve this aim, many measures have been undertaken, within the framework of both the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year and the International Mobilization against *Apartheid* proclaimed by the United Nations. That is quite clearly shown in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* now before us.

43. At the same time it is evident that a resolute and difficult struggle is still needed to eradicate the criminal system of *apartheid* in South Africa. The main obstacle in that connexion is the continuing co-operation of several Western States with the racist régime of South Africa.

44. In the course of this debate many specific examples have been given which indicate that the political, economic, military and strategic interests of the imperialist States members of NATO and those of the South African racist régime are closely interwoven. A particularly unseemly role in that regard is being played by the transnational corporations, which not only reap excessive profits by their merciless exploitation of the Coloured population of South Africa, but also rapaciously plunder the rich natural resources of that country. According to the data which were recently published by the South African mines and mineral deposits administration, South Africa is one of the major suppliers of many important strategic materials to the Western States. They receive from South Africa 88 per cent of their vanadium, 86 per cent of their platinum, 73 per cent of their gold, 67 per cent of their manganese, 63 per cent of their ferrous chromium, and many other important primary materials.

45. Despite the veil of secrecy which shrouds the military co-operation of the West with South Africa, new facts become known every day which shed light on the real role of the Western monopolies in the militarization of that country. This makes it possible to assert that in South Africa, with the assistance of transnational corporations, a mighty military-industrial complex is being built up which is directed against the liberation struggles of the peoples in southern Africa and in the neighbouring independent countries. In this context, it is sufficient to point out that the military budget of the South African Republic has increased from \$US 1,790 million to \$US 2,140 million in 1979.

46. The plans of the racists for the creation of their own nuclear capability are particularly alarming. It is clear to all what sort of threat the fulfilment of the nuclear ambitions of Pretoria would represent to the African continent and to peace and security in the world.

47. For all these reasons, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic reiterates once again that co-operation with the racist régime of South

Africa is absolutely incompatible with the genuine interests of the peoples of southern Africa and with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. We strongly support the proposals of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to implement comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa as provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Once again, we proclaim our strong support for the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movement in their just struggle for the eradication of the criminal system of *apartheid*.

48. Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The interest manifested by the world and the General Assembly of the United Nations towards this question is not new. The General Assembly, since its earliest years, has included this item in its agenda. This surely indicates that the whole world attaches the utmost importance to this subject. The United Nations has understood the tragic nature of the *apartheid* racist policy in South Africa since 1952, that is to say, since over a quarter of a century.

49. Why then does this situation persist?

50. What we see in South Africa represents a total scorn of man and is a disgrace to mankind. It is most regrettable that the deprivation suffered by the people of South Africa is taking place at a time when mankind has made astounding progress in science and civilization. *Apartheid* is an injustice, the worst that mankind has suffered, and a violation of the principles of justice and equity.

51. Apart from the fact that *apartheid* destroys human values in South Africa, that State has become a source of danger to peace and stability in southern Africa because of its repeated attacks on its neighbours. The most recent was the attack against Angola last week, which has been condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 454 (1979). South Africa has become a source of tension on the African continent and a definite threat to world peace and security.

52. The General Assembly has repeatedly pointed out that the situation in South Africa is a threat to world peace. Many international conferences have condemned *apartheid*, which has become a crime under international law. World public opinion is unanimous in its condemnation of South Africa and any co-operation with it. Decisions have been taken to impose an arms embargo and an oil embargo against that State. I mention these decisions by way of illustration only and not restrictively, since there are very many resolutions on the subject. But we must ask ourselves what has been the result.

53. South Africa continues to carry out its inhuman acts and persists in its odious policy. Today it has the strongest army on the continent, an army made up of mercenaries. It has become an arsenal of weapons for the repression of liberation movements. It produces today 75 per cent of the weapons it needs and we have learnt that it may possess nuclear weapons and may even have succeeded in its first nuclear explosion. What does this indicate?

54. There is unanimity here that South Africa could not have reached this high level of development without

the help of other States. The *apartheid* régime could not survive without the certainty that the Powers which could put pressure on it will abstain from doing so. It is the co-operation of some countries with that régime that enables South Africa to get support and to thrive because, despite the efforts of the United Nations to isolate that régime, statistics reveal that its trade with many countries has increased.

55. In addition to this co-operation by certain States with the racist South African régime, there is another equally odious régime which co-operates and collaborates with it: the Zionist régime, which the General Assembly, at its thirtieth session, likened to *apartheid*.

56. In paragraph 3 of the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22/Add.1] of 2 November 1979, we find the following:

“During the past year, the Organization of African Unity, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and numerous other organizations condemned the collaboration between the Government of Israel and the racist régime of South Africa . . . ”³

[*The speaker continued in Arabic (interpretation from Arabic).*]

In paragraph 12 of the same report, we find the following:

“ . . . Israel was one of the few countries most directly involved in the military aspects of South Africa's nuclear programme, and was participating directly in the construction of military nuclear facilities in South Africa. Israel was furthering its own nuclear ambitions through collaboration with South Africa.”³

[*The speaker continued in Arabic (interpretation from Arabic).*]

57. What is the solution? My delegation appeals to all those States which assist the South African racist régime to cease this aid and to comply with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject. We call on the various bodies to take more effective action against that racist régime.

58. Finally, my delegation would like to thank the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the efforts it has made and also its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, and his distinguished assistants.

59. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): This year I believe the debate on *apartheid* was begun not here in the Assembly but in South Africa itself, where a flamboyant Madison-Avenue-type campaign of cosmetic changes has been launched with the aim of soothing unsuspecting persons in South Africa and abroad into believing that a change of heart regarding *apartheid* has occurred in Pretoria, and that as a consequence the world-wide opposition to *apartheid* should be relaxed and brought to an end.

60. The form of the tactics going on in South Africa has already had and will continue to be given wide publicity, especially in the media of Western countries, far greater than anything we are likely to receive

³ Quoted in English by the speaker.

concerning what we discuss or decide here. This is so because the racist South African régime, universally condemned as it has been and continues to be, enjoys considerable influence, tolerance, sympathy and even goodwill in many parts of the world. Some of this support is to be explained by the love for profits or the fear of communism or both, but to some extent the indulgence and friendship which the *apartheid* régime enjoys in many quarters can only be explained by the same stark racism upon which the South African system of inhuman exploitation of man by man is based.

61. Experts on South Africa often speak of the so-called Boer mentality. By this, they refer to traits and characteristics of the white racists in that country which most of us here in the United Nations know as intransigence or obstinacy. This Boer mentality is supposed to connote an excessively rigid attitude and approach coupled with a fossilized way of thought completely impervious to reason. This mentality is typically manifested in a tough, no-nonsense attitude and a *penchant* for calling a spade a spade and holding fast to fixed views and positions regardless of what others may say or think. Bearing these descriptions in mind, when I assert that this debate on *apartheid* was begun in South Africa rather than here in the Assembly, it is because this year Pretoria seems to have decided that, in spite of the so-called Boer mentality, it too is capable of double-talk and hypocrisy. Pretoria seems determined to show that like so many other countries which come here year after year to utter empty denunciations of *apartheid*, it too—the *apartheid* State itself—can in the same hypocritical and deceptive manner with which we are all too familiar, come here too, although it is not allowed to come here now, and express disenchantment, even opposition, to aspects of the policies of *apartheid*. Thus, we have read in recent days that high governmental spokesmen in Pretoria have spoken out strongly against the notorious pass laws, and that officials of the South African administration have pressed for and are committing themselves to fight for the removal of petty and meaningless discrimination from the South African scene. These officials have asked: “Why insist on laws banning blacks from hotels and restaurants? Repeal those laws!” But those spokesmen do not go on to press for the equalization of wages regardless of race, nor for the exercise of unqualified franchise regardless of race, nor for equal protection of all under the law regardless of race, nor for the end of the bantustan policy and all the other vital props which undergird the *apartheid* system and which are aimed at ensuring the fact—rather than the form—that blacks will remain unable, disqualified by law and policy, to share equally in enjoyment of the rich country which is their own. Yes, the policy seems to be to open the first-class hotels and restaurants and recreational places to blacks, but deny them the possibilities by which—except in token numbers—they will ever be able to enjoy these things.

62. Segregation of this type, as any black adult who has travelled in this world will tell you, still exists in far too many countries.

63. But my purpose in calling attention to the meaningless quality of the cosmetic changes that are taking place regarding *apartheid* in South Africa is not to say that those changes should be stopped. *Apartheid* will not be and cannot be dismantled overnight. Therefore any steps, no matter how small, by which the racist State recognizes the rights and respects the dignity of the

country's black majority citizens should not be denounced, but those steps must be recognized for what they are, tactics pure and simple, and as such those tactics must under no circumstances be allowed to weaken or soften international opposition to *apartheid* in its grotesque totality, because *apartheid* is and remains still a crime against humanity.

64. If the cosmetic changes in South Africa were occurring in isolation, one might be tempted to view them as hopeful developments, but such an optimistic conclusion must be instantly dismissed because in reality the window-dressing changes are part of a well-orchestrated plan which aims at perpetuating the *status quo* of repression in the country by making it more palatable to the black majority, while on the global level every effort is being exerted by the racists of Pretoria to surround South Africa by a ring of régimes subservient to it and shielding it from the pressure—and from what for the racists is a contagion, freedom—from independent Africa. The more sinister side of the policy of cosmetic changes is to be seen in the simultaneous, stepped-up brutal bombings of Angola and other front-line States. The well-known designs of Pretoria are not absent from the constitutional talks on Zimbabwe in London where, let no one doubt, South Africa is using every ounce of its influence to weaken the position of the Patriotic Front. In Namibia, South Africa likewise is doing everything it can to weaken the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] so that when independence finally comes to the Territory, Pretoria's ability to control events there through agents and puppets will be retained and remain unchallengeable. South Africa's new face-lift campaign for *apartheid* cannot be the least bit cheering for anyone, because it coincides with the frightful news that the racist régime may have become a nuclear power. The whole of Africa, and all countries and people who cherish peace, are awaiting with bated breath the Secretary-General's expected report on this matter. All people of good will are hoping against their fears that this report will show that South Africa does not possess nuclear capability. Should the Secretary-General's report reveal conclusively such an optimistic finding, the whole international community will be given an excellent opportunity—perhaps the final one—to call upon those countries which collaborate with South Africa in the nuclear field to end such collaboration forthwith, because it is fraught with grave dangers for the whole world.

65. And so, as we debate the issue of *apartheid* in the General Assembly again this year, let there be no confusion on the essential question: *apartheid* remains an evil and an abomination that poses a serious threat to international peace. Until that vile system is dismantled, let all forms of pressure, including those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, be utilized by the international community so as to bring about a genuine change—not a change of face, but a change of heart—within that unhappy land. Those countries, such as Sweden, which have undertaken unilateral national efforts aimed at exerting pressure on South Africa to abandon *apartheid* and which continue to show more than rhetorical hostility and opposition to racism, have earned our thanks and their examples deserve emulation by all of us.

