



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 28:	
Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa (continued):	
(a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ;	
(b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against <i>Apartheid</i> in Sports;	
(c) Report of the Secretary-General.....	1119

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: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, on 21 September 1979, I call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the next speaker in the debate.

2. Mr. ISAACS (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): On behalf of the oppressed people of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress wishes to express our sincere appreciation of the opportunity extended to us to address this august Assembly, which is meeting here to consider one of the most intractable problems of our time and one of the greatest challenges facing the world community—namely, the stubborn refusal of the white minority régime in Pretoria to heed the demands of the Azanian masses for the right to determine their own destiny. We should also like to express our sincere gratitude to the international community for the material, moral and diplomatic support continuously given to our struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

3. Mr. President, the Pan Africanist Congress also avails itself of this opportunity to congratulate you on your election to this high office: it is not only a recognition of your personal diplomatic qualities but a befitting honour to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, whose contributions to the struggle for the recognition of and respect for human dignity have become legendary. As such, it is an honour to all freedom-loving people.

4. The purpose of this intervention is to provide further information on the situation obtaining in Azania in view of the increasing repression which the Pretoria régime has been attempting to conceal, while embarking on a major propaganda offensive designed to mislead the world into believing that change is on the way. In keeping with this strategy, the Pretoria régime has embarked on an initiative encompassing both its foreign and its domestic policies, which seeks on the one hand to liquidate the national liberation movement in southern Africa in general and in Azania in particular, and on the other hand to perpetuate white settler domination in the subcontinent. In this respect the scheme coincides with the interests of Western imperialism, since success of the scheme would preserve southern Africa as a Western sphere of influence and guarantee continued access to strategic raw materials and a ready market for export goods.

5. In April this year, P. W. Botha, the racist Prime Minister, announced Pretoria's plans to establish a southern African constellation of States. This constellation, which would be an economic and military bloc dominated by Pretoria, would incorporate the puppet régimes of the bantustans, as well as the puppet régimes of the Smith-Muzorewa clique in Zimbabwe and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia. As pointed out in the magazine *Southern Africa* of June 1979:

"The idea is that South Africa will take the initiative in forming a 'co-operative bloc' of southern African States, with South Africa in the lead, to fight off what Pretoria's leaders consider to be the onslaught of Marxism in southern Africa."

This co-operative bloc would provide Pretoria with a wider defence perimeter for the protection of *apartheid*, since the emergence of revolutionary people's Governments in Mozambique and Angola has deprived the *apartheid* régime of the *cordon sanitaire* of buffer States which it formerly had. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, whose régime is reeling from the heavy blows inflicted by the guerrillas of the Patriotic Front, has already welcomed the idea of closer links with Pretoria. As Colin Legum of *The Observer* has pointed out, and as also exposed by Eschel Rhoodie, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and his United African National Council have been the beneficiaries of the funds of the now disbanded Department of Information of the Pretoria régime. According to a South African radio broadcast in March this year, the Bishop "speaks unreservedly today in favour of the maintenance of close ties with Pretoria and of the formation of a southern African Common Market." As the magazine *New African* of June 1979 reported:

"It is widely expected that the new Rhodesian Government [led by Bishop Muzorewa] will sign a military pact with Pretoria to run in tandem with economic co-operation. South Africa has publicly announced that it was giving transport and other assistance to Rhodesia during that country's elections.

"The South Africans seem to be confident that the world will be forced to deal with the so-called Southern African 'economic fortress' with a population of over 40 m. people and considerable mineral resources."

6. It is no coincidence that there are powerful lobbies in certain Western countries, particularly the United States and Britain, for recognition of the Muzorewa régime and the lifting of sanctions and for increased economic investments in Rhodesia and South Africa as a means of promoting what they all, in parrot fashion, call "peaceful change". The argument is being increasingly advanced that investment means more job opportunities, and possibly even better wages, for the oppressed black labour sector. Not only is this argument empirically wrong—for example, the history of South Africa has tended to show that the greater the prosperity, the greater the black-white disparity—but it also ignores the fact that investment also means that the policies and State apparatus of the racist régimes are more easily financed and strengthened. The argument is, however, testimony to the complicity of foreign investors in the continued oppression of blacks in southern Africa in general and Azania in particular. While hypocritically condemning *apartheid* on moral grounds, they continue to shore it up economically. The motivation for foreign companies investing in South Africa is the super-profits derived from the super-exploitation of black labour. Continued foreign investment in South Africa ramifies the very structures of the society that oppresses black labour to the point where it is so profitably exploited.

7. It is in the realization that despite its moral posturing about human rights, Western imperialism, in any choice between profits and principles, chooses the former, that the racist régime in Pretoria can defy international opinion and resolutions of the United Nations with impunity. Throughout the years, since the unilateral declaration of independence by the rebel régime in Salisbury, South Africa has remained the economic lifeline of the breakaway British colony. It still persistently refuses to relinquish control over Namibia. Yet, despite this defiance by the Pretoria régime, the United Nations has failed to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa because of the protection afforded by its Western trading partners through their use of the veto.

8. The proposed co-operative bloc envisaged by Pretoria would deny the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia the right to self-determination, since the specific aim is to exclude the authentic representatives of the peoples of these territories, namely the Patriotic Front and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] respectively. Zimbabwe and Namibia, together with South Africa's bantustans, would form a cordon of acquiescent black dwarfs around Snow White.

9. In an address to a meeting of the ruling Nationalist Party in September this year, P. W. Botha indicated that Pretoria will intervene militarily in Zimbabwe if the present negotiations in London fail and the conflict continues. But what is clear is that the main concern in Pretoria is that the victory of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe would not only inspire the Azanian masses, as did the successes of FRELIMO¹ in

Mozambique and PAIGC² in Guinea-Bissau, but also provide another secure rear base for the freedom fighters of the Azanian liberation movement.

10. Pretoria's military preparations indicate that the régime is determined to demonstrate to its black dwarfs the advisability of joining the bloc, while at the same time increasing its own capability to play an even more militarily aggressive role in the subcontinent. One of the consequences of the so-called "Muldergate saga" and the internecine bickering has been the emergence of the military to prominence in the decision-making within the white establishment. Not only has the erratic racist Prime Minister, P. W. Botha, retained the portfolio of Defence, he has also raised the profile of the military in the political hierarchy by promoting General Magnus Malan to head of the Defence Force, as further reported in the magazine *New African* of June 1979.

"He seems to have replaced former head of BOSS Gen. Hendrik van den Bergh, now retired and in disgrace for his involvement with the Information scandal, as the right-hand man to the Prime Minister in key diplomatic meetings."

In September this year, Malan visited Paraguay and Chile for seven days. In Paraguay he received a military decoration from President Alfredo Stroessner. The reports of two commissions of inquiry appointed by the Pretoria régime were presented with much fanfare and drew warm praise from the Western media as signs of flexibility on the part of the racist régime, after seemingly enlightened ministerial utterances.

11. The report of the Wiehahn Commission,³ which spent approximately two years studying South Africa's antiquated labour laws, was finally released on 1 May of this year. The report drew warm praise in many Western countries, where it was interpreted as a sign of a relaxation in South Africa's much-criticized labour policies, especially after the Minister of Labour, Stephanus P. Botha, to whom the Commission reported, announced at a press conference that the recommendations contained in the report were "accepted in principle" by the Government. Shortly after the report was released, Professor Nic Wiehahn, the Afrikaner academic who headed the Commission, was reported to be travelling to Europe and America to sell the package proposals in an effort to ward off international pressures against *apartheid*. The reforms proposed by the Commission were acceptable to the Pretoria régime precisely because, while earning the country credit abroad, they provided the rationale for containing the flourishing black trade union movement. But the euphoria of Pretoria's supporters and economic partners was short-lived. The very Botha who, on behalf of the Government, "accepted" the Commission's recommendations "in principle", two weeks later introduced legislation, in the whites-only Parliament, rejecting the recommendations for racially mixed unions and excluding from union membership all migrants and commuters, who constitute approximately 80 per cent of the existing 27 unregistered black unions. Alec Erwin, General Secretary of the black Federation of South African Trade Unions, commenting on the proposed Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, pointed out that:

² Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

³ Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation*, part 1, R.P. 47/1979 (Pretoria, the Government Printer).

¹ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

"The Bill constitutes a substantial blow to the unregistered union movement and a retraction of many of the rights enjoyed by black workers under the previous dispensation."

Liberal politicians attacked the proposed legislation and the Progressive Reform Party spokesman on labour, Alex Boraine, added:

"The Government's declaration that it is moving towards more enlightened labour practices is a gigantic bluff."

The Star, published at Johannesburg, said that the Government's first reaction

"... gave hope to 20 million underprivileged workers and give the West reason to rethink its attitudes towards this country. Pulling back as the new legislation suggests the Government has done, is a cruel, cynical exercise. It will make South Africa's friends weep".

12. It is necessary to examine the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission to determine their real intent. It is necessary also to examine the reaction of black workers to the report because, while there was much enthusiasm among white liberals in South Africa and among South Africa's friends abroad, black trade union leaders were wary. It is necessary, too, to examine the reaction of white workers to the proposed reforms, since the Government's alleged "backslide" was due to protest from the white labour aristocracy.

13. The Wiehahn Commission made two main recommendations: first, that blacks be permitted to form recognized trade unions and that the law prohibiting mixed trade unions be repealed; and secondly, that blacks be permitted to hold skilled and semi-skilled jobs formerly reserved for whites only.

14. Black trade unions, while not illegal, are not recognized. Hence, black workers have no right to collective bargaining. Strikes by black workers, except under very restricted circumstances, are illegal. Despite these restrictions, blacks have organized themselves into trade unions and, in the wake of the 1972-1973 black workers' strikes, an independent trade union movement has flourished. Government attempts to suppress the movement failed. For example, in introducing the Internal Security Act in 1976—formerly the Suppression of Communism Act—the former Minister of Justice and Police, J. T. Kruger, hinted that the legislation, which provides for banning and detention without trial, was directed at the blossoming black trade union movement.

15. In November 1976, some 27 persons involved in black labour organization were banned under the Internal Security Act. Such repressive measures failed to intimidate black workers and earlier this year the Federation of South African Trade Unions, an umbrella body made up mostly of black unions, was formed. The Federation comprises nine unregistered African unions and three registered unions for so-called Coloured. According to a report in the *Financial Times* of 20 April 1979, it aims to co-ordinate the organization of industry-wide unions, pooling the resources of the existing black unions and preventing duplication of field-work and recruitment.

16. The Wiehahn Commission recommended recognition of black trade unions as an alternative to growing

radicalism in an unrecognized union movement. As John F. Burns pointed out in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Cape Town, dated 6 May 1979:

"The Wiehahn Commission . . . made no bones about the dangers of continuing to deny blacks legal negotiating rights. In its report . . . it noted the growth of 'unregistered' black unions with a membership of between 50,000 and 70,000 and the 'strong moral support' and financing—nearly \$350,000 in 1977 alone—that the 27 unions involved have received from abroad. In addition to the 'highly undesirable' prospect that the unions might develop attitudes similar to those of their counterparts elsewhere, the Commission noted that the statutory prohibition against labour organizations participating in political activity has no effect on black unions so long as they remain outside the law."

17. It is little wonder that the Minister of Labour found the recommendation attractive. In announcing the Government's acceptance in principle of the recommendation, he pointed out that it was in the interests of "everybody" that the black trade unions should be at all times under the guidance of the Government.

18. The Wiehahn Commission recommended a repeal of the law prohibiting racially mixed unions, leaving it to workers to decide whether or not they wanted to mix. The report also recommended the elimination of discrimination on the job—from integrating canteens to paying equal wages for equal work—but compliance is left entirely up to the employer.

19. The Commission recommended that apprenticeship training programmes be open to all races, an exclusion that has closed many skilled jobs to blacks. But while this recommendation would appear eventually to phase out statutory job reservation, the Commission recommended the continuance of closed-shop job agreements. These are legally binding agreements negotiated by the white unions with employers which reserve certain skilled jobs for union members. Since blacks have been excluded from unions, they have been excluded from the jobs. As John F. Burns pointed out in the dispatch referred to above:

"Under the new arrangements, white unions will retain 'closed shop' powers in many key industries, as well as the right to deny membership to blacks. Thus, they will be able to maintain control of tens of thousands of skilled jobs. As long as blacks remain predominantly unskilled, they will stay at the bottom of the income pyramid, where \$50 a week—about half the minimum wage paid to whites—is a substantial wage."

20. Understandably, the black trade union movement was wary of the recommendations of the Commission. One black trade-unionist said that recognition for black trade unions would mean that:

"... for a long time to come the trade union movement would still be under white control. All the Commission should have done was allow black unions free access to the negotiating table. Now the white unions with the experience and ready machinery will organize blacks and kill the black unions".

The General Secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, the newly-formed umbrella

group for 12 unions claiming a membership of 60,000, stated: "It is crucial for us to know the actual conditions under which existing unregistered trade unions will be allowed recognition".

21. Although the Commission proposed the opening of apprenticeships to blacks and the desegregation of work places—measures which on the whole would seem to favour blacks—their response was nevertheless cautious in view of the closed shop principle which allowed whites to bar blacks from specific jobs.

22. The proposals of the Wiehahn Commission were condemned by the Writers' Association of South Africa—essentially the regrouped Union of Black Journalists which was banned in October 1977—at its conference on 1 to 3 September 1979. The former president of the Union of Black Journalists, Joe Thloloe, was particularly scathing about the division of African workers into so-called permanent and migrant workers. According to *Africa News* of 21 September 1979:

"Thloloe said the blue ribbon government panel had gone beyond dividing South Africans into white, Indian, Coloured and African—to distinguish among African workers who are 'permanent' in so-called white South Africa, those who commute into this 'white South Africa' on a daily basis, and those who are migrants. God, *migrants* in the land of their forefathers!"

Thloloe urged the Writers' Association to shun the new Industrial Conciliation Act which for the first time allowed black unions to register for legal recognition. He warned: "Asking for registration is an acceptance of the right of the white man to make laws for us and decide our destiny."

23. White miners termed the report treason against the white worker and protested vehemently against the proposals that blacks be permitted to hold skilled and unskilled jobs formerly reserved for whites only. It has to be remembered that in March the all-white Mineworkers' Union organized a national strike by white miners in sympathy with a union strike against the O'Okiep Copper Company Ltd. in the Northern Cape. The strike against O'Okiep was triggered when the company promoted three so-called Coloured workers to the skilled job of blaster, traditionally reserved for whites. According to the *Financial Times* of 13 March 1979, the nationwide strike stemmed from union fears that the Government and mining companies would scrap both statutory and customary job reservations in order to replace highly-paid whites with cheaper black labour. Arrie Paulus, the General Secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, said that his union's "vital priority" was "to keep blacks out of the mining industry." "It is my role", he declared, "to see that the white worker does not get a raw deal". Although the nationwide strike by the white mineworkers in March did not attract the sympathy of the Government—and in fact the Afrikaans press, which generally reflects the Government's view, was hostile to the mineworkers—this time the latter succumbed to the protests of the white unions. As Anthony Lewis pointed out in the *New York Times* of 11 June 1979:

"The Government has apparently changed its mind because of opposition by powerful white unions that feared the Wiehahn proposals might cut into the tradition of better jobs and higher wages for whites. White miner., who earn as much as 10 times the pay

of black miners, called the report 'treason against the white workers'.

"In the crunch the Government for good reason is always likely to be responsive to white fear of change. The reason is that blacks are not allowed to vote. Any government cares more about its constituents than about those excluded from the political system."

24. Under strong pressure from the white labour aristocracy, the Pretoria régime introduced legislation in May this year which would deny migrant workers and commuters in the urban areas, who make up effectively 80 per cent of the work force, the right to belong to trade unions. Any union that included disqualified people would be liable to a fine of \$600 for each illegal member.

25. The importance of the restrictions on migrants and commuters stems from the whole system of *apartheid* under which the whites, constituting approximately 20 per cent of the population, have expropriated for themselves 87 per cent of the land. Africans are officially regarded as being attached to one or another bantustan and are prohibited from living or working in so-called white areas, except under permit.

26. The policy of bantustans, together with a rigid system of influx controls, is designed to prevent the emergence of a settled urban black proletariat. Urbanization and stabilization are the precursors to the organization and mobilization of workers. *Apartheid's* solution to this threat is to convert the majority of workers into migrant or contract labourers who are permitted to remain in the so-called white areas only so long as they are employed. Without employment they are liable to be "endorsed out" to the ethnic bantustans to which they are deemed to belong.

27. Exemptions from these influx-control measures may be obtained in terms of section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945. Under section 10 (1) (a), only people who have lived continuously in an area since birth are permitted to remain there for more than 72 hours without a job. Section 10 (1) (b) confers the same right on people who have worked for one employer for 10 years continuously, or who have resided continuously in the area for 15 years.

28. The exclusion of black commuters from the law enabling black workers to form their own recognized trade unions excludes most black workers who, ironically, have to commute because by law they are forbidden to live in the white areas where the jobs are. Thus, the new legislation fits neatly into the rational design of the bantustan policy and the migrant labour system, as well as the Government's announcement in August 1978 of its intention to build eight new black so-called city states in white areas adjacent to the bantustans, the proposed cities being extensions of the latter. In that way blacks would live and work in "white" areas while being citizens of the nearby "independent States" wherein they might exercise their political rights. They would thus spend the vast majority of their lives in a so-called foreign country, where the fruits of their labour would remain.

29. The policy of the Pretoria régime was very clearly

stated by the former Minister of Plural Relations and Development and Information, Mr. Connie Mulder, who said on 7 February 1978:

"There must be no illusions about this, because if our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship. I say this sincerely, because it is the idea behind it. Why should I try to hide it? This is our policy . . ."

30. Although the Wiehahn Commission called for the repeal of the law prohibiting racially-mixed unions, leaving it to workers to decide whether they wanted to mix, the legislation does not go that far. It merely prohibits official registration of mixed unions unless the Minister of Labour allows an exception. In other words, the ban on racially-mixed trade unions remains in force, with only a limited exception.

31. The legislation must surely negate the argument advanced by many Western supporters of *apartheid* that continued foreign investment in South Africa would result in the erosion and ultimate abandonment of *apartheid*. Foreign companies invest in South Africa not out of humanitarian concern for the powerless black majority, but to reap the super-profits that are derived from the super-exploitation of black labour. *Apartheid* ensures a ready supply of such exploitable black labour. For the continued prosperity of the South African economy, and hence, for the maintenance of the policies on which that economy is structured, foreign investment is crucial.