66. The whole tragedy of southern Africa has a sinister link with the festering sore and cancerous malady known as *apartheid*. As we meet today, it has been an-

nounced that there is a possibility that new talks aimed at implementing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia will take place soon, perhaps in Geneva. Those talks, if they occur, will afford South Africa an opportunity to show that its so-called policies regarding changes in *apartheid* represent genuine changes and moves to relax a system of inhuman oppression, in the interest of the democratic and civilized Christian values concerning which one hears a lot, far too frequently from South Africa. If South Africa adopted such a stance and Namibia as a result attained genuine independence through a peaceful process, the stage would be set for far-reaching positive changes affecting the future of all of Africa and offering new hopes for better race relations throughout the world.

67. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again we come to this forum to discuss the problem of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Once again we seek to give impetus to United Nations action in the continuing struggle against *apartheid* in order to ultimately achieve stability, dignity and prosperity for all of southern Africa.

68. The efforts of our Organization, using all the means available to it, have not produced truly positive results. We have not attained a result which is in proportion to the efforts that have been made, or perhaps we have not made all the necessary efforts.

69. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have constantly sponsored measures which include the imposition of sanctions of various kinds against the South African authorities. This was evident in the recent debates of the Security Council, which did not lead to the effective action necessary in such an extreme case. But we hear more complaints against South Africa because of a new act of aggression against the African continent designed to strengthen and make more lasting the expansionist policy of the *apartheid* régime.

70. When we were a member of the Security Council we supported and voted in favour of resolution 418 (1977) whereby an arms embargo was imposed for the first time against South Africa. It is discouraging to note that two years later we still have not seen any practical results of that decision. South Africa comes before us as fully armed and as defiant as always. At that time we expressed the hope that that decision would be only an initial measure which would lead to the later adoption of other more vigorous and effective measures.

71. Once again we have heard in the debates of the Security Council the demand to condemn South Africa because of its constant unwarranted action, which in the most recent case was against Angola but which does not differ significantly in its consequences from that régime's constant, vigorous and flagrant violation of fundamental human rights, continued application of the practice of *apartheid* and repeated denials of and outrages to human dignity.

72. Since we have the instruments which have been given to us by the Charter, since we can adopt measures which have been offered to us by the Charter itself and since Chapter VII envisages enforcement measures the application of which has been requested time and time

again by the General Assembly, what must we do in order that the necessary political will may emerge? Are we to remain subject to the whim of powers and exercises which paralyse the United Nations and prevent positive action? Are we to continue facilitating the further erosion of the credibility of the United Nations? Are we to add new elements of frustration?

73. An examination of the South African press of the last three years will suffice to confirm that there has been no progress in the status of human rights since 1977, that the barbarous repression by the State continues, that there is greater sophistication in the means of torture, that the police are perfecting their weapons and that the gaols have an increasing number of inmates.

74. Recently there have been reports regarding the explosion of a nuclear device in the region. This latest turn of events indicates the gravity of the situation and an inordinate temerity, reinforced by nuclear capability.

75. The racist régime ignores the resolutions of the United Nations and mocks international public opinion. Countries with economic interests in the area continue their lucrative commerce with South Africa and place their economic interests above the right of a people to freedom, dignity and the full enjoyment of human rights.

76. We cannot tolerate attempts to prevent the use of the instruments provided by the Charter in order to sponsor military intervention and perpetuate *apartheid*. We still wish to believe that this is a temporary blindness caused by temporary interests but which is causing the grave sacrifice of lofty values such as human dignity and freedom, peace and security. We also wish to believe that the supporters of *apartheid* will realize definitely and speedily that it is the duty of all of us to avert further suffering by the people of southern Africa and that we, the members of the international community, will respond appropriately.

77. Finally, in some manner, we must show real and practical solidarity with the brave people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid*, reject military intervention to reinforce *apartheid*, prevent the further suffering of those people and secure for them the benefits of stability and peace.

78. If the purpose of the Charter is the maintenance of peace and if our presence in this forum has the essential objective of preserving and strengthening peace, we hope to obtain these objectives by faithful compliance with the provisions of our Charter, and this undoubtedly means not using the above-mentioned paralyzing powers and exercises which are impeding the effective and indispensable action of the United Nations.

79. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Over 30 years have elapsed since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which affirms that there can be no justice, no freedom and no peace in the world unless the dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of man are recognized. With all the giant strides made by human civilization in various fields of progress, we would have expected justice to prevail, and freedom and the dignity

of the individual to have been respected, irrespective of race or colour. But the bitter fact remains that in southern Africa, to this day, we are witnessing the perpetuation of one of the most odious crimes that could be committed against man by man, a crime unprecedented in our contemporary history. I am referring, of course, to the crime of *apartheid*.

80. In 1970 the General Assembly condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and human dignity; numerous resolutions have since been adopted which have called on all Member States to take effective measures to eradicate this odious racist policy pursued by the Pretoria régime against the inhabitants of South Africa. However, those resolutions have failed to achieve the hoped-for results because total isolation has not been imposed—the kind of isolation that would have precipitated the régime's downfall and enabled the black majority to obtain and enjoy its freedom and its legitimate human rights.

81. We must recognize that most States have heeded their conscience and have severed all relations with the South African racist régime. It is regrettable that that measure has been rendered ineffective by certain Western States which have maintained their relations and co-operation with South Africa. In this regard, my delegation would like to mention the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22/Add.1], which deals with the various forms of collaboration between South Africa and Israel in the economic, military and nuclear fields, as well as in many other areas, and gives an indication of the extent of those relations.

82. The unquestioned fact is that without such co-operation by these States, Pretoria would certainly not have been in a position to consolidate its *apartheid* policies and would have been unable to continue its occupation of Namibia; nor could it have extended its acts of aggression to the neighbouring African States. The repeated acts of aggression against Angola and Zambia are remembered by all.

83. As we review the various areas of co-operation and the assistance which the *apartheid* régime is receiving from friendly States, we see that, in the economic field for example, these States are continuing to co-operate with South Africa through their transnational corporations, banks and other institutions, thus strengthening its economic capacity. While the General Assembly has condemned by successive resolutions economic co-operation with South Africa, and while in its resolution 33/183 H it called upon the States concerned to discontinue their relations with the *apartheid* régime and to take measures to prevent transnational corporations and banks from collaborating with that régime, we were shocked to see the report of the Corporate Data Exchange, Inc., which was submitted to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and was distributed by that Committee in its Bulletin of May 1979.⁴ That report indicates that the loans received by South Africa between 1972 and 1978 reached more than \$5.5 billion, which was of course used to strengthen the *apartheid* régime, and that most of those loans were given by financial institutions in certain Western States. We are wondering how that amount, offered to a tyrannical racist régime,

compares with the total loans granted by those same banks, during the same period, to the other African States combined, for the development of their economic and social infrastructures.

84. In the military field, despite Security Council resolution 418 (1977) which imposed an arms embargo against South Africa, reports have shown that South Africa claims that it actually produces 75 per cent of its armaments and that it can therefore very well withstand even a total arms embargo. But that is a deceptive manoeuvre, because South Africa is trying to conceal the truth, which is that South Africa is still largely dependent on foreign supplies in new and numerous strategic and other weapons; in particular, it needs oil and nuclear energy. Those supplies are, of course, provided by the Western States concerned and by Israel.

85. We have always said—and this is reflected in General Assembly resolutions—that an arms embargo against South Africa cannot be complete and effective unless accompanied by a total oil embargo and by discontinuation of nuclear co-operation. Indeed, an effective oil embargo is the logical extension of the arms embargo and would certainly deal a very severe blow to the policy of *apartheid*.

86. As for co-operation in the nuclear sphere, we have always warned the Western Powers and Israel of the danger involved in the maintenance of such co-operation. We have totally rejected their claim that such co-operation is directed towards peaceful purposes. Nevertheless, we have never had any doubts that such co-operation would ultimately lead to the development of South Africa's potential in the military sphere. In this connexion, my delegation last year stated the following from this very rostrum:

“On this point, we hear those Powers claim that the nuclear material they provide Pretoria is directed solely towards peaceful purposes and is in conformity with the required guarantees.

“Those who use this argument know that thermonuclear materials falling outside the guarantees would also be made available to South Africa at the same time. Nuclear materials obtained from abroad would thus be used as part of a programme of armaments as South Africa prepares for its own nuclear tests . . .”⁵

87. That is what we said last year. This year we have seen that our warnings had their foundation on fact. Recent reports indicate that there was a nuclear explosion by South Africa on 22 September last. While this was a shock to all of us, it was not unexpected because, in our view, it was the natural outcome of the nuclear co-operation to which we have already alluded and against which we have already issued warnings.

88. What is South Africa's objective in trying to acquire nuclear capability? The answer is very clear: South Africa wants to preserve and perpetuate its racist domination, and any threat to that domination will be met with an even stronger threat, that of the use of nuclear weapons. It means, in other words, that South Africa will use its nuclear capability as a means of threatening Africa and the whole world so as to force

⁴ Corporate Data Exchange, Inc., “Bank Loans to South Africa, 1972-1978”, *Notes and Documents of the Centre against Apartheid*, No. 5/79 (May 1979).

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session Plenary Meetings*, 58th meeting, paras. 6-7.

them to accept *apartheid*. This is how we understand the danger now faced by southern Africa and, indeed, the whole of Africa and the whole world. We face a definite threat, the threat of a real holocaust, the victims of which could be numbered in thousands of innocent people who only want to enjoy their right to life, freedom and human dignity.

89. The fight against *apartheid* cannot be restricted to the humanitarian sphere; it must be waged in the political sphere as well. The racist régime of Pretoria, in collaboration with the racists of Salisbury, is striving to dominate the whole region of southern Africa and to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, thus perpetuating the exploitation and pillaging of the natural and human resources of that vast region for the benefit of the white minority. The support given by certain Western States to these régimes in various fields confirms the apprehensions of the peoples of Africa, who fear that this strengthening of *apartheid* is part of a conspiracy aimed at perpetuating colonial domination through the racist régimes, with the aim of preserving for the latter the benefits of the region and enabling the white minority to continue to exercise its domination over southern Africa.