32. The régime will always consider adjustments to the existing system to ensure its smooth functioning, never its abandonment. As the Wiehahn Commission stated:

"The political and constitutional framework is a given fact. Recommendations of the Commission must, therefore, be formulated in accordance with present policy and must be reconcilable therewith."

And it is

"Within the framework of the existing political and constitutional dispensation [that] any changes or adaptations must be made in an orderly and evolutionary [not revolutionary] manner with due regard to and without any infringement on existing vested interests, traditions and rights of all population and interest groups."

33. On 25 September 1979 the Government announced its decision to grant trade union rights to migrants, that is contract workers that the régime claims are not citizens of South Africa but of the bantustans it has declared "independent", and commuters, meaning workers whose homes in the non-independent bantustans are close enough to the "white" cities so that they commute daily. Black contract workers from foreign countries remain excluded. Again, the decision of the white minority régime was hailed in the Western media as a significant concession, while the reactions of the black workers themselves were ignored. A Western Province general workers' union pointed out, according to the *Transvaal Post* of 27 September 1979: "Unions are still being invited to register under a system of rigid control and supervision over their affairs."

34. Black workers and, indeed, the black community are not striving after concessions and measures which will enable them to live more comfortably in their oppression; the goal is to remove the causes of oppression.

35. A second report, published in May this year, was that of the Riekert Commission, headed by the former

economic adviser to the racist Prime Minister. The Commission recommended that the influx control laws be relaxed and that blacks with residence rights in the so-called "white" areas be allowed to have their families live with them. The pass laws would thus still be in force but might be more flexibly enforced.

36. None of the recommendations was drastically new. Many of the very same proposals had been made by an earlier governmental commission in 1951. They were ignored and even flatly contradicted by subsequent legislation.

37. Although the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr. Pieter Koornhof, said that his Government has "declared war on the pass laws for blacks", black leaders and social workers claimed that pass raids have been intensified this year. Even the white liberal organization, the Black Sash, stated in July this year that the daily average number of blacks prosecuted for pass law offences in Johannesburg alone had increased from 107 in 1978 to 165 in the first quarter of this year. This was reported in *The Voice*, an ecumenical weekly, on 15 July 1979. That weekly also reported on 7 July 1979 that stepped-up pass raids have occurred in urban areas all over the country. Hundreds of people looking for work have been caught in pass raids. In many instances women who leave the segregated ghettos to shop in the cities have been arrested.

38. The *Financial Times* of 13 July 1979 reported that, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Pretoria régime was making concessions to so-called "legal" blacks in urban areas, while putting more effective vetoes on newcomers who flock to the cities seeking work. The Director of the Institute said there were increasing reports of hunger and want coming from the remote rural areas where blacks have been forcibly resettled.

39. There has been an acceleration in the implementation of the policy of *apartheid* in the wake of the national uprising which began in Soweto in June 1976. At the same time, in an effort to blunt the militancy of the Azanian masses, the régime has been announcing measures to relax some of the restrictions on blacks living and working in the so-called "white" urban areas. The objectives of these measures were defined by the *Financial Mail* as an attempt to: "stabilize a black labour aristocracy and a black middle class in the white cities and towns".

40. Success of this strategy would create a change-resistant class in the black community with vested interests in the maintenance of the *status quo*, and would be an urban counterpart of the traditional chiefs and their supporters who have served as functionaries of the régime in the bantustans. Even the cosmetic changes to *apartheid* policies, which P. W. Botha has been advocating as a counter to black revolution, have unleashed a backlash among whites. His ruling Nationalist Party saw its victory margin slashed in each of four by elections held on 3 October in the Transvaal, the country's most populous province. A massive voter "stay-away" resulted in the lowest turnout at the polls since 1910. According to *The Christian Science Monitor* of 5 October 1979:

"Political analysts are interpreting the election results as a clear signal that Mr. Botha does not have much grass-roots support for his efforts to give a softer edge to *apartheid* . . ."

Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

41. White repression and black resistance are constantly recurring themes in the Azanian liberation struggle. Evidence of the repression can be seen in the large numbers of political trials in progress in racist South Africa where the courts, as an integral part of the *apartheid* system, hand out savage sentences to persons regarded as opponents of the régime. The National Liberation Movement is, of course, an implacable foe. The accused in the trial of 17 activists of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, at Bethel, in the Orange Free State, have already been sentenced to a total of 162 years in prison after being convicted on charges under the so-called Terrorism Act. The prosecutor in this marathon trial had demanded the death penalty for these heroic patriots who were charged with activities dating back to 1963 on the notorious Robben Island. Also in June this year cadres of the Pan Africanist Congress, who had been infiltrated into the country after undergoing military training abroad, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 5 to 7 years. Eleven Soweto student leaders were similarly sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 5 to 8 years, after being found guilty of sedition because of their role in the 1976 national uprising.

42. In addition to the political trials, the indefinite detention without trial of opponents of the régime, real or imagined, continue. Torture of such detainees has become routine since they are entirely at the mercy of their interrogators. The inquest into the murder of Steve Biko has given the world a graphic picture of the treatment and fate of political detainees.

43. Legislation passed by the régime now effectively curbs the press in reporting abuses of power of South Africa's security police. Similarly, recently enacted legislation prohibits press publication of corruption in high places. This followed exposure by the press of the misuse of millions of dollars by the now disbanded Information Department in an attempt to buy influence abroad and mould international opinion so that it would be receptive to the advances of the *apartheid* régime.

44. Despite all the evidence of intensified political repression, influential quarters in the West continue to see "changes" whenever Pretoria announces its decision to desegregate a few toilets or park benches. A very good illustration of this was the great publicity given to the remarks of P. W. Botha when he suggested that the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act might be repealed. There was no attempt to analyse the statement to determine whether or not a repeal would be possible.

45. For example, would the Group Areas Act, which specifies residential areas for the various racial groups, be repealed to make it possible for such racially mixed couples to live together? Or would the parties be compelled to live separately? What would the racial classification of the children be? Where would they live and what would the implications for their education be? Rather than asking a few basic questions, the media in the Western capitals have made it their duty to perform the functions of the now disbanded Information Department. With such friends, the Pretoria régime does not need an information department. Significantly, when the racist Minister of Justice a few days later repudiated the suggestion made by Botha that the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts might be repealed, that statement hardly received mention.

46. We are heartened by the fact that the Azanian masses have neither been intimidated by the repression of the régime nor deceived by the cosmetic changes it has been introducing. This is very clear from the regroupment of the mass organizations in Azania following the banning of the organizations comprising the Black Consciousness Movement in October 1977. In September 1979 two of the newly-formed organizations held successful conferences in Azania. The first was that of the Writers' Association of South Africa, which totally rejected the so-called concessions made by the régime and resolved to organize black workers. The second conference was that of the Azania People's Organization, which totally rejects the system of *apartheid* and all its institutions, including the so-called bantustans. The Azania People's Organization has pledged that there would be no negotiation with the "oppressor at any level"; it has resolved to work towards the unity of all the oppressed people of Azania and has emphasized its rejection of the bantustan policy by stating: "We recognize that the entire country of Azania belongs to the black people." The Azania People's Organization has committed itself to the organization and mobilization of black workers. Encouraging, too, is the fact that the leadership of the Writers' Association of South Africa and the Azania People's Organization have already come together to determine areas of co-operation—an indication of their maturity in implementing their decisions to strive for the unity of all sections of the oppressed people.

47. We are also encouraged by the continued resistance of the Azanian workers who in recent months have sustained successful strikes and bus boycotts, at great cost to themselves in terms of wages lost at a time of high and increasing unemployment and general economic hardship.

48. The Pan Africanist Congress reiterates its firm position that the struggle in Azania is a struggle for national liberation and self-determination and that the principal vehicle in this struggle is armed struggle. *Apartheid* is a product of colonial conquest and it is important to stress that our struggle is no different from the anti-colonial struggles being waged by the brother peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The long history of colonial occupation in our country, Azania, does not divest the indigenous people of title to the land. To the indigenous people of Azania land does not simply represent an economic category, as in capitalist societies, but the total social, political and economic well-being of the community. Hence the dispossession of the Azanian people has come to mean their total social, political and economic castration.

49. To argue the anti-colonial nature of our struggle is not to deny the right of the white populace to a continued existence in our country, but it does deny them a position of power and privilege at the expense of the black majority. The Pan Africanist Congress maintains and will always maintain that there is only one race—the human race. We consistently refuse to guarantee minority rights, thereby giving credence to racial categories. People must be judged by the content and conduct of their characters, and not by the colour of their skins.

50. We recognize that the task of liberation is one which has to be borne by the oppressed people of Azania themselves, and it is a task that we in the Pan Africanist Congress will never shirk. There is, however,

a duty on the part of the international community to render every possible assistance to the people of Azania in their just struggle. Moralists raise objections to material support for the liberation movements because the latter have embraced the principle of armed struggle. Such arguments ignore the distinction between the institutionalized violence of oppression and the revolutionary violence to which an oppressed people is forced to resort. Nobody who has never been subjected to the racist tyranny that prevails in Azania can sit in moral judgement on those who have resorted to taking up arms to rid themselves of the yoke of oppression.

51. The Pan Africanist Congress calls upon the international community to adopt the following measures as a practical demonstration of support for the liberation struggle: the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against the white racist régime; support for the call of the liberation movements for the total withdrawal of all foreign investments from South Africa; strict adherence to the arms embargo and termination of all military and nuclear collaboration with the Pretoria régime; intensification of the sports and cultural boycott which has been called for by the United Nations; denial of visas to South African businessmen, military personnel and other agents of the *apartheid* régime; denial of landing rights to South African Airways and termination of all facilities for shipping lines; and discouragement of tourism and immigration in South Africa.

52. *Apartheid* will not be terminated by the adoption of pious resolutions or the utterance of sanctimonious statements, but by effective action—and we hope that the international community will take effective action.

53. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The case against *apartheid* has already been examined and the dossier is overwhelming; over the years during which the debate has gone on in this forum everything has been said and repeated, one might think, about this particularly detestable form of racial discrimination.

54. The French delegation has, on each occasion, repeated that France totally rejects that doctrine, which is the very negation of our philosophy of the dignity of man. We will never accept the idea that a system of laws can apportion rights to the inhabitants of a country on the basis of ethnic criteria.

55. Why, then, is it necessary to reaffirm an attitude that has not changed and which has always been espoused by France and all French people?

56. First of all it is because there are truths that should be constantly recalled. We should not think that South Africa is totally deaf to our debates. Whatever it costs it to listen to what is the truth voiced by the rest of the world, that country is surely among those which, without saying so, accord the greatest possible attention to this debate. Moral condemnations, when they attain such magnitude and unanimity, are the voice of justice and they cannot leave one indifferent.

57. Secondly, it is because we must take stock of the efforts undertaken by the international community to put an end to *apartheid*. My country participates in those efforts which, we think, have already borne some fruit although it is still quite insufficient.

58. I do not wish to retrace the various points that were covered in the statement made on behalf of the nine countries of the European Community by the representative of Ireland [58th meeting]. Whether with regard to political prisoners, the policy of bantustanization, various forms of racial discrimination, assistance for the victims of *apartheid* or co-operation to be given to the United Nations and other private or public international organizations, the French delegation associates itself entirely with what has been said by the spokesman of the European Community.

59. Nor need we repeat that France condemns the practice of *apartheid* both in itself and in the various manifestations which reflect it.

60. For that reason in particular, the Government of my country, a few months ago, took a position against the visit of its territory by two teams of South African sportsmen. Indeed, sport itself, which should bring people closer together, is unfortunately not exempt from *apartheid* in South Africa. We could not allow a situation in which, because of the ideals which inspire sport, principles which are purely and simply inadmissible would be ignored. Along the same lines, the French Government decided to reissue visas for South African citizens wishing to visit France.

61. Nevertheless, there is an aspect of this debate on which I should like to dwell because of its particular importance. On 25 October last, at the 47th plenary meeting, the representative of Nigeria conveyed to us in this very hall the dismay felt by international opinion at the announcement that a nuclear experiment was reported to have taken place on 22 September in a geographical area which includes southern Africa.

62. Is South Africa in a position, using its own means, to manufacture the atomic weapon? Experts are divided on this point. It seems that that country has a technological and industrial capacity—to which, I repeat, France has not contributed at all—which could allow it to attain that goal. And that is why, on 22 August 1977, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs warned the Pretoria Government of the dangers that a nuclear test would entail for the peace process which had been embarked upon in southern Africa and of its serious consequences for relations between South Africa and France. For this reason also, France ardently hopes that the inquiry which the Secretary-General has been asked to institute [decision 34/404] will shed all possible light on the event observed on 22 September. If there was a nuclear test, we must be certain of the facts, and France is ready to associate itself with the necessary investigations.

63. Once again, my delegation fully understands the reactions to the rumours concerning what has been called the “nuclear event” of September. However, they must not make us lose sight of the distinction which does exist in the nuclear field, as in other fields, between activities for military purposes and those for peaceful purposes. I should like to make it quite clear once more that the Koeberg nuclear electric power station, which was built by a French company, and which will not be put into operation before 1982, is similar to more than 100 factories of the same type which are in operation throughout the world. Just like them, it will be devoted exclusively to the production of electricity. Its reactors have certain technical characteristics which make their

conversion to use for military purposes impossible. This is guaranteed by the safeguards of IAEA, to which the power station is subject.

64. Like all countries that supply or acquire electro-nuclear technology, France considers as fundamental the distinction between the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which are a source of progress, and its military applications. To set aside this distinction, thus leaving the entire system of safeguards against proliferation open to question, would, furthermore, be equivalent to reserving the use of nuclear electric energy for the nuclear Powers alone, which would be absurd.

65. The ending of co-operation in the field of civilian nuclear energy would entail the risk, moreover, of leading to consequences contrary to the desired goal. In interrupting all civilian nuclear co-operation with South Africa we would of necessity risk an autonomous, uncontrolled development of the nuclear activities of that country in all fields. The main objective remains, we feel, to induce South Africa to practise an effective policy of non-proliferation. That idea has perhaps not received the attention which it deserves from a certain number of speakers who have spoken before me from this rostrum.

66. These are the few comments which I wanted to submit in addition to the statement made on behalf of the nine countries of the European Community.

67. In conclusion, I shall confine myself to reaffirming that, whatever the differences of opinion, France is united with all the members of this Assembly in their condemnation of *apartheid*. It is to be hoped that the Government of Pretoria will understand that the only possible path for the future lies in the creation of a democratic society in which all South Africans will have their just place.

68. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): Today more than ever before, our region, southern Africa, is in a state of extreme tension and insecurity. Our skies are overcast with the threatening clouds of war. The racists and oppressors of our people in that region are constantly beating the drums of war and perfecting the instruments of oppression. Attacks against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia occur with alarming frequency, the most recent being those against Angola and Zambia. We have only just emerged from discussions in the Security Council relating to the dastardly attack against the sister Republic of Angola by South Africa. Everywhere in the region the sight of displaced persons and wanton destruction of property is a common phenomenon.

69. This is the grim reality of the situation in the area; and the peace and tranquillity which we need so much in order to be able to develop our countries continue to be elusive.

70. The root cause of the problems of southern Africa is the persistence of the oppression of the majority by an arrogant minority and the kingpin, the nerve centre, of this oppressive system is *apartheid* South Africa. As long as *apartheid* remains the policy that governs human relations in South Africa, conflict will continue in our region. Thus, only the complete eradication of *apartheid* can restore peace and tranquillity to our area

so that all the States there, including a South Africa reborn under majority rule, can move forward together to a bright future in peace and harmony.

71. In tackling the problem of *apartheid*, we must get our bearings straight, so to speak; we must correctly assess the problem on the basis of concrete reality and of what the true intention of the rulers of South Africa is, namely, never voluntarily to abandon *apartheid* as a State policy. To attribute any other motive to the architects of *apartheid* would be to delude ourselves in the face of glaring facts and in the light of the pronouncements of the South African rulers themselves, who have always vowed to fight rather than abandon *apartheid*. We must avoid the temptation to dress South Africa—to borrow a phrase from Shakespeare—“in borrowed robes”.

72. In a word, let us not be deceived by the so-called changes conceived within the framework of *apartheid*, such as the integration of some swimming-pools, a select few hotels or theatres and so on, all of which are designed to hoodwink the world into believing that the *apartheid* system is about to reform itself. The truth of the matter is that these cosmetics are applied in order to blunt the pressure now being exerted on South Africa by the international community. In any case, the people of South Africa themselves have clearly demonstrated that these inconsequential peripheral changes are not meaningful. They will accept nothing short of complete political change which will allow all the people of South Africa to participate fully in the governance of their country.

73. South Africa, rather than moving towards relinquishing *apartheid*, is in fact taking all the necessary steps to fortify, defend and entrench it. Inside South Africa itself, oppression and persecution of the opponents of *apartheid* continue unabated. Thanks to the support of some Western countries and Israel, the war machinery at the disposal of the *apartheid* State is formidable. South Africa is now also in command, as we all know, of nuclear capability which could be used to blackmail not only Africa but the international community as a whole.

74. Externally, South Africa is intent on insulating itself with buffer States which will dance to its tune. This is why it is refusing to relinquish Namibia to the United Nations and is sustaining the rebel British colony of Southern Rhodesia. These pliant States, together with those creations of *apartheid*, the bantustans, are expected to insulate *apartheid* from the impending onslaught by the oppressed people of South Africa.

75. More recently, the rulers of South Africa have been talking about a so-called constellation of southern African States, which simply means the enlargement of the buffer zone protecting South Africa over which it will impose hegemony. Botswana, of course, has rejected this idea with the contempt it deserves. We are for regional unity, yes, and look forward to the day when we can join hands with all our neighbours, including a truly free South Africa, to exploit the vast resources of our region for the enjoyment of all our people, regardless of race, colour, creed or origin.

76. No people, and this is true of the people of South Africa as well, will connive at their own enslavement. Throughout history, faced with oppression, heroic men

and women have chosen death rather than slavery. Thus the slogan "give me liberty or give me death" has echoed down the corridors of time, back to remotest antiquity, wherever and whenever men were oppressed.