90. Consequently, the régime of Pretoria is pursuing its manoeuvres for the implementation of its plans of *apartheid*, which started years ago, with the granting of independence to its lackeys in the so-called bantustans. The third of these is Venda, the independence of which was announced by Pretoria on 13 September 1979, although the international community has refused to recognize the bantustans and the Security Council has condemned their establishment. We are all aware that this sinister plan is designed to redistribute the black indigenous peoples of South Africa, who represent 80 per cent of its population, and to settle them in 10 bantustans that would occupy only 15 per cent of the territory of the country. That 15 per cent is in regions that are arid and very poor in natural resources; the whites, on the other hand, who represent 20 per cent of the population, would continue to control the remainder of the land, which contains the major part of the wealth, natural resources and industry of the area. The bantustans are isolated regions in which blacks are segregated from whites; they are reservoirs of very cheap black labour which is being odiously exploited by the white racists. The Africans who live in these bantustans also lose their citizenship, and the final aim is that there should be no blacks at all with South African citizenship. In this way, South Africa will become the exclusive property of the white man.

91. In order to be able to continue to implement this sinister plan, the Pretoria régime uses brutal oppression against the people of Azania, who are struggling against this conspiracy to defend their identity, freedom and human dignity.

92. There are hundreds of people in prison, including women and children below the age of 16, all of whom are subjected to inhuman treatment, including torture, not to mention those condemned to death, despite the indignation expressed by the international community. The blood of the martyrs Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu, and of their companions struggling for freedom, is on the hands of the *apartheid* hangmen.

93. The international community must recognize the essence of this odious policy of the *apartheid* régime, which is seeking also to apply the bantustan system in Namibia by trying to thrust on it a fictitious independence and a régime which will in fact be the agent of the racists and help them to continue their domination of the region.

94. If the international community has unanimously condemned the policy of *apartheid* and considered it to be a shame for humanity for generations to come, how can we allow the continuance of this state of affairs? We meet every year to reiterate condemnations and adopt resolutions, while the racist régimes pursue the implementation of their plan. Has not the time come for the Western States to heed the voice of conscience and the voice of reason? Has not the time come for them to abandon their selfish interests and try to save the people who are suffering in southern Africa and whose blood and sweat are shed to quench the thirst of the *apartheid* gang? Will those States, and particularly those who have the right of veto in the Security Council, continue to hinder the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution that would impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter?

95. These sanctions have become an urgent necessity and must be applied before it is too late and before they are rendered ineffective, as has happened with the arms embargo and has also occurred when the Western States and Israel refused to halt their nuclear co-operation with the Pretoria régime. The catastrophe is not too far away, and unless we take effective and decisive measures, it will become an unavoidable reality.

96. In these conditions, and in the light of the recent dangerous developments, our duty is, more than ever, to intensify our support and our help to the peoples of southern Africa and the national liberation movements, and to see to it that all other bodies, specialized agencies and other international organizations redouble their efforts to provide more assistance to these liberation movements so that these peoples can finally feel that the international community is supporting them and is trying to help them in their struggle to make it possible for them to enjoy the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations to human rights, independence, dignity and freedom.

97. Egypt, despite the economic difficulties which it is experiencing, is prepared, as it has always been, to provide all help and assistance to the peoples of this region, and it shall continue to give its support to their struggle for liberation with all the material and moral means at its disposal until final victory is achieved.

98. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its warm congratulations and its thanks to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the noble task which it has undertaken and discharged and for the efforts it is exerting, and we are certain that it will continue its mission with the same dynamic devotion under the chairmanship of that illustrious son of Nigeria, or rather son of Africa, Mr. Clark.

99. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): On addressing the General Assembly on the same issue last year,⁶ I ex-

⁶ *Ibid.*, 57th meeting, paras. 40-51.

pressed the hope of the Austrian Government that the new South African Government which took office at that time would grasp the opportunity to lead that troubled nation out of the present untenable situation. Today we have to state with dismay and regret that those hopes did not materialize. On the contrary, the situation resulting from the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole has grown more serious than ever. Tensions inside and outside the country have considerably increased and the perils implicit in a prolongation of that state of affairs have reached an alarming stage. We still witness the waves of repression against those who claim their fundamental human rights and freedoms in opposition to the Government's policy. Forced transfers, evictions and increased control of the population by the police add to the frustration of more and more strata of South African society and augment the number of those in all ethnic groups who are convinced of the injustice and untenability of the system of *apartheid* and who voice their concern in South Africa itself.

100. Although minor corrections and improvements have been effected, the basic concept of the inhuman system of *apartheid*, on which the precarious supremacy of a minority is based, remains unchanged.

101. We are all aware of the many facets of this system and its political, economic and human rights angles. We have deplored them and discussed them in this forum over many years. In fact, we should be aware of the danger that this annual debate is becoming more and more repetitious and is failing to move our common endeavour forward, although the international community speaks with a unanimous voice on practically all the basic issues connected with this debate. Suffice it therefore to repeat, once again, that Austria regards the *apartheid* system as a profound violation of the basic principles of human rights, a violation of all ideas of personal freedom and the rights to respect and dignity. It does not provide the basis for a viable society. It has furthermore seriously jeopardized the endeavours of the international community to bring about peaceful change in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and continuously destabilizes the political situation in southern Africa. Should all these initiatives really be doomed to final failure, the danger of a racial war in southern Africa seems more imminent than ever.

102. So far, all efforts at persuasion and the use of logical arguments have proved unsuccessful in bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. Today, South Africa rests assured on the fallacious assumption that no action will be taken against it. South Africa will, however, have to accept the fact that the stability of the region as a whole, and the prospects of the future generations to be born into that continent, will finally prove to be more important considerations. It seems today that peaceful change in South Africa will come only as a consequence of peaceful pressure on the South African Government. The mandatory arms embargo established under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) constituted a very important step in this direction. One will have to consider supplementing it by other meaningful measures as envisaged by the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which are conducive to effecting changes in South African policy. For this reason, Austria has given its support to last year's General Assembly resolution 33/183 O concerning the cessation of foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

103. The world community has been alarmed during the last few weeks with regard to the development of South Africa's nuclear capability. This would certainly add a very dangerous dimension to the policy of *apartheid* and would furthermore have serious repercussions for regional and international security. My country has consistently endorsed efforts made within the framework of the United Nations to secure South Africa's adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and to bring about the realization of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa.

104. Let me, in conclusion, commend briefly the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the distinguished leadership of Ambassador Clark for its untiring efforts in the struggle against *apartheid* and the very creditable way in which the Committee deals with a heavy workload. It is largely due to the Special Committee's active role that international support for the struggle against *apartheid*, as well as sympathy and active solidarity with the opponents of the *apartheid* system, have intensified. It also serves as a proof that the United Nations continues to play the key role in our common efforts to bring about peaceful and rapid change by increasing the necessary pressure on the South African régime and by supporting the forces instrumental in such change.

105. The South African journalist Donald Woods, himself a victim of *apartheid*, wrote in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*:

"What the West is really saying to Pretoria, what Africa is saying to Pretoria, and what most South Africans are saying to Pretoria is: 'Talk to your own people. Negotiate with the real leaders chosen by your country's blacks. Determine your own future by peaceful negotiation with your own black majority. If you begin to do this, and stop imprisoning them, banning them, detaining them and killing them, there will be no more talk of sanctions, ostracism and pressure.'"⁷

106. There is still time for the South African Government to embark on the way leading towards an integrated, multiracial, open and modern society, which could win international respect.

107. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): Trinidad and Tobago considers it an insult to its membership in this Organization to be standing here at this podium once more to affirm its abhorrence of the *apartheid* policies and practices of the racist régime of South Africa. It is an insult which should be felt by all members of this Assembly, for each and every one has from this podium condemned *apartheid* and resolved to eradicate it. And yet here we are today, three decades later, still considering measures to bring about the elimination of this inhuman and degrading system of racial discrimination and domination from its arch proponent, South Africa.

108. There are those who have sought to impress upon us the need to maintain contacts of all sorts with the Pretoria régime as a means of bringing about a change in the situation of the vast majority of oppressed black people. These apologist supporters of South Africa have

⁷ Donald Woods, "South Africa's Face to the World", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 3, p. 527 (April 1978).

pointed to recent measures announced by the white minority régime, such as the granting of limited trade union rights to blacks and the relaxation of laws to permit attendance of mixed audiences at sporting events, in an attempt to convince us that these changes have been possible through their instrumentality. My delegation remains unconvinced by these claims and, in any case, regards these changes as no more than window-dressing designed to relieve the pressure of international isolation which the régime in Pretoria has been increasingly feeling, and to lessen the opprobrium shown by world public opinion for its racial policies.

109. The continuing ruthlessness of the *apartheid* system in South Africa can perhaps best be seen when one examines the plight of children under *apartheid* in this International Year of the Child. The International Seminar on Children under *Apartheid*, held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris from 18 to 20 June 1979, found [see A/34/512, annex] that black children in South Africa are deprived of equality of educational opportunity; live under conditions of extreme poverty and starvation resulting in high infant mortality rates; are forcibly separated from their families and thus denied a normal family life; have been subjected to long terms of detention and imprisonment, torture and indiscriminate shooting for their unarmed resistance to the policies of racial segregation and white minority domination. This is the reality of the situation today that cries out for relief, for the despair and frustration that grips the hearts and minds of black children and their parents in South Africa will not be dissipated until a more humane society, based on the inherent dignity and worth of the human being, is realized.

110. The reality of the situation today can equally be seen in the continued implementation by the racist régime of the homelands policy, the most recent manifestation being the granting of so-called independence to Venda. The creation of this latest bantustan serves only to confirm the determination of the Pretoria régime to reinforce ethnic and tribal differences as a means of controlling its black majority population, and does nothing to alter the grossly unjust allocation of 87 per cent of the land to the white minority. Moreover, as part of the ongoing policy of bantustanization, more and more rural resettlement camps are being established in which so-called surplus labour, forcibly removed from the urban areas, is dumped and left to eke out a precarious existence. Given that these areas invariably consist of stony scrubland unsuited to any type of agriculture and lack any of the basic services, such as clean water or transportation, it is no wonder that malnutrition is rampant, particularly among children, resulting on occasion in death.

111. This is the prospect that faces the black majority population as the racist régime of South Africa carries out its reprehensible policy of denying to them political participation and representation in the country to which they belong and depriving them of enjoying any of the wealth of the country to which they have made, and continue to make, a significant contribution. My Government has repeatedly rejected and condemned the bantustanization being carried out by the racist *apartheid* régime and fully supports the decision of this Assembly not to grant recognition to any of these entities, including the latest creation, Venda.

112. Despite the oft-repeated protestations of the non-

aligned countries and other like-minded countries, despite the sustained and worth-while efforts of worldwide non-governmental organizations, as well as churches and trade unions, the racist *apartheid* régime is still able to defy the will of the international community and to perpetrate its obnoxious policies of racism and racial discrimination. This intransigence on the part of the racist régime, and its defiance of the numerous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council relating to the entire dismantling of the odious system of *apartheid*, are a direct result of the support and assistance which it receives from several Western and other countries in the political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural spheres. It is this open and defiant collaboration by these countries, their transnational corporations and certain individuals, that encourages South Africa to continue with its criminal, racist, repressive and aggressive policies. Each one of those countries and each one of those companies or individuals collaborating with South Africa is an accomplice in the committing of the international law crime of *apartheid*, recognized as such by the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]. In this connexion, I am happy to state that my Government, firm in its commitment to the eradication of the racist policies and practices of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria, has recently ratified this Convention. My Government joins others in appealing to all States to sign and ratify this Convention, which can make a major contribution to the process of rooting out this inhuman and degrading practice of racism and racial discrimination.

113. Only a few days ago, the South African armed forces launched an attack on the neighbouring State of Angola. My Government condemns this latest in a series of premeditated armed invasions of Angola. It is a matter of regret to my delegation that, despite the clear evidence of aggression by South Africa launched from the international territory of Namibia against the People's Republic of Angola in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of that country, the Western countries in the Security Council were unable to join in the decision of the Council condemning this wanton act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. Their failure to support this decision will no doubt be seen by South Africa as further evidence of their diplomatic and political support, and thus will aid and abet the racist *apartheid* régime in the conduct of its terroristic activities against the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples of southern Africa.

114. South Africa's military arrogance and its unresponsiveness to the legitimate demands of its people for change derive in large measure from the role of foreign transnational corporations, which have developed and financed the military industrial complex in South Africa. South Africa boasts that, as a result of the development of its industrial infrastructure, it can produce some 75 per cent of its military needs locally, albeit with some imported parts and materials. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the remaining 25 per cent, though small in itself, represents a significant qualitative factor as it consists of vital military machinery and equipment which South Africa's industry cannot produce. For this reason, efforts by the international community to reinforce and strengthen the international mandatory arms embargo against South Africa should also focus on this aspect of domestic armaments production in South

Africa. In addition, further measures are needed to halt the flow to the racist régime of arms and related material now being maintained through all kinds of subterfuges and with the connivance of several Western Governments.

115. But the military and the industrial complex of South Africa cannot provide the sustenance for the *apartheid* régime without the direct assistance of the international banking community, nor can it function without the crucial energy factor. A study commissioned by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* documents, notwithstanding widespread resort to the shield of "client confidentiality", the extent of continued economic collaboration with South Africa by financial and banking institutions of Western Europe and North America. In a seven-year period, 1972-1978, South Africa was able to obtain on the international capital markets loans and credits totalling some \$5.5 billion, and this figure excludes loans made by banks in individual countries, trade financing and interbank lending. All of these capital aid flows are vital to the functioning of the *apartheid* system and must be halted. It is a matter of considerable regret to my delegation that major financial institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Switzerland, in bankrolling *apartheid*, are buttressing the racist *apartheid* régime as it engages in the suppression of basic human rights in that country. Their economic involvement also demonstrates a total disregard for the life and well-being of the oppressed blacks in southern Africa. My delegation would therefore urge the General Assembly to call once again upon all States, without exception, to halt all loans to South Africa by banks and financial institutions under their jurisdiction. To ensure that loans are not granted under clandestine conditions, it will also be necessary to adopt appropriate regulations that would require such institutions to report publicly any financial dealings with the racist *apartheid* régime.

116. Similarly, energy—and in particular the importation of oil—is of strategic importance to the South African military-industrial machine, requiring as it does a daily consumption of 400,000 barrels of crude and 15,000 barrels of refined oil products. My delegation accordingly welcomes the decision by the Islamic Republic of Iran to cut off oil supplies to the racist *apartheid* régime, and has also noted the action by the Government of Nigeria relating to tankers that have been in contact with South Africa. Both these actions have produced a qualitatively new situation in South Africa leading the racist *apartheid* régime to take further measures to restrict the publication of information relating to the oil industry in South Africa.

117. In the light of these developments, as well as of the fact that there are now no members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries openly selling oil directly to South Africa, it would seem propitious for the international community to intensify its efforts towards imposing a total oil embargo against South Africa. Since South Africa continues to obtain supplies either directly from smaller oil producers or in the spot market, we would urge the General Assembly, in this connexion, also to call upon oil producers and exporters to include in their contracts clauses prohibiting the sale of their oil to South Africa, either directly or indirectly.

118. Without direct foreign investment and trade,

without private and public capital flows, without oil, the racist *apartheid* régime will not be able to maintain its oppressive and racist society. My delegation has repeatedly called upon the Security Council to take further measures under Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa in order to compel that régime to dismantle the system of *apartheid* and to enable the people of South Africa to enjoy their political, economic, social and cultural rights without discrimination based on race, colour, class or creed. In this connexion, we fully support the convening of the proposed international conference to be held in 1980, under the auspices of OAU and the United Nations, to mobilize world public opinion in support of the effective application of economic and other sanctions against South Africa.

119. In conclusion, my delegation reaffirms its unwavering support for the peoples of South Africa and their national liberation movements in their struggle to free their country from racial oppression and to build a just and fair society providing equal opportunities for all. We shall continue in militant solidarity with the people of South Africa to provide moral and material assistance to them in their valiant battle against the forces of repression and oppression.

120. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): The fact that the General Assembly is once again compelled to consider the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government after so many years of debate within our Organization, as well as in other forums, sufficiently emphasizes the stake which this represents for the dignity of man, as well as for international peace and security.

121. Today all peoples and countries throughout the world that cherish peace, justice and independence are following with profound concern the evolution of the present situation in southern Africa and are wondering about the outcome of a conflict which opposes the valiant peoples of southern Africa, with the support of the international community, to the racist régimes and *apartheid* systems of Salisbury and Pretoria.

122. It is obvious to all that neither the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe or Namibia, which are heroically waging a just struggle to recover their independence, freedom and dignity, nor other peace-loving and justice-loving peoples elsewhere, can accept the further perpetuation of that colonial and racist domination in southern Africa. All clearly realize the gravity of an explosive situation which runs the risk of becoming irreversible for peace and security in the region, insofar as the situation is allowed to deteriorate further.

123. Hence, the recent announcement of a nuclear explosion in South Africa, if confirmed, would be of historic significance in the sense that it would be inimical to international peace and security. In that case, the racist and *apartheid* régimes in Southern Africa will bear full responsibility before history.

124. For decades, the peoples of southern Africa, in particular the people of South Africa, have been struggling indomitably for the right to live in freedom and independence like all peoples in the world and particularly those in Africa. Despite the difficulties inherent in the struggle for national liberation, their just combat has

constantly developed and expanded throughout the years. The successes achieved both internally and on the international scene bear witness to that. These important successes, which we welcome, are the result of the immense sacrifices which they made and the assistance and support given to them by peoples and countries throughout the world that love peace and justice. However, confronted with the impetuous upsurge of that popular struggle, the *apartheid* régimes of South Africa and Salisbury have had recourse to every kind of manoeuvre and Fascist measure to maintain their domination and to break popular resistance. Like every colonialist régime, they have not hesitated to massacre the innocent population, to assassinate patriots or to imprison them by the thousand. There is no doubt that they will continue to do so until the day when they come to an ignominious end. At the same time, they resort to perfidious manoeuvres in an attempt to divide and rule by the application of the policy of bantustanization and of internal settlement. In respect of the front-line States, the *apartheid* régimes have arrogantly intensified acts of aggression with the obvious purpose of intimidating them, destroying their economies and therefore weakening the support given to the just struggle of the South African people. But, contrary to the expectations of those régimes, all these methods of oppression, repression and intimidation simply further reinforce the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and the determination of the front-line States to give further support to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Thus the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes have been brought to a total impasse.

125. However, we should emphasize here the arrogance with which these racist and *apartheid* régimes continue to ignore any relevant United Nations resolutions; that is to say, to defy international public opinion. That fact in itself shows the determination of Pretoria and Salisbury to continue at all costs their criminal policy of colonial domination and exploitation in southern Africa. Confronted with this stand, the United Nations has the duty to take the measures necessary to bring these régimes to respect the will of the international community and to abandon their policy of *apartheid* and of colonial domination. It is time to apply against them the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Likewise, the international community has the duty to strengthen and develop its support for the political, diplomatic, military and economic battle being waged by the peoples of southern Africa.

126. The people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea have always supported the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and have followed with admiration and sympathy the victorious progress of that struggle. They have always denounced and condemned the crimes of *apartheid* as crimes against mankind.

127. In the present stage of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, we reaffirm our unwavering solidarity and support and express our profound conviction that, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, SWAPO and its liberation movement in South Africa, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa will certainly accede to their sacred national rights to independence and freedom.

128. At the same time, we reaffirm our complete solidarity with the front-line States and condemn the

barbarous aggression, perpetrated by the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes, of which they are the victims.

129. Finally, Democratic Kampuchea fully supports the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/34/22, paras. 212-331] and congratulates it and its Chairman for the efforts made and the important results achieved, particularly in the campaign of international mobilization against *apartheid*.

130. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia): It is unfortunate that we must once again address ourselves to a problem that has for so long engaged our energies. The system of *apartheid* in South Africa stands out as one of the few racial injustices of this era that has not yet been done away with. The international community's efforts over the past year to eradicate *apartheid* have made some small inroads, but we are still short of our total goal. We do not lack resolve, however, and I am sure that we shall all continue our striving.

131. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which, under the capable chairmanship of Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, has issued a report which brings vividly to light the problems we face in our efforts and the activities we must yet undertake to eradicate *apartheid*. I should like also to pay a tribute to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports which, under the capable chairmanship of Ambassador Sebastian Chale of the United Republic of Tanzania, has been making substantial progress in preparing a draft convention [A/34/36]. Finally, let me take this opportunity to give recognition to the Centre against *Apartheid* which, under the directorship of Mr. Enuga Reddy, has provided its services to our efforts at combating *apartheid*.

132. My delegation is pleased to see that the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in response to the decision of the General Assembly, has launched an international mobilization of efforts to eradicate *apartheid*. My delegation is particularly pleased to note the Committee's greater efforts to mobilize the mass media on behalf of the struggle. This is an appropriate aim, since we must seek to change the hearts of men so that we can make public opinion receptive to the idea of waging the struggle. That struggle must, however, have the support of all States and my delegation appeals for all appropriate support to be readily forthcoming from the international community. In particular, we appeal to all States which collaborate with South Africa in the political, economic, military and other fields to abide by the prevailing sentiment of the conscience of mankind and to comply strictly with all relevant United Nations resolutions aimed at eliminating *apartheid*. Furthermore, it is important that the internal forces combine their efforts in the struggle against *apartheid* so that they can benefit each other and hasten the inevitable day of freedom.

133. My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, pledges to continue its efforts to support the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against *apartheid*, and will lend its support to the international mobilization efforts of the Committee. As a result, my Government supports the general policy

of isolating the Pretoria régime, since such a policy is a major means of eradicating the *apartheid* system.