77. South Africa had better heed this lesson of history and retreat from the brink of disaster. The people of South Africa will rise to free themselves. By unleashing violence against an innocent people, South Africa has in fact courted counter-violence, for which it alone is to blame.
78. After Soweto, as indeed after Sharpeville and other equally heroic deeds before that, things can never be the same in South Africa. There has in fact been permanent resistance in that country, for no amount of oppression or removal of leaders can kill a people's desire to be free.
79. Clear attestations of this are the frequent reports in South African newspapers about acts of sabotage or increasing confrontations between the South African military or police and those who want to free themselves from the shackles of *apartheid*. The rulers of South Africa themselves have acknowledged that such confrontations do occur and have in fact increased in frequency. South Africa can avert the impending catastrophe only by yielding to the desire of the overwhelming majority for freedom and equality in their own land.
80. Despite the condemnation the international community has heaped upon the *apartheid* State, and despite the numerous resolutions of this Assembly, including those we shall be adopting at this very session, South Africa, in clear defiance of the overwhelming wish of us all, will continue to entrench *apartheid* in that unhappy country.
81. Of course, South Africa can afford to be intransigent because it can rely upon its traditional allies among us here, who have invariably shielded it from international pressure. Thus whatever we may say here, whatever resolutions we may adopt, short of real concerted pressure on the part of all of us, and especially by the major allies of South Africa, the decisions of this body will achieve nothing. Our appeal is therefore directed at South Africa's allies, who alone have the leverage and the influence over South Africa, not to sacrifice the liberty of the people of that country for short-term gains. Their real long-term interests, like ours, lie in a free South Africa. We urge them to use their immense leverage and influence to effect change in South Africa before our region is engulfed in a devastating confrontation.
82. What is needed now is that the international community should stand solidly behind the people of South Africa in the quest to eradicate *apartheid*. We must support the struggling people of South Africa until they can enjoy the freedom that many of us here now take for granted. The people of South Africa need concrete deeds and not empty slogans of sympathy.
83. As we speak here, there are hundreds in South Africa undergoing trials of various sorts, there are thousands of others in jail and still thousands more in refugee camps in the neighbouring countries, including my own. Humanitarian support should be channelled to these people. This is the least we can do for them. The costs of caring for refugees must be shared among all States, regardless of how far away they might be from the theatre of conflict. Ultimately, however, the real final solution to the refugee problem is the complete eradication of *apartheid*, the root cause of that very problem, and this means helping the people of South Africa in a variety of ways to free themselves. Botswana for its part will continue to abhor and oppose *apartheid*, will continue to support those who are struggling for freedom and will continue to assist, as best we can, those who flee to our country for asylum.
84. In conclusion, I should like to pay a high tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, for the meritorious efforts they have been making in support of the people of South Africa. The documents before us are a clear attestation of their very good work.
85. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): Again this year the General Assembly will discuss *apartheid* against the background of continuing danger to peace and stability in southern Africa. Ongoing negotiations about Namibia and Southern Rhodesia still hold out hope for a peaceful transition to independence and genuine majority rule for those territories. My Government holds that the South African Government's policies of racial discrimination and persistent violation of human rights are at the root of the dangerous situation in southern Africa. Those policies are detrimental to all the people of South Africa and have grave consequences for the entire region. For all these reasons the problem of *apartheid* must remain at the centre of our attention until the day of its final eradication; it rightly constitutes one of the important items on this General Assembly's agenda.
86. The Permanent Representative of Ireland has presented the views of the nine member States of the European Communities, and his statement fully reflects the position of my own Government. But, in view of the importance the Netherlands Government attaches to the subject matter, I shall now set forth some considerations of our own.
87. My Government condemns the institutionalized racism practised by the Government of South Africa. The assumption that people, because of the colour of their skin, do not enjoy the same fundamental rights and as a result are barred from attaining the same social and economic status, is an outrage to human dignity. The fact that a large number of South Africans cannot enjoy full political rights and freedoms and are forced to undergo unjust and degrading treatment flouts the most elementary concept of justice. The circumstance that non-whites can aspire to earning only wages that are considerably below those paid to whites is proof of intolerable discrimination. My Government fully rejects these policies of *apartheid*, and in my country there is anger and discontent that South Africa is persisting in its policy of racial segregation.
88. This denial of freedom, justice and economic well-being is totally abhorrent to the Netherlands Government and people. There are those in South Africa who take pride in their European descent and frequently show their affinity with the Western world. We want them to know that their practice of arrests, bannings and intimidation is alien to our views on justice and fundamental human rights, and that the segregation of

racism in various aspects of society, which, unhappily, has become commonplace in the daily lives of the majority of South Africa, is in flagrant contradiction to our values. We want them to know too that we feel indignation about the way black people live in the so-called white areas, in total insecurity and in constant fear of being uprooted and separated from members of their family. The so-called pass laws, intended *inter alia* to stem black emigration to these white areas, lead to some 150,000 summonses a year. We therefore say, once again, that there is no common ground between this travesty of human justice and the heritage of moral and spiritual principles shared by the Western world.

89. Recently the South African Government has announced its intention to abolish certain *apartheid* measures. Its Prime Minister has visited Soweto, the township whose name will for ever be associated with the evils of *apartheid*. Measures have been taken to grant black workers trade union rights, and new labour legislation pertaining thereto has been introduced. Also, the Government has declared its readiness to consider changes in the Immorality Act forbidding mixed marriages, truly one of the pillars of *apartheid*. How are we to assess these changes? Is there a genuine willingness to let reason prevail, or are we faced with a tactical ploy to assuage the feelings of the world community in the hope that Governments and public opinion will relax their pressure? Is the South African Government earnestly striving to improve income levels and social security for blacks, or is the intention merely to strengthen State control over black workers' organizations?

90. My Government is attentive to fresh initiatives, and it appeals to those in South Africa who are working to achieve fundamental change in their racially structured society to continue their efforts by peaceful means. My Government has taken note of reports that have been published in South Africa this spring and that aim at a drastic reduction of juridical discrimination on the basis of race or colour in labour relations. We hope that the enactment of these measures will create an impulse in other sectors of the South African society which may in turn generate developments leading to the total abolition of the policy of *apartheid*. We are aware of groups and individuals of all races and walks of life living inside and outside South Africa that, at great political and even personal risk, strive for the attainment of the ultimate goal; a country truly integrated, free of racial discrimination and intolerance. They deserve our support because the abolition of *apartheid* can thus be achieved by non-violent means from within the country. But we have to conclude also that change so far has been modest indeed and has not affected the core of *apartheid*.

91. Thus the South African Government is determined to pursue what it calls the consolidation of the homelands, thereby contributing to the forced migration of millions to areas unknown to them, causing untold human misery, poverty and unemployment. My Government is firmly opposed to this bantustan policy and will withhold recognition from its latest product, the so-called State of Venda. The people of South Africa, regardless of colour of skin, must be free to reside wherever they wish, and are entitled to the citizenship of their country.

92. Another example of South Africa's total disregard of appeals from outside was the execution earlier this

year of Solomon Mahlangu. Whatever that young black's motivation for the acts for which he was convicted, the use of a well-organized police structure for coercion and intimidation is bound to generate a climate of hate and counter-violence. The climate under the *apartheid* system is one of oppression, since those who hold different political views are denied freedom of expression and threatened with harassment.

93. This denial of human rights in South Africa, in the face of which the outside world cannot remain passive, is fraught with danger to peace and stability in the area. The recently enunciated concept of a "fortress southern Africa" could be a case in point; it symptomizes a dangerous feeling of self-isolation and, in the last resort, utter despair. The severing of all ties with South Africa could only reinforce that tendency. We maintain that change in South Africa should not be brought about by armed struggle, since that would lead to a conflagration of unknown proportions and a major human tragedy. The process of transformation by peaceful means is likely to be more gradual and therefore more time-consuming, but we cannot let loss of patience dictate a course of violent action, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. My Government stands ready, however, to hasten the process by exerting continuous pressure on South Africa, through the United Nations system, within the framework of the European Communities and nationally. My Government also intends to maintain a critical dialogue with that country and continues its efforts to make the Government of Pretoria change its policies by persuasion.

94. The Netherlands Government will continue strictly to abide by the obligation of the mandatory arms embargo called for by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). In fact, long before resolution 418 (1977), the prohibition of arms sales from the Netherlands to South Africa was already complied with on a voluntary basis at the request of the Security Council. I wish to state in this respect that the Netherlands awaits with interest the result of the Secretary-General's inquiry into reports that South Africa may have detonated a nuclear device. If it is true that South Africa has exploded a nuclear device, the international community will find itself confronted with an extremely grave situation. Its consequences will need to be carefully examined and reacted upon. The Netherlands has always applied great restraint in its nuclear export policy and insists on full-scope safeguards when supplying to countries which have not acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII) annex*]. Regardless of the outcome of the Secretary-General's inquiry, we feel the need at this stage once more to appeal to the Government of South Africa to become a party to the Treaty, or at least to accept full-scope safeguards.

95. My Government supports a policy of effective measures against South Africa that can be expected to speed up the peaceful process towards the abolition of *apartheid*. In the economic field my country will, of course, follow any action the Security Council may wish to take under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo. Voluntary measures in this field can be effective only when applied by a sufficient number of countries, including Powers that have the potential to exert effective pressure on South Africa.

96. The European Communities, of which we are a

member, constitute an adequate and effective framework for certain measures in the economic field against South Africa. Together with our partners, we have adopted a code of conduct for subsidiaries of companies doing business in South Africa, a subject which has already been referred to by the representative of Ireland. We are now in the process of evaluating the replies which companies have submitted in furtherance of this code. The fact that there seems to be an increasing awareness of the need to liberalize the existing labour legislation in South Africa might be partially due to the operation of the code.

97. On a national basis, the Netherlands continues to withhold all medium-term and long-term credit guarantees to South Africa. Furthermore, my Government has suspended the cultural agreement with South Africa as a reaction to the violent death of Steve Biko. After the repressive measures in October 1977, my Government decided to propose to Parliament that the agreement should be denounced altogether.