134. The Government of Indonesia has actively pursued a policy of isolation by shunning all relations with South Africa and by refusing to participate in sports events and beauty pageants where South Africa is represented. The Indonesian Government also refuses to issue visas to anyone holding a South African passport. The latest case involved the refusal to grant visas to two holders of South African passports who had wished to attend the meeting of the Council of the International Badminton Federation at Djakarta a few months ago.

135. My Government also supports all internationally declared sanctions and appeals to all other States strictly to comply with them. In this regard we also appeal to the Security Council to consider the situation in South Africa without further delay, with a view to imposing mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

136. In the struggle against *apartheid* it is important that the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa be supported fully so that it can continue its valuable work. We appeal to the international community to enlarge its contributions to this Fund, as well as to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, so that both can continue their work. Let me take this opportunity to reaffirm my delegation's continued support for these programmes and commend them on their past and future meritorious service to the people of South Africa.

137. The struggle against *apartheid* is only one of the challenges the international community faces in southern Africa. The illegal presence of Pretoria in Namibia and the illegal Government in Zimbabwe must be removed so that the people of those Territories can enjoy freedom and independence. If we do not undertake a concerted effort to eradicate these problems, we leave the area fertile for an expanded conflict which will in turn escalate and spread to the international arena. Therefore, in strengthening international mobilization against *apartheid*, we must also incorporate the pursuit of the legitimate goals of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe into our efforts.

138. In conclusion, let me take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation for the struggle and sacrifice of the front-line States on behalf of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Despite suffering economic losses and being subjected to acts of aggression by South Africa, these States continue to sacrifice themselves in order that the people of southern Africa may realize true independence and freedom. The international community's efforts on behalf of the people of southern Africa must also therefore take into consideration the needs of those front-line States.

139. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): This world Organization, ever since its very establishment, has been continually obliged to confront South Africa's racist policies of *apartheid*.

140. If I may be permitted to strike a personal note, I vividly recall that in 1956, the year that Japan was admitted to the United Nations, I, as a young member of

Japan's first delegation to the United Nations, prepared a draft of our delegation's statement in the deliberations on what was referred to at the time as the "Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa". In 1979 we find ourselves still engaged in discussing the same problem, which is now referred to as the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa. We are filled with deep regret and indignation at the fact that, even after these long and difficult years of struggle, the peoples of South Africa still suffer under the yoke of racial discrimination.

141. South Africa's policies of *apartheid* trample on the most basic of principles contained in the United Nations Charter: the respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, without racial discrimination. The policies of *apartheid* are nothing more than blatant, institutionalized racial discrimination. The people and Government of Japan have consistently condemned such practices and insist that they be abolished once and for all.

142. My delegation is fully aware of the feeling prevailing in some quarters that the steady stream of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly has failed to result in any meaningful changes in the lives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. We believe, however, that our deliberations have been effective in awakening world opinion and, although it must seem distressingly slow from the viewpoint of the people directly involved, progress is undeniably being made. We are confident that if conscious efforts by the world community are maintained and intensified, the pressure exerted by world opinion will inevitably lead to the abolition of *apartheid* in South Africa. My delegation therefore consistently urges that violence be shunned as a means for achieving our goals. It is essential that we continue to exert maximum pressure on the Government of South Africa through our unified support of peaceful and progressive movements in South Africa.

143. The ultimate goal of the common efforts of the international community must be to induce the South African Government to abandon the practice of *apartheid*. For its part, my Government is faithfully fulfilling its obligations to this end. Japan maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor does it recognize the so-called independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Japan in principle does not issue visas to South Africans for cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities.

144. Regarding military collaboration with South Africa Japan has long adhered to the three principles of the arms embargo and has accordingly prohibited the supplying of arms and related equipment to South Africa by any Japanese nationals or organizations. Although there are no licensing arrangements between Japan and South Africa for the manufacture of arms, the Government of Japan has, since April 1978, taken all necessary measures to ensure the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and to secure legal control of technical assistance relating to the manufacture of arms. Consequently there has been absolutely no military co-operation between Japan and South Africa, nor will such co-operation be approved by the Government of Japan in the future.

145. In the field of nuclear collaboration, my country strictly adheres to the three non-nuclear principles of not possessing, not manufacturing and not permitting the entry into Japan of nuclear weapons. Thus Japan neither has extended, nor is it able to extend, any co-operation whatsoever to South Africa in the field of nuclear weapons development. With regard to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, Japan has not exported nuclear reactors or any related materials, nor has it extended any technical assistance to South Africa in nuclear weapons development.

146. It is on the basis of these facts that, in my letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, dated 11 August 1979,⁸ my Government protested reference to Japan in the report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa contained in Security Council document S/13157.⁹ This letter will be circulated as a United Nations document in due course.

147. Finally, the Government of Japan has strictly upheld its policy of not permitting direct investment, such as the establishment of local corporations, in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. This policy is maintained in spite of Japan's general policy of maximum liberalization of direct investment abroad.

148. In April of this year, the Centre against *Apartheid* received from Corporate Data Exchange, Inc. a report entitled "Bank Loans to South Africa, 1972-1978" which included some references to Japanese involvement with regard to loans to South Africa. My delegation's detailed comments on the misleading information contained in that report will be presented to the General Assembly very soon.

149. The Japanese people have consistently supported movements in South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid*. My Government has provided whatever humanitarian assistance it could to the oppressed people of South Africa through annual contributions to the relevant funds of the United Nations. Japan considers it an honour and a privilege to be able to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. We shall do our best to accomplish our tasks on behalf of the oppressed people in southern Africa.

150. The Government of Japan remains firmly against the seemingly ubiquitous practice of racial discrimination, and is particularly opposed to the institutionalized racism practised in South Africa. Thus, if the Government of South Africa continues to defy the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly those of the Security Council which seek the peaceful settlement of the complex problems of southern Africa, the Government of Japan will be forced to reconsider its policy towards the Government of South Africa in the future.

151. Japan has been faithfully and determinedly fulfilling its obligations as a State Member of this Organization and has voluntarily undertaken measures

to limit, as far as possible, its relations with the Government of South Africa. We shall continue to do so until we, and the international community in general, are satisfied that the problem of *apartheid* has been resolved once and for all. At the same time, my delegation sincerely hopes that our deliberations on this question will be conducted on the basis of an objective evaluation of the situation and concluded without arbitrary and unfair judgements regarding the co-operative efforts of the various Governments.

152. Mr. KOH (Singapore): Towards the end of Alan Paton's novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, the venerable Zulu patriarch Msimangu, "who had no hate for any man", looks across the Natal hills and says heavily:

"I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they [the whites] turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating."¹⁰

153. The day when the black and other Coloured peoples of South Africa would have given up the dream of racial equality and reconciliation must be very near, if it has not already passed us.

154. Year after year, we have gathered here to consider the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. We have tried to persuade the Government of South Africa by reason and logic, by moral exhortation and moral censure, to change its ways. It would appear, however, that the leaders of the Government of South Africa are impervious to reason, to logic and to moral censure. I am therefore inclined to share the view of the Permanent Representative of Sweden, Ambassador Anders Thunborg, when he said:

"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 on 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." [54th meeting, para. 66.]

155. What are the areas in which the international community, especially the Western world, can exert strong and compelling pressures against the Government of South Africa?

156. I wish to refer briefly to two areas in which such pressures should be exerted. As we all know, the United Nations Security Council has imposed, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which imposed the arms embargo, is an important landmark in our moral crusade against *apartheid*. It is an important landmark because it represented the first occasion on which all the members of the Security Council accepted the principle that sanctions under Chapter VII should be applied against South Africa. It is important for us to implement scrupulously Security Council resolution 418 (1977). It would be desirable to add another increment

⁸ See document A/AC.115/L.519.

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*.

¹⁰ Alan Paton, *Cry, the Beloved Country* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 276.

to the arms embargo against South Africa. In this respect, my delegation views with favour the proposal of the Scandinavian countries for the Security Council to take appropriate action in order to achieve, at an early date, the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

157. I have listened attentively to the statement made yesterday [54th meeting] by the permanent representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Akporode Clark, the very able Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. There is one point in Ambassador Clark's statement to which I wish to make reference. This concerns reports suggesting that the Government of South Africa recently exploded a nuclear device in the South Atlantic.

158. The Secretary-General has been requested to report on this matter and we all await his report with anticipation. But even before all the facts are known there is one lesson which the international community should learn from the incident. This is that, as long as South Africa is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and as long as the fullscope safeguards are not applied to its nuclear programme, there is no effective way in which we can prevent South Africa from developing nuclear weapons. The Western countries which supply South Africa with nuclear technology and equipment should, in the light of the recent incident, reconsider seriously whether they should continue their nuclear co-operation with South Africa. At the least, those Western countries should insist that South Africa should adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or accept the full application of safeguards to its nuclear programme.

159. I have referred to our struggle against *apartheid* as a moral crusade. It is a moral crusade because *apartheid* violates one of the fundamental moral beliefs of our Organization—that no man or woman should be discriminated against because of his or her race or colour. *Apartheid* is the clearest, ugliest and most systematic form of racial discrimination practised anywhere in the world today. It is not, however, the only instance of racial discrimination, which regrettably exists in many parts of the world. Because our opposition to *apartheid* is based upon our opposition to racial discrimination, we must condemn this evil wherever it occurs, including in our own countries. If we did not do this, if we were to condone racial discrimination in our midst, then we would do a great injury to our moral crusade against the evil policy of *apartheid*.

160. Mr. RAZI AHMED (India): The fact that the United Nations began consideration of racism in South Africa in 1946 at the request of the Government of India¹¹ indicates India's pioneering role in the world movement against *apartheid*. In October 1946 the United Nations General Assembly was convened for the first time, and there India introduced the issue of the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa. During that session the General Assembly, at India's insistence, passed a resolution declaring that

“ . . . it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to . . . racial persecution and discrimination . . . ” [resolution 103(I)].

¹¹ See document A/149.

It may have appeared that India took up the issue of racial discrimination because people of Indian origin were being discriminated against in South Africa but soon afterwards, as the South African Government adopted racial discrimination as an official policy, separating communities on the basis of race and denying them equal rights and privileges, India's concern for all non-white races became evident.

161. South Africa, however, paid no heed to that United Nations resolution, in pursuance of a practice which it has consistently followed with regard to the world Organization. In 1952 India, together with 12 other States Members of the United Nations, raised the general question of “race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa”.¹² The numerous requests, recommendations, admonitions and condemnations by the United Nations failed to deter the South African Government from its set course of racism, and thus in 1962 a draft resolution was submitted by a large number of Member States, including India,¹³ deploring the failure of the South African Government to comply with United Nations resolutions. The General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII) urging Member States to take certain diplomatic and economic steps against the Government of South Africa in order to induce it to abandon its racial policies.