98. Opponents of *apartheid*, even children, are not assured of the most elementary protection under the law. The practice of political trials continues. My Government strongly condemns the use of the judiciary to stifle political dissent and expresses its solidarity with the victims of *apartheid*. We remain committed to supporting political prisoners and their families. The Netherlands will therefore continue to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, two organizations which are dedicated to the relief of those arbitrarily detained and imprisoned. The Netherlands Government would support any action taken by these and other existing funds or organizations to orient their activities towards an improvement of the position of women under *apartheid*, as women are doubly discriminated against, on the basis of sex as well as on the basis of colour. My Government also provides humanitarian and educational assistance to the South African anti-*apartheid* movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

99. In conclusion, let me say that my Government expects concrete steps to be taken by the Government of Pretoria on the road to restoring freedom and justice for all citizens of South Africa. My Foreign Minister stated in the general debate in this hall [10th meeting] that, of late, new voices of reason and change are heard in South Africa. We believe that those voices ought to be listened to and encouraged. The process of peaceful change must be allowed to continue and gather momentum before it is overtaken by events such as bloodshed and ultimate disaster. Let those within the leadership of South Africa who have grasped the need for determined action to abolish the perverted system of *apartheid* come forward and speak out.

100. Mr. RASOLONDRAIBE (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The case against *apartheid* is no longer to be made. Therefore, let us not dwell on the odious manifestations of this policy which, like nazism, is considered a crime against mankind. Nor is our Organization being called upon, we feel, to discuss the need or the timeliness of changes which must be made in South Africa if dignity for the Africans is really to be achieved and if they are to have true sovereignty over resources of their native land: there already is unanimity

in this respect. The interest and difficulty of our discussions lies in our search for ways and means to bring about the elimination of *apartheid*.

101. So far as the majority is concerned, the choice has already been made. The struggle of liberation movements and their supporters must be strengthened by the individual and collective action of States within the framework of the United Nations. The people's struggle, the legitimacy of which we recognize, is continuing and expanding despite repressive measures taken against it. The population has refused to resign itself to the plight which has been imposed on it. This can be seen day by day in the acts of bravery and the sacrifices to which we should now like to pay a tribute. My country feels honoured in giving its modest support to that struggle. We are proud to have in our capital a permanent office of the African National Congress. The assistance of States to the liberation struggle is going beyond simple measures to ensure the political and diplomatic isolation of the South African régime. The will to use economic weapons against the latter is already clear.

102. In this connexion, it was encouraging to note the decision by the new Iranian Government to suspend petroleum sales to South Africa. The Government of Nigeria has also taken forceful measures to avoid the diversion of its petroleum to South Africa. These actions can certainly be supplemented by others in order to make the embargo on petroleum products against South Africa effective.

103. The entry into force of the Swedish law prohibiting further investments in South Africa and Namibia gives a new dimension to the struggle against *apartheid*. This measure—the first of its kind—will perhaps have only limited economic scope, but we would be mistaken if we were to minimize its political repercussions. It was a decision voluntarily reached which reflects the desire of the Swedish Government to have its political convictions matched by its deeds. But, above all, it illustrates the important role that can be played by unilateral decisions on the part of the States in the struggle against *apartheid* in the absence of collective action by the Security Council. As I have already stated, the majority is in favour of such collective action.

104. We have always maintained that the arms embargo decreed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977) is a belated measure, taking into account the development of the arms industry in South Africa, and an inadequate one, considering the gaps that remain in the text and the possibilities it leaves for fraud. Suffice it to refer to the many acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime against neighbouring countries, and to the measures of bloody repression directed against South African and Namibian nationalists, to become convinced of the ineffectiveness of that measure.

105. The recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for an international campaign to impose total sanctions against South Africa [see A/34/22, paras. 230-276] is most timely in our view. Such sanctions are justified as much by Pretoria's repeated violations of the Charter as by the need to exert real pressure on it; for without such pressure it would be futile to hope for any real progress in the South African political situation.

106. Perhaps it is unnecessary to name the countries that oppose the adoption of sanctions by calling on the exorbitant powers they enjoy under the Charter. But how can we fail to mention that this opposition rests, in fact, on considerations contrary to the interests of the African majority of Azania?

107. The political-judicial contrivances about the nature of the South African régime, the need to maintain communication links with it, the concern to preserve the current prosperity of the South African economy, the restrictive interpretations of the provisions of the Charter concerning threats to peace or breaches of the peace — all of these arguments are invoked only to conceal the cynical designs of the imperialists to maintain their domination over South Africa.

108. But in the final analysis, it is always the racist régime which profits. By skilfully bargaining with its co-operation in such areas as the Indian Ocean, Namibia and Zimbabwe, it has managed to obtain, in return, the freedom to continue its *apartheid* policy against African populations whose humanitarian rights are supposedly defended by its partners. This is the ultimate in duplicity.

109. Hence, we remain sceptical when acts which are presented as liberalizing measures are given excessive emphasis in certain sections of the press. To the extent that it does not contribute to the realization of the political rights of the African majority, the abolition of the law on interracial relations should not, we feel, be given the publicity it has been given.

110. As regards supposed trade union rights granted to South African workers, we wonder about their real scope, taking into account the restrictions accompanying them. Integrated unions are still prohibited; citizens of bantustans, considered as foreigners, cannot be unionized. White unions have the right to oppose registration by African unions with bodies dealing with collective bargaining.

111. It is no wonder that the policy of dialogue with the racist régime has not yet paid any of the dividends promised us for so many years. No progress has been achieved; no effective way has been found to stem South African expansionism in its attempt to surround itself with allegiant minions in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Its policy of bantustanization is following its normal course, meeting no genuine opposition from the international community. Its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States are being pursued with scandalous impunity.

112. When this anti-African policy is supported by nuclear blackmail, the situation reaches the critical threshold where the need to act can no longer be evaded in the Security Council.

113. In this respect, need we prove that the racist Pretoria régime has violated Africa's status as a denuclearized zone? Have we not known for a long time the true intentions of that régime, and the preparations it was making, and have we not been aware of the natural and technological resources available or provided to it to help it achieve its diabolical designs?

114. We were not at all surprised at the news reports,

belatedly published by the good offices of the United States, since we are aware of Pretoria's attitude towards the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its resolve to pursue its anti-African policy even if it involves violation of the Charter and principles of international law.

115. There is no need to stress the fact that South Africa's acquisition of nuclear weapons will spur it to further excesses in its savage repression of the liberation movements and their sympathizers, and to pursue with even greater arrogance its policy of adventurism and aggression against neighbouring independent countries. Not only are regional peace and security affected, but there are the inevitable repercussions on the international situation as well.

116. We are pleased to associate ourselves with the declaration published on 29 October last, on behalf of the non-aligned countries, in which they recommend that the Security Council apply the binding provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in order to put an end to all nuclear collaboration between South Africa, certain Western countries and Israel. We can never over-emphasize the responsibility of those countries in the eyes of history for having allowed the racist régime to acquire a nuclear capacity in spite of the repeated warnings of African countries.

117. I wish to conclude by paying a tribute to the intensive efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its accomplishments under the leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria. The recommendations it has submitted to the Assembly reflect its commitment to the world-wide struggle against *apartheid*; which is the commitment which we are urging on the international community.

118. Mr. SAMEL (Afghanistan): May I begin by expressing thanks on behalf of my delegation to the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its valuable annual report [A/34/22] it has presented for our consideration, and also for the special report on the recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa [A/34/22/Add.1] and other reports prepared under this item.

119. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has pursued and continues to pursue a policy, based on principle, of strong opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, racism, zionism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony. In recalling these fundamental principles that have guided our Government since the great popular April Revolution of 1978, we should like to reiterate our full solidarity with and support for the people of Africa in their national liberation struggle against colonialism and racism in all their manifestations.

120. The nefarious doctrine of *apartheid*, the separate development of races, and the system of white supremacy that are the basic tenets of the social organization of South Africa run counter to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the norms governing international law, to the principles governing the inalienable rights of man and to human conscience and dignity.

121. During the last few days, we have heard statements reflecting the unanimous view of the international community that *apartheid* is an evil which must be eliminated from this earth, and that the struggle of the oppressed people of southern Africa and their liberation movements for freedom and human equality is a legitimate struggle which should be supported by all the means at the disposal of all nations and peoples.

122. This year the General Assembly has before it a clearer picture of the main factors which weaken and impede the international campaign and struggle to eradicate *apartheid*, that crime against humanity, to stop the violation of human rights and repression and to put an end to the illegal racist minority rule in southern Africa.

123. The economic, military and financial collaboration of imperialism and its allies with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is still continuing. Transnational corporations continue to play a crucial role in strengthening the military capability of the *apartheid* régime. Despite the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the United Nations on the racist régimes, the activities of those corporations continue, by providing technology and finance, to build up the key, advanced capital-intensive machinery and equipment industries that constitute the foundation of a military-industrial complex. This collaboration and assistance from these companies enable the *apartheid* régime to boast that it can produce 75 per cent of its own military requirements. Twenty-five per cent of the weapons and military machinery that cannot yet be produced by South African industry is being provided to the racist régime by these corporations of the imperialist countries. In addition, transnational corporate banks and associated financial institutions continue to help the *apartheid* régime to obtain the necessary finance to pay for the military equipment and weapons produced domestically and in Western countries. In short, transnational corporations illegally investing in South Africa, contrary to the decisions of the United Nations, on the one hand have benefited and continue to benefit, both directly in the form of contracts to sell parts and materials to the military and indirectly in terms of a more generally expanded market, and on the other hand have enabled the racist régime to resort to further exploitation, brutalities and inhuman actions and practices against the black African majority. Bank loans to the *apartheid* régime continue to be provided by imperialist countries.

124. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and in important international gatherings, such as the conferences of non-aligned countries and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* held at Lagos (Nigeria) in August 1977,⁴ which call upon all Member States that, by accepting provisions of the United Nations Charter, have determined to make every effort to preserve international peace and security, ensure respect for fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person and promote social progress and better standards of living, to respect and observe the sanctions already imposed against the racist régime. Time and again Member States have been called upon to desist from investing in South Africa. As yet, however, we see

⁴ Report of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, Lagos, 22-26 August 1977, Vols. I and II (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and 3 and corrigendum).

no positive response from some Western imperialist States and their allies in this regard. There has been a very disturbing upward trend in investment in the bantustans, condemned by the United Nations as a *de facto* recognition of the *apartheid* policy of separate development. The record shows that the contributions of three Western States alone provide more than 80 per cent of foreign investment in South Africa.

125. Let us turn to another factor that impedes the implementation of this Organization's resolution on enforcing sanctions against the *apartheid* régime. There is evidence of certain agreements that would ensure the development of secret collaboration between the racist régime of Pretoria and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. This collaboration would extend to the provision of military technology, military supplies and also assistance in the development of South Africa's nuclear capacity. This, of course, is highly dangerous and it is the kind of situation that might well lead to a world conflagration.

126. My delegation expresses grave concern at the recent reports of a nuclear explosion by South Africa. We hope that the forthcoming report by the Secretary-General on this subject will enable the United Nations to take appropriate and effective action.

127. Against this background, how can one declare at this rostrum adherence to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter; how can one use the sacred words "peace", "equality", "human rights" and "respect for the human person"; how can one speak of disarmament while continuing to strengthen the military and nuclear capability of the racist régimes against the millions of African people who are struggling for nothing more than freedom and equality?

128. My delegation supports the recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that the General Assembly and the Security Council should call upon all States, among other things, to adopt effective legislative and other measures, including the seizure of vessels that violate the embargo, to prevent the petroleum and shipping companies as well as the banks and other financial institutions from giving any assistance to the South Africa régime in circumventing the embargo. We have always expressed the view that it is through the enforcement of an effective embargo that the racist régime can be forced to stop defying world opinion and committing crimes. It should be clearly stated, however, that as long as the imperialist countries and their allies, as the major trading partners of South Africa, refuse to respect the resolutions of this Organization, contrary to the obligation they have assumed under the Charter of the United Nations, and continue to collaborate with the racist and *apartheid* régime, no decision, as has been proved so far, can be really workable and effective. That is why my delegation favours the convening in 1980, with the cooperation of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], of an international conference to consider how to ensure the application of effective sanctions against the *apartheid* régime.

129. We strongly condemn the proclamation by the *apartheid* régime of the so-called independence of Venda on 13 September and consider it another crime against the African people of South Africa and a serious challenge to the international community.

130. My delegation also condemns the repeated acts of aggression committed by the *apartheid* régime against the independent African front-line States. The recent barbaric attacks of the racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola, which resulted in the death of a number of civilians and soldiers and the destruction of economic projects and communications networks vital to Angola, was another challenge to the United Nations and to the international community. The racist minority régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury have similarly stepped up their unprovoked attacks against other front-line States, killing thousands of innocent civilians and destroying property. All possible moral, political and material assistance should be provided by the peace-loving countries in order to enable those States to meet this challenge and to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their countries.

131. Despite these challenges and as a result of the more recent victories scored by the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa and the support of the outside world—especially that of the peace-loving, progressive and socialist countries—the *apartheid* régime loses more and more legitimacy and political power with each day that passes, becomes more insecure and indulges in desperate actions and manoeuvres.

132. The international arms embargo should be strengthened and those in collaboration with the *apartheid* régime should be exposed and condemned. An effective arms embargo should be secured, all investments and loans prohibited, and a comprehensive international boycott against South Africa enforced. By ensuring these steps the international community and the United Nations could make a decisive contribution to the African liberation struggle and to peace and security in Africa and in the world.

133. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): It is our profound conviction that the question of *apartheid*, which over the last 33 years has chronically appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly, is certainly one of the most important and tragic issues with which the international community is confronted. The question is important because what is at stake is the dignity and prestige of mankind, the violation of basic human rights, as well as the moral values of the contemporary international community as enshrined in the Charter of this Organization. The question is also urgent because a determined response from the whole international community can no longer be delayed.

134. The Turkish Government has always viewed with great concern the inhuman and institutionalized policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination followed by the Pretoria régime. We have time and again joined other delegations in various bodies of this Organization in voicing our fears that, unless this abominable policy is completely abandoned, a violent racial confrontation endangering peace and security in southern Africa as a whole will be unavoidable.

135. In fact, our fears have always been justified by subsequent events. Despite repeated appeals and demands by the international community, the South African Government has remained stubbornly and defiantly undeterred. It has continued to resort to massive repression, persecution and torture against the opponents of *apartheid* and the indigenous population of South Africa, in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

It has continued the uprooting of Africans as part of its policy of bantustanization, recently exemplified in the establishment of the third bantustan called Venda in September of this year.

136. Over the recent months, we have seen some changes introduced by the South African Government with a view to ameliorating the situation of the indigenous population. However, these limited measures have fallen short of liquidating the fundamental evils of the system.

137. Moreover, the implications of South Africa's policy of *apartheid* have not remained confined to South Africa alone but have always overflowed its boundaries. Over the year under review, South Africa has continued its occupation of Namibia as well as its acts of aggression against neighbouring front-line countries such as Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. The recent South African raids into Angola which caused great human loss and material damage are further evidence of the international implications of the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Pretoria régime. In view of these facts, South Africa's potential as a nuclear Power in the region adds another dimension to the intricate and delicate nature of the prevailing situation in southern Africa by causing a serious threat to international peace and security in widening the area of conflict.

138. The experience of the past years has clearly shown that political pressures exerted by way of negotiations, dialogues and action taken within the framework of the United Nations have not proved to be effective enough to bring the Pretoria régime to reason. We therefore firmly believe that it is only through the threat of concrete measures decisively to be taken by the international community against South Africa that the present distressing trend can be reversed.

139. In this connexion, we welcomed Security Council resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter as a landmark showing the readiness of the international community to combine concrete action with political pressure against the Pretoria régime. We not only believe that all countries should scrupulously implement the provisions of this important resolution for it to be effective, but we also have the conviction that the arms embargo should be complemented with further measures such as economic sanctions to be adopted individually or collectively. I should like to associate myself in this regard with the most pertinent remarks made from this rostrum by Ambassador Thunborg of Sweden [54th meeting, paras. 69 and 71], to the effect that putting an end to foreign investments and financial loans to South Africa, imposing an oil embargo against that country and putting limitations on air traffic to South Africa could be some of the measures envisaged within the framework of economic sanctions to be taken against South Africa with a view to adversely affecting its economy and productive capacity, as well as further isolating it from the rest of the international community.

140. Moreover, in view of South Africa's nuclear power capability, and taking into consideration the great threat that the development of that capability might pose for the peace and security of southern Africa in particular and of the world in general, great respon-

sibility falls on those countries which engage in nuclear co-operation with the Pretoria régime to end that collaboration or to see to it that effective and proper safeguards are taken to prevent irreversible tragedies.

141. At the same time as concrete action is taken against South Africa, it is the conviction of my delegation that the momentum created in mobilization against *apartheid* at national and international levels during the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year should be continued, to assist the South African people in achieving the speedy elimination of *apartheid* and the liberation of their country.

142. I should like to seize this opportunity to commend the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as the members of the Secretariat, for carrying out their responsible tasks of keeping public opinion fully aware of the developments in South Africa, as well as implementing extensive programmes to mobilize international action against *apartheid* most diligently and faithfully, under the able leadership of Ambassador Clark of Nigeria.

143. My Government's attitude vis-à-vis the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa is clear-cut. As is known, Turkey does not entertain any kind of relations with the Pretoria régime whether in the diplomatic, consular, economic or commercial fields. Turkey is pleased to contribute, albeit in modest terms, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and to the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*, as a sign of its solidarity with the peoples of that region.

144. I should like to conclude my remarks by reiterating my Government's belief that unless there is a rapid and positive evolution in South Africa, the opportunity for a peaceful solution will totally vanish. The Turkish delegation will continue to lend its full support to all measures designed to bring to an end the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and to support all efforts with a view to promoting a new society in South Africa based on the exercise of the right of self-determination, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in compliance with the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

145. Mr. VAYENAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): In proclaiming their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person and in equality of rights between men and women, the peoples of the United Nations have solemnly undertaken, since the foundation of our Organization, to struggle against any form of violation of human dignity. While it is true that a very special place has been given to that solemn declaration in the preambular part of the Charter, it is unfortunately also true that human dignity continues, despite our efforts, to be very often humiliated and wounded.

146. Is there better proof of this than the repellent policy of *apartheid*? Is there any better example of scorn for human values than the unreasoning attachment to a policy which revolts the human conscience and provokes general indignation?