162. Indeed, India's abhorrence of *apartheid* was given expression as early as 75 years ago. The father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi, played a courageous and pioneering role in that struggle at the turn of the century when he organized and led non-violent resistance in South Africa against the régime's unjust and discriminatory laws. Independent India carried the struggle forward by breaking off relations with South Africa in protest against its racist policies. India's first Prime Minister, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, who was honoured last year during International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, for his outstanding contribution to the international campaign against *apartheid*, made the following remarks about this scourge on humanity:

“There are many conflicts which divide the world, and this question of racial conflict in South Africa is as grave as any other issue. There are racial conflicts elsewhere in the world . . . but . . . in South Africa it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes the South African case unique in the world. It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worth while, whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way.”

163. Since the time when Mahatma Gandhi raised the banner of revolt against the oppressive and racist régime of South Africa, despite the various steps taken and measures adopted by the international community, the

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 66, document A/2183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Seventeenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 87, document A/5276, para. 13.

oppressed majority of that unfortunate land continues to suffer increasing brutal repression. Even the mildest form of protest by the people brings down on their heads the full wrath of the illegal white minority régime. The revered leaders of the brave people of South Africa have been languishing year after year in the dreaded gaol of Robben Island, and many of them have been liquidated through police torture. Human rights and human dignity are being trampled under the jackboot of *apartheid* tyranny.

164. Mahatma Gandhi once said:

“What is happening in South Africa involves a loss of dignity of not only those who are the victims of *apartheid* but also those who are perpetrating it and directly or indirectly encouraging it.”

165. Over the years a large majority of the international community has come to consider the evil practice of *apartheid* one of the ugliest forms of racism and racial discrimination, verging on a crime against humanity. However, if the illegal South African régime has had the temerity to flout various resolutions of the world Organization in this regard, it has done so because there has been no cessation of economic, diplomatic and even nuclear collaboration with South Africa on the part of certain affluent industrial countries. The time has come, therefore, for these countries to join the mainstream of the international endeavour to eliminate that blot on our civilization, so that the support which they lend to the cause of human rights, equality and justice in other parts of the world does not have a hollow ring.

166. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ever since its creation in 1962, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been engaged in a constant review of all aspects of South Africa's *apartheid* policy and its international repercussions, studying ways and means of promoting concerted international action to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*. Such is the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2671 A (XXV), adopted in December 1970. Spain has constantly co-operated with the United Nations along these lines in an effort to thwart all discrimination, irrespective of race, colour, ethnic group or any other consideration.

167. Spain has participated fully in the work of the Assembly and on various occasions my Government has voiced its concern, both with the policy of *apartheid* and with the dangerous repercussions of repression and injustice which the system entails. Thus, in his address to the plenary Assembly this September, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs reiterated that:

“We are concerned at the situation in South Africa and the persistence of a policy of *apartheid* and of territorial segregation, which gravely injures human rights and is a challenge to the international community, while it is equally a source of grave tensions which affect peace and security in the area, thwarting reconciliation and a peaceful change which will make possible an orderly coexistence among all the South African communities.” [5th meeting, para. 143.]

168. As can be seen from these words, the policy of *apartheid* is at the root of a whole series of problems that go beyond the boundaries of a single State and, in their multiple ramifications, pose a constant threat to the peoples of other countries of the area. As the

Secretary-General noted in the annual report on the work of the Organization which he submitted to the General Assembly this year:

“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.” [See A/34/1, sect. III.]

169. Indeed, we must not only defend the principles of equality and justice for the oppressed people of South Africa—a goal which itself would be sufficient justification for international mobilization against *apartheid*—we must also attempt to stifle a spark that might ignite convulsions of repression and war throughout the southern African continent. In recent days, the Security Council took up the complaint of Angola over South Africa's acts of aggression. On other occasions that same Council has been called upon to deal with the artificial creation of bantustans by South Africa—a system that has been totally repudiated by the international community. This and other problems, such as that of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, which is also on the agenda of the Assembly at this session, as well as the repeated border violations and the innumerable acts of aggression against countries neighbours of the racist régimes, are but repercussions of the *apartheid* system.

170. For all those reasons, my delegation is of the view that only strict compliance with the measures adopted by the Security Council and with whatever measures it may adopt in response to the universal awareness of the dangers entailed by such a system, and of the obstacles created by *apartheid* to international coexistence, is likely to convince the practitioners of *apartheid* of the erratic and dangerous nature of their attitude. The only basis for a just and well-balanced society can be the recognition of human equality. Spain has espoused these principles historically by mixing with all the races of this continent and of the Philippines, engendering a great community with a similar language and culture.

171. The international Anti-*Apartheid* Year, which concluded in March of this year, has been succeeded with equal impetus by the launching of the international mobilization against *apartheid*, designed to ensure the speedy elimination of the *apartheid* system and the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

172. My delegation congratulates the Special Committee on its work and intends to continue endorsing its recommendations—in particular, those relating to assistance for peoples oppressed by repressive and discriminatory laws, and for countries victims of South African acts of aggression; we shall also continue to support all measures aimed at doing away with repression and at securing the release of political prisoners in South Africa. In this connexion, our delegation welcomes the progress noted in the report of the Special Committee [A/34/22, paras. 294-298] concerning the intensification of publicity on *apartheid* through the United Nations Department of Public Information to achieve greater public awareness of this problem.

173. As a great number of delegations have pointed out, the main cause of crisis in southern Africa is racial domination. If the essential goal of our Organization is that of maintaining peace throughout the world, it is

our duty to do everything we can to uproot an evil which constitutes a grave threat of instability and eradicate *apartheid*, that sinister seed of conflict.

174. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): No one today denies the fact that *apartheid* has become one of our century's greatest challenges to the international community. It is also a glaring insult to all the human values in which that community believes and it demands from it a radical and relentless confrontation. *Apartheid* is not just a political phenomenon but an ideology which has its roots in the colonial establishment which the world has witnessed for three centuries. It is closely linked to the myth of racial superiority imposed by Western colonialism in numerous parts of the world subject to its domination. The fact that the peoples of southern Africa remain under the domination of racist régimes and the growing strength of those régimes, particularly of the South African racist system of *apartheid*, are two matters that we must confront more forcefully in order that these peoples may be able to achieve their independence and rid themselves of the racist régimes forcefully imposed on them. In that way it will be possible to avoid the dangers that threaten not only the peoples of that region but the peoples of the entire world as a result of the growing strength of the racist régimes in many spheres.

175. I should like to express my gratitude to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its constructive efforts, under the chairmanship of Mr. Clark, to apply the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and so face up to the challenge of the racist régime in South Africa. The reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22 and Add.1] reflect clearly the continued efforts of our Organization to confront this challenge. I must also point out that the dangers to international peace and security resulting from the policy of *apartheid* of the régime in South Africa are only a part of similar dangers in other parts of the world, particularly those facing us in the Arab world as a result of the racist policies of the Zionist entity. Report A/34/22, which I have just cited, refers to this fact in many of its paragraphs, and report A/34/22/Add.1 concentrates on the growing relationship between Israel and South Africa.

176. We note with great regret that, as has been said by previous speakers, the efforts of the United Nations to confront racial discrimination and *apartheid* are countered by the opposing efforts of some Western countries and Israel to entrench that policy. Financial loans, programmes of increasing investment by multinational corporations and the transfer of technical expertise in the nuclear and military industries received in the South African racist régime from those countries contravene all the fundamental obligations imposed by the Charter on Member States. The details given in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as those we find in the bulletins of the Centre against *Apartheid*, confirm the growth of South Africa's military and economic power. For instance, we find that the régime is able to manufacture 75 per cent of its requirements in military equipment thanks to the assistance of multinational corporations. Its annual expenditure on armaments has risen to nearly \$2 billion. I must also refer with appreciation to the efforts of the Centre against *Apartheid*, which continues to publish documents, data and information which reveal the ac-

tivities and effectiveness of multinational corporations in building up the military and economic bases of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, activities that are the principal cause of the growth in that régime's strength and brutality.

177. My delegation fully supports the recommendations and conclusions referred to in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We refer, for example, to the call to intensify the mobilization of all international efforts to uproot and eliminate the crime of racist *apartheid* and to enable the people of South Africa to achieve their independence in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 33/183 B, as well as to the appeal to launch an international campaign for the application of sanctions against South Africa in accordance with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. We consider that there is a logical sequence in these recommendations, based on their importance and efficacy, since they deal with questions to which my delegation attaches special importance. I refer, for instance, to the recommendations on nuclear co-operation with South Africa [see A/34/22, para. 246], on military co-operation with South Africa and the imposition of an arms embargo [*ibid.*, para. 254], on an oil embargo [*ibid.*, para. 265] and on the termination of all investments in and loans to South Africa and any increase in the volume of trade with that country [*ibid.*, para. 270]. My delegation warmly welcomes the proposal adopted at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Monrovia in July this year, on the subject of the sanctions imposed against the racist and *apartheid* régime in South Africa [see A/34/552, annex I, CM/Res.734 (XXXIII)], since it is an appeal to continue the efforts under way against *apartheid* beyond the end of the International Year against *Apartheid* on 21 March last. We feel sure that the escalation of the international campaign and the joint effort to put an end to the policy of *apartheid* by all available means, including the use of force, added to the struggle of the people of Azania, constitute the only road enabling the peoples of the region to achieve their freedom and independence.

178. My delegation would like to express its satisfaction with the discussions that have taken place in the seminars and symposia which the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has organized or taken part in and in particular their concentration on the danger of the growing military and nuclear strength of the South African régime.

179. Press reports last month on the subject of the first nuclear explosion carried out by South Africa have had a very bad effect throughout the world and have confirmed the reality of the dangers which threaten the African countries and the world as a whole, should the racist régimes possess the nuclear weapon; that would constitute a direct threat to international peace and security. We hope that the Secretary-General will be able to present, with all possible speed, the report requested of him by the General Assembly on this subject.

180. In the past years, Iraq has condemned the policy of bantustanization. We repeat once again our condemnation and denunciation of the continuation of this policy, in pursuance of which the so-called independence of the territory Venda has just been proclaimed. It is indeed fitting that in September last the

Security Council condemned¹⁴ this proclamation of so-called independence and declared it null and void.

181. We pay a tribute to the struggle of the people of South Africa, which has made and continues to make sacrifices in the face of the most odious manifestations of injustice and racist oppression, just as we pay a tribute also to the struggle against South Africa of the front-line African States, which are subjected daily to the attacks of the racist régimes, supervised, organized and assisted by the South African racist régime. The Special Committee in its report refers to the fact that the People's Republic of Angola has been subjected to repeated attacks, the last of which was that condemned last week by the Security Council in its resolution 454 (1979). Such condemnation, in our view, will not prevent the racist régimes from continuing their attacks against the front-line African States. We support any measure designed to increase the potential of the front-line States, including their defence potential, in order to put an end to these attacks.

182. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September last, gave this matter particular importance and called for all possible support and aid of all kinds for the front-line States [see A/34/542, annex, sect. II, paras. 92-95]. We should like to reaffirm that Iraq attaches particular importance to its relations with the African countries and is trying to expand and consolidate them. We also wish to reaffirm our complete solidarity with the front-line African States in their struggle against the racist régimes and against *apartheid*.

183. This is not the first time we have before us a special report on the relations between the two racist régimes, the one in occupied Palestine and the other in South Africa. In document A/34/22/Add.1, further proof is given of the development of this relationship and its continuance in the various military, political, economic and cultural fields. The danger of nuclear armament by the racist régimes in occupied Palestine and in South Africa is becoming clear and is increasing day by day, with growing proof of the developing relations between those two régimes in the field of nuclear armament, which is designed to serve the ambitions and the expansionist plans of the two parties. We give warning that the world will see very dangerous and unfortunate developments indeed if our Organization stands with its arms folded in the face of this intensified nuclear and military co-operation between those two régimes and their growing potential in this field. My delegation has called the attention of the Organization to these dangers in past years, in particular by our proposal last year to include an item on "Military and nuclear collaboration with Israel" in the agenda,¹⁵ and our proposal this year to include the item entitled "Israeli nuclear armament" [see A/34/142, annex] which is before the First Committee this year. We call for an international campaign against the nuclear armament of the racist régimes in South Africa and in occupied Palestine, and for the adoption of decisive measures to put an end to such armament, otherwise the world will undoubtedly face the danger of a new destructive war.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year*, 2168th meeting, para. 1.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Annexes*, agenda item 125, document A/33/461, paras. 5 and 33.

184. Last year the General Assembly, in its resolution 33/183 D, condemned the continuing and increasing co-operation between South Africa and Israel and the General Assembly called on Israel to put an end to all forms of co-operation with South Africa in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. But racist Israel did nothing and completely ignored this demand. Therefore the time has come to impose sanctions against any country which does not apply the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on South Africa. Condemnation alone is not sufficient, and we have many examples to prove it.

185. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The United Nations has made a great contribution to the efforts to combat the policy of *apartheid* and reveal its evil methods. The General Assembly, at its seventeenth session, took a constructive and important step when it set up the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The deliberations of the United Nations have effectively contributed to enlightening world public opinion concerning the hateful racist policies of South Africa and achieving the recognition paid to the people of South Africa for their heroic and just struggle and their rejection of the inhuman and immoral practices enforced against them by the racist régime in South Africa.

186. The General Assembly took another constructive step at its twenty-eighth session when it adopted resolution 3068 (XXVIII) by which the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* was adopted. Another constructive initiative was taken at the twenty-ninth session when the General Assembly invited the liberation movements of South Africa which are recognized by OAU—that is, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—to participate as observers in the deliberations of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. At the same session, it rejected the credentials of South Africa. The discussion of this item directly in the plenary meetings of the Assembly since the thirty-first session constitutes a positive contribution in support of the struggle against *apartheid*.

187. Among the other important initiatives taken by the United Nations was Security Council resolution 418 (1977) imposing an arms embargo on South Africa. That resolution reflected the wishes of the international community, which have been made clear in its deliberations throughout the years. We believe that the strict application of that resolution would put an end to the military arrogance of the racist régime in South Africa, and that the Security Council should make further constructive efforts by applying the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

188. These efforts by the United Nations and those of other international organizations to combat the crime of *apartheid* have undoubtedly encouraged and consolidated the liberation struggle carried on by the people of South Africa against racism, fascism and imperialism. The intensification of this heroic political and military struggle of the people of South Africa, together with the increasing international isolation of the *apartheid* system, has led that odious racist régime to perpetrate its barbaric oppressive acts against the nationalistic militants in South Africa, and to continue and increase its evil attacks against the front-line States in southern Africa, destroying their economies and their

civilian establishments, in an attempt to weaken their determination and their just stand in support of the liberation movements in South Africa.

189. The system of *apartheid* is now at a decisive stage in its fight for the maintenance of its criminal presence. As a result, it is carrying out the most hideous crimes against the nationalists in South Africa and Namibia and increasing its barbaric attacks against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania. At the same time, it is attempting, on a tribal basis, to destroy the unity of the peoples of South Africa by continuing to create further bantustans. Thus, at this fateful stage, the situation requires greater effort and initiative in support of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and their liberation movements. The present situation in South Africa is characterized by an escalation of the legitimate struggles that are taking place and by the scoring of continuous victories against the racist régimes, both internally and at the international level. It is also characterized by the growing crimes perpetrated by the racist régime in South Africa, such as genocide, dispersal, torture and imprisonment of peoples. The international community today, more than at any other time, is called upon to stand shoulder to shoulder with the great militant African peoples in restoring to them their legitimate rights which have been usurped. We must restore those peoples to their land and to their nation by all the legitimate means which have been adopted by the international community, including that of armed struggle.

190. History will not forget those who stand aloof from what is happening in South Africa, to say nothing of those who support South Africa in its violation of the most basic human rights in that area. The international community cannot accept the continued oppression, exploitation and suppression of the indigenous peoples of South Africa who constitute 75 per cent of the population and who live constantly in bantustans, in an area which comprises only 13 per cent of their total territories, while the white minority lives on 87 per cent of the land and derives 97 per cent of the income. This is an unnatural situation and forces the local inhabitants to emigrate in order to find work in the factories and mines and on the farmlands owned by the whites. The African is treated as cheap labour and is subjected to the worst type of exploitation. He is deprived of the enjoyment of the resources of his land and lives as a stranger in his own country, while the intruding white lives at the expense of the African's blood and sweat and grows richer as a result. This inhuman situation has been created by the Pretoria racist régime, through legislation which that régime has imposed to discriminate between peoples on the basis of colour, origin and race.

191. This strange situation continues despite United Nations resolutions, but this would not have happened if some Governments and transnational corporations had not maintained their co-operation with and support for the Pretoria régime. Two weeks ago, the world was appalled to learn that on 22 September last the Pretoria régime had carried out its first nuclear explosion. The world expressed great anxiety over the delay in the announcement of that grave happening which was picked up by the American detection system only a few hours after it happened. We confirm what the President of the United Nations General Assembly said on 26 October [47th meeting], that if South Africa developed and tested its nuclear arms, a serious threat to international

peace and security in the whole world would ensue. We hope that the countries concerned will co-operate with the Secretary-General in his investigation of the matter, in pursuance of the General Assembly resolution adopted two weeks ago [decision 34/404].

192. Co-operation by some Western countries with the racist régime in the field of nuclear power, and also co-operation by the ally of that régime, the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, have enabled South Africa to possess nuclear weapons. In 1976 the Zionist entity and the Pretoria régime signed a scientific co-operation agreement, which, as the world knows, has been a cover for co-operation in the development of nuclear weapons. Both racist régimes possess nuclear reactors, none of them under international supervision. The explosion which I have mentioned—if it has actually taken place—might be a joint experiment between Israel and South Africa, particularly if we take account of the fact that Israel has no area in which to carry out such an experiment alone.

193. It is not enough for the Western countries, which have co-operated in the past with the two racist régimes in the field of nuclear power, to show anxiety at the fact that South Africa and Israel own nuclear weapons. They should take practical steps and exert pressure against the two régimes, by ceasing all assistance to and commercial co-operation with them. They should prevent their transnational companies from participating with the racist régimes in the usurpation of the wealth of the peoples of the area.

194. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, called on the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions on South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter [see A/34/542, annex, sect. II, para. 87]. The reports drawing attention to the fact that South Africa had exploded a nuclear bomb are evidence of the gravity of the situation. The Conference also called on the present session of the General Assembly to adopt a declaration on solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of southern Africa [*ibid.*, para. 90] and proposed that such declaration should be binding on all countries and should lead them to cease forthwith any direct or indirect military intervention in defence of the *apartheid* system in South Africa.

195. At its thirty-third ordinary session, held in July last at Monrovia, the Council of Ministers of OAU asked the Secretary-General of OAU and the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to convene an international conference in 1980, under the joint aegis of OAU and the United Nations, to mobilize world public opinion in support of the effective application of the various sanctions against the *apartheid* system in South Africa [see A/34/552, annex I, CM/Res.734 (XXXIII)]. This request was also backed by the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. We look forward with great interest to the convening of this international conference and will help it to succeed so that it may effectively contribute to international action against the crime of *apartheid*.

196. In conclusion, I wish on behalf of my delegation to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its Chairman, Mr. Clark. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to the United

Nations Secretary-General for his efforts to rid the world of the odious policy of *apartheid*. It is our conviction that *apartheid* constitutes a complete negation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. We believe that it is a flagrant violation of human rights, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We call for further efforts to rid humanity of this stigma once and for all.

197. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The best way to begin my statement in this debate on *apartheid* in South Africa is to refer to the term used by the international community in describing this policy, namely that it is a crime against humanity. In fact, *apartheid* and racism in any shape or form in any part of the world are not only crimes against humanity but are also a stain on the honour of humanity—that humanity which, in the second part of our century, has achieved much, progressed far and reached a standard of civilization beyond imagination.

198. But in spite of this great progress in civilization, the international community, acting through various international organizations, has not had much success in its efforts to put an end to racism and *apartheid*.

199. The reason for the lack of success of the international community in its endeavours is neither a secret nor an inexplicable or insoluble mystery, at least not to my delegation, if not to most delegations here.

200. The most important question to be asked before this Assembly is the following: why has the international community so far been unable to end racial discrimination and *apartheid* or to eliminate all forms of racism wherever they have arisen, in spite of the international agreement designed specifically for that purpose, at least in appearance?

201. My country, which is one of the oldest members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, is well aware of the great number of studies, research, reports, resolutions and international conferences engendered by the Special Committee, in co-operation with the Centre against *Apartheid*, in the course of their work dedicated to mobilizing all possible action against *apartheid*. My delegation appreciates the constant efforts and endeavours of those two bodies in this field. We do not wish to go into details regarding their reports, research and resolutions; they are already at the disposal of every delegation in the General Assembly and they deserve our special appreciation.

202. Nor do I wish to go into details on the reasons which led me to repeat this year what I said last year and what I shall regretfully continue to say in the years to come, together with many, if not most, delegations represented in this international Organization.

203. Instead, I shall try to answer the question I put at the beginning of my statement: why has the international community so far been unable to end racial discrimination and *apartheid* or to eliminate all forms of racism wherever they may be practised, in spite of international agreements designed specifically for that reason? I hasten to say that our answer and approach to that question are clear, and they can be summed up as follows.

204. A feature of the international community today

is its interdependence and the connexion between interests and relationships, to the extent that no State or society can live in total isolation from the rest of the international community. That can of course be applied to the racist régime in South Africa.

205. A second feature also clearly applicable to the racist Pretoria régime is the "international hostility" which this régime faces in practically every part of the world, overtly at least.

206. If those two features have been correctly defined, and they certainly have, what then are the reasons for this failure?

207. Once again, my delegation does not think that this is a mystery which we cannot unravel; in fact, in our view, the reasons are crystal clear.

208. Some Western countries and Israel are the open secret behind the continuation of the racist régime in South Africa. The racist Pretoria régime would not, of course, be able to continue without the many forms of support it receives from those countries which, while condemning the system, are at the same time supplying it every day with at least enough—and perhaps more than enough—aid, support and expertise in the political, nuclear, military and economic fields. Were those countries to agree to impose an embargo on that régime and to cease to give it support for a year—or perhaps even less—it would collapse without the loss of the lives of the martyrs in the national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, which we consider to be the sole legitimate representatives of their peoples and which we fully support.

209. We know, *a priori*, the rejected and spurious excuses offered by some Western countries to justify the co-operation of their corporations, institutions and monopolies with the racist régime. There is more than one proof—which we shall not cite here—that the reasons they give are untrue.

210. The only reason for the co-operation of those countries, either official or unofficial, overt or covert, with the racist Pretoria régime is undoubtedly their interests and their interests alone, besides their historical enmity towards national liberation movements and progress in the world.

211. As for Israel, in addition to these, it has other, stronger and deeper reasons to increase and expand its co-operation with the racist régimes in Africa.

212. The similarity, organic and racist, between the two régimes does not require any discussion. To make myself clear, let me say briefly that the two systems are in fact an extension and result of the wave of settler imperialism in the fourth quarter of last century. Both began on the basis of an alien settler minority which seized the territory of the people who were the authentic inhabitants of the area. Both exist in an area and atmosphere alien and inimical to them, and therefore they follow the same policy towards those around them.

213. As a result, both continue to defy the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations, and both continue to follow their racist policies which continue to ignore all concepts, charters and resolutions of the international community.

214. It is sufficient in this context to refer to the contents of the reports before us, which clearly affirm the truth of what we say, particularly the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa [A/34/22/Add.1]. That report has been distributed to all delegations.

215. For all these reasons, my country stands shoulder to shoulder with the peoples and liberation movements of Africa in our joint struggle against a single enemy representing the worst kind of racism, occupation and oppression of this century.

216. My delegation, without hesitation or reservation, fully supports the militant national liberation movements of the peoples struggling for the liberation of their territory, and for their unity, independence and sovereignty.

217. Therefore my delegation appeals once again to the General Assembly and in particular to the Security Council to be more effective and more serious in their efforts to put an end to racial discrimination and *apartheid*, to eliminate all forms of racism in any part of the world, and to rid modern society of this heinous crime.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

218. Mr. MAPP (Barbados): Once again we turn our attention to the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. This item has been under consideration from the very beginning. There are few items on the agenda of any meeting held under the auspices of this Organization that appear to elicit as great a degree of agreement as does this one. Whenever *apartheid* is mentioned delegations from every geographical area speak out loudly and eloquently against that heinous system. The condemnation of the system of *apartheid* seems virtually unanimous.

219. Over the years several decisions have been taken and several resolutions passed with the express aim of bringing the Fascist Government in Pretoria to its senses, if not to its knees, and forcing them to adopt a civilized and humane system of government.

220. But, ironically, the condemnation heaped upon that racist régime and the resolutions calling for the isolation of that despicable Government have met with callous disregard and arrogance. While that illegal minority should be reeling from the concerted strictures and the combined efforts of the civilized members of the international community, it seems instead to be flourishing. It is able to inflict ever more harsh and brutal restrictions on the defenceless and undefended majority whose birthright is being so callously usurped. It is able to maintain a fiefdom in Namibia while denying to the inhabitants of that country the dignity of self-determination. It is able to make incursions into the sovereign territories of its neighbours, the brave front-line States, whose only offence lies in having had the courage to stand up for the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. It is able to embark on an arms policy that shows every indication of threatening the security not only of the entire continent of Africa, but beyond.

221. This monstrous situation is possible only because

of the hypocrisy of some of those delegations that speak out in condemnation of the practices of the South African Government, and some of those Governments which support, if not sponsor, resolutions designed to bring to an end the evil practice of *apartheid*. The Government of South Africa could never behave like an octopus-like monster without the connivance and active support of some of the most powerful members of the international community.

222. It is the view of my delegation that States Members of this Organization must refrain from active support and contacts which might lead to the deeper entrenchment of the illegal racist régime. My delegation is also convinced that if all Member States were to adhere to the spirit of the resolutions passed by this Organization the terrible dragon would soon be laid to rest.

223. In a message to the special session of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, held in Kingston, Jamaica, in May of this year, the Prime Minister of Barbados made the following pledge:

“ . . . that the Barbados Government and its people will continue the struggle and will intensify efforts against *apartheid* and for the liberation of southern Africa, steadfastly supporting the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia and adhering to the plans of action called for in the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* and in the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia”.

224. In that same message, the Prime Minister committed the Government of Barbados: first, to assist the national liberation movements in southern Africa by continuing to provide Namibians with opportunities for training and education; secondly, to collaborate in the growing effort to impose full economic sanctions against South Africa; and thirdly, to speak out in every international forum against the abominable practice of *apartheid*. Barbados stands by those commitments.

225. My delegation commends the Special Committee for its efforts during the past year and wishes to extend its congratulations on the excellent report which the Committee was able to produce. My delegation hopes that these efforts will prove fruitful. If they prove fruitless it will be no reflection on the practicability of the Committee's recommendations. Such failure will result once more from the refusal of those who are best able to ensure the success of those recommendations to make any effort to achieve that aim and to live up to their responsibilities.

226. My delegation also wishes to express appreciation of the spirit of co-operation and dedication displayed by its colleagues on the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports. Significant progress has been made during the year: only one article now remains for further deliberation [see A/34/36, annex].

227. Barbados hopes that all delegations will be persuaded to support the recommendations of both the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports. It is our hope that such support will manifest itself in deeds and not die as mere words on the lips of various speakers.

228. One commentator has said that the apparatus of *apartheid* is a labyrinthine network, reaching into administration, the law, education, labour management, politics and everyday social life. If we do not act to rid our civilization of this apparatus, it will eventually snuff out our civilization. For the triumph of racism anywhere will eventually mean the triumph of racism everywhere. Regardless of race, colour or creed, let us act now to make the dignity of man, man born in the image of God, a reality everywhere.

229. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone): A lot has been written on the question of the *apartheid* policies of South Africa. The question has been discussed and debated in numerous forums, and hundreds of resolutions, declarations and decisions have been adopted. Yet the victims of *apartheid* have had no respite from its evil effects. Instead, the problem has become, in the words of the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador Clark, a "tragic and explosive potential for a race war of continental proportions." [54th meeting, para. 20.]

230. This is clear evidence that discussions are not enough; that resolutions and declarations are not enough. What we need is action; of course, there has been action from several quarters, as in the case of the Governments of Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Norway and Sweden, which have taken various actions in respect of transnational corporations. But to be effective as an international organization, we need concerted action motivated by political will.

231. Why else would South Africa consistently defy the rest of the world unless it knows that the world is divided? Part of that divided world depends on South Africa for profitable returns on its economic and other interests there, and South Africa knows that. The United Nations has repeatedly asserted that foreign economic and other interests have been responsible for the perpetuation of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It has called on Governments to take measures to discourage companies and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from investing in South Africa, as that is detrimental to the indigenous population.

232. We have heard explanations from Governments concerned that constitutional constraints prevent them from doing that. Yet we know of instances where, for one reason or another, Governments have effectively imposed sanctions against other Governments.

233. The recent Declaration of the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, organized by the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement in co-operation with the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, held in London from 2 to 4 November 1979 [see A/34/655, annex], has most brilliantly summed up the negative aspects of economic interests which the United Nations has repeatedly condemned.

234. The participants expressed their conviction that: the transnational corporations bear a major share of responsibility for the maintenance of the system of *apartheid*, for the strengthening of the repressive and military power of the racist regime and for the undermining of international action to promote freedom and human dignity in South Africa; the transnational cor-

porations have enabled the *apartheid* regime to circumvent international action by establishing an arms industry in South Africa, in partnership with the racist regime, by facilitating its nuclear plans, by developing sources of energy, by transfer of technology and by providing capital through investments and loans; the transnational corporations have made incessant efforts to mislead public opinion in their home countries and exerted powerful pressures to prevent the major Western Powers from any effective action to undermine *apartheid*, thereby supplementing the nefarious operations of the racist regime; the transnational corporations have negated the sacrifices made by many States, especially developing States, as well as by men and women of conscience in Western countries, who have thereby demonstrated their commitment to freedom and their loyalty to the decisions of the United Nations and OAU; moreover, the transnational corporations have enabled and encouraged the racist regime to become a menace to independent African States by its constant threats and acts of aggression.

235. The question of human rights has become very important these days. OAU, for example, is preparing a charter on human rights; the latest meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979, discussed human rights and adopted a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 5]; some Governments have tied the granting of foreign aid to human rights questions in the receiving countries. My delegation is positive that in many of the latter cases the question has been mainly the violation of political rights. Where else in the world is the entire range of human rights violated more than in *apartheid* South Africa? For *apartheid* as we know it is not only institutionalized racial discrimination but a total denial of all human rights. Yet huge financial aid and investments keep pouring into South Africa.

236. Recent events have shown that Governments which support repressive regimes merely for financial gain have often become the object of hate and hostile reaction once those repressive regimes have been overthrown.

237. This is yet another reason why concerted international action against the *apartheid* regime is necessary. In this connexion, my delegation supports the oft-repeated call for mandatory sanctions against South Africa and the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977) and General Assembly resolutions 32/105 and 33/183 E.

238. Concerted international action is also needed in the area of the dissemination of information on *apartheid*, in the face of the nefarious propaganda of the racist regime of South Africa, with the assistance of transnational corporations and racist groups in other countries. In this connexion, we urge the international community to contribute generously to the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*.

239. We should like to express our gratitude to anti-*apartheid* groups everywhere, to trade unions, political parties, parliamentarians, religious and legal bodies, student and youth groups and others in countries collaborating with the *apartheid* regime for their activities in enlightening public opinion and in launching public campaigns for disengagement from South Africa.

240. Last, but not least, we commend the work of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the excellent work it is doing and we pledge our full support for its recommendations and decisions.

241. The first word in the Charter of the United Nations is the collective pronoun "We". This is an indication of the awareness of the authors of the Charter of the collective responsibility of the Members of this Organization. Part of the opening lines of the Charter reads:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined

" . . .

"To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

"Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims".

242. Let us therefore live up to our responsibility and collectively work to eradicate from the face of the earth the policies of *apartheid*, which we have all condemned and have defined as a crime against humanity.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.