147. In broaching the question of *apartheid*, we take note once more that this past year has not, any more

than the years which preceded it, changed South Africa's image. That policy of racial discrimination which is profoundly rooted in the structure of South African society continues, notwithstanding the protests by world public opinion and resolutions of international bodies.

148. The obstinacy of the Pretoria leaders has condemned their country to dangerous isolation and has to a large extent prevented the white population from realizing the gulf into which the policy of its Government is leading it. If the odious system of *apartheid* is not replaced in the near future by a society based on equal rights, the consequences will be disastrous.

149. It is likewise regrettable that the Government of South Africa should be seeking to shirk its responsibilities by its blatant policy of bantustanization, a policy which can deceive nobody. The Coloured population, which is 80 per cent of the total, has exactly the same political, economic, social and, in particular, human rights as the whites. The quicker that fact is recognized, the easier it will be to lay down the bases for a solution to the problem.

150. We understand perfectly well that mere condemnation is not enough to eliminate the system of *apartheid*. We must seek effective measures, so that we can, in full awareness of the urgency of the problem, obtain positive results. Guided by the need to secure respect for the letter and spirit of our Organization's resolutions, we staunchly support any initiative which might establish justice by peaceful means.

151. Since Greece is aware of its obligations in this field, we have adopted specific measures to encourage the struggle against *apartheid*. So in June last our Parliament voted a law which stipulates that all those who incite others to acts of racial discrimination or who commit such acts, are liable to be imprisoned. The International Anti-*Apartheid* Year was given much publicity in our country, including lectures in schools and universities. Greece contributes to the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*, as well as to other funds designed to assist oppressed peoples in southern Africa, such as the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the Fund for Namibia, and so on. Furthermore, we scrupulously observe the mandatory arms embargo imposed on South Africa by Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

152. As regards the resolutions on *apartheid* in sports, our attitude was spelled out by the Chairman of the Special Committee in his statement which appears in a press release issued as GA/AP/1038, bearing today's date.

153. We must continue on this path with perseverance, aware of our duty to humanity and convinced that in the end our efforts will be crowned with success. The South African people as a whole, without any distinction whatsoever, deserve a better future.

154. Mr. DE ALBUQUERQUE (Portugal): The United Nations has, since its inception, taken upon itself the task of bringing to a speedy end all forms of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination. Three decades after its foundation we are, however, still facing the challenge of transforming the abhorrent system of

apartheid in South Africa into a multiracial society, free from any kind of prejudice, so that all its members can live together in peace, freedom, equality and justice.

155. The debate on *apartheid* that, year after year, takes place here in the United Nations should therefore be designed to provide yet another opportunity for the international community to focus its attention on that serious problem, and to reaffirm its support for, and solidarity with the political prisoners and other victims of discriminatory measures in South Africa.

156. The unparalleled unanimity of the membership of this Organization on this issue could best be put to use to bring pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to desist forthwith from its policies and practices of so-called separate development and to comply with all the relevant decisions and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

157. Recently, we have had some encouraging signs indicating that the South African Government might have initiated the necessary process of transforming its society through the abrogation or revision of some basic laws of the *apartheid* system, namely, the Immorality, Labour and Mixed Marriages Acts. This should further encourage us to redouble our efforts to assail the system and to force the South African Government to abandon a course which can only lead to confrontation and conflict.

158. There can be no peace in South Africa as long as the Government in Pretoria denies the majority of its people their basic civil and political rights and stifles the voices of those who are opposed to the philosophy and practice of racism. The international community cannot remain indifferent to or an idle spectator of tragedies like the one that occurred in Soweto.

159. But Portugal, like many other countries, shares the view that peaceful change in South Africa is still possible and that it is essential to maintain a constant and direct dialogue both with the South African Government and with the opponents of the *apartheid* régime, so that through persuasion and the use of strong and effective pressure fundamental changes in the political and social structure of the country may be introduced, thus creating the necessary conditions for the total eradication of *apartheid*.

160. It must also be made clear to South Africa that the path it has chosen of bantustanization and political repression will certainly not contribute to establishing a climate of peace in southern Africa.

161. Finally, may I be allowed here today to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Clark, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his untiring efforts in trying to obtain as wide support as possible for the cause of the peoples of southern Africa.

162. In this respect, we are particularly pleased to note that positive results have been achieved through the observance of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year and the international mobilization against *apartheid* called for by the General Assembly. This has undoubtedly been instrumental in rallying world public opinion against the practices of *apartheid* and seems to account to a large extent for the ever-increasing number of na-

tional centres against *apartheid*, some of which have been co-operating closely with the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

163. Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): The catalogue of crises in South Africa and the threat to international peace and security caused by the evils of white racism could easily reach a size, if not checked, which would not only vastly exceed anything that this General Assembly could ever imagine possible but also readily account for the feeling of alienation, despair and suffering among the black population of South Africa, which has achieved so much notoriety. A lovers' quarrel is one thing; a strike against humanity and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations is a different matter.

164. Despite repeated breaches of the peace, flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter almost every day and acts of aggression against peace-loving States Members of the United Nations by the *apartheid* régime, the Security Council has failed time and again to recognize that *apartheid* is a threat to peace as dealt with in Chapter VII of the Charter. The refusal of certain members of the Security Council to adopt effective measures against the Pretoria régime makes it possible for that criminal régime to step up its crimes and acts of aggression, including violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States.

165. The problems we face owing to the *apartheid* policies of racist South Africa not only should provoke harsh criticism by this Assembly but also call for determined action. It is with deep regret that we note that, despite numerous warnings by the United Nations and OAU, some industrialized countries in the West continue to support the South African régime in its quest for economic and technological advancement, clearly designed to improve the economic, social and physical well-being of the white racists. Gambia is not only of the opinion that such actions by States Members of the United Nations should be deplored but also feels that drastic action should be taken against those institutions in Member countries which act in the same sense, by their increased investments in South Africa, for the benefit of the white minority. As the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations seeks to promote a climate in South Africa that could create better opportunities for all its people, the transnational corporations continue to maintain and even increase their investments in South Africa, thereby helping *apartheid* to retain its vigour.

166. *Apartheid* is an affront to humanity. It is an abhorrent system of government that nurtures institutionalized racism. The world has not seen such a debased form of government since Hitler's Germany. We take the view that, just as Hitler's Germany constituted a threat to the peace and security of Europe, so the Pretoria régime constitutes the same threat to the entire continent of Africa.

167. Recognition of and respect for the fundamental principles of human rights is one of the cardinal pillars of our foreign policy. I therefore need not reiterate the steps that we have taken thus far for the protection of the human rights of others. But I must state the fact that Gambia has always stood, and will continue to stand for and uphold these basic principles in all international

gatherings. Gambia will seize the opportunity whenever it presents itself to expose the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. We are, however, conscious of the fact that the white minority racist régime in South Africa is immune to denunciation and has no intention of changing unless forced to do so. However, we are convinced that concerted measures can and must be taken by the world community in the bid to eradicate rapidly and completely the practices of *apartheid*, defeat its perpetrators and restore liberty, equality and justice to the entire South African nation. We believe that through our efforts the memory of the thousands of South Africans massacred at Sharpeville in 1961 and Soweto in 1976, and of eminent patriots like Steve Biko, Robert Subokwe, Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, will be immortalized by the rest of the civilized world.

168. Gambia deplores the double standards that certain Member States have adopted on the issue of human rights, human dignity and freedom. How credible is any Government's support for liberation, freedom, self-determination and political independence of peoples when that same Government covertly and sometimes overtly enters into agreements that enhance the very machinery of *apartheid* in its tenacious drive to destroy the political, civil, cultural and social rights of the people of Azania?

169. Gambia does not believe that any Government can truly subscribe to belief in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and at the same time support the South African régime, either directly or indirectly, in its relentless drive to dehumanize our brothers and sisters in South Africa.

170. Twice during the last few weeks the South African forces have attacked Angolan territory with impunity, causing serious damage to property, suffering among women and children and loss of human lives. The South African régime has carried out serious acts of aggression against Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania, acts that carry the risk of widening of conflict. But it is no secret that the Pretoria régime is seeking confrontation with the neighbouring States in the hope of achieving its colonialist aims and the control of the vast resources of the southern part of Africa.

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

171. The failure of the attempts at peaceful negotiation of the question of Namibia is clearly related to South Africa's over-all hegemonistic aims in southern Africa. Through its acts of aggression it has attempted to destabilize neighbouring countries and to weaken and destroy their zeal for the liberation struggle. South Africa's statements of support for the racist puppet régime in Zimbabwe and acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, committed with the obvious purpose of intimidating Governments, are part of its broad policy of establishing a neo-colonial racist sphere of influence in southern Africa. Thus, it is important that the United Nations review the issues of southern Africa in the light of the concerted South African attempt to impose its domination on the region.

172. Gambia wholeheartedly supports the view of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that an indispensable complement to the assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa is assistance to the African

States which have been subjected to threats and acts of aggression and have been obliged to make serious sacrifices because of their support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people. It is a matter of serious concern for my Government that, despite appeals from the world community for the total cessation of all military collaboration with South Africa, some United Nations Members continue to collaborate with that country not only in the manufacture of military hardware but also in hastening the possibility of its acquisition of a nuclear capability. We share the view that it is vitally important that resolution 418 (1977) be fully implemented and that, in fact, more drastic measures be taken to implement it.

173. In order to demonstrate our determination to implement at the national level all resolutions of the United Nations and those of OAU, Gambia has drawn up a programme of action and urged all Gambians to participate fully in the successful implementation of that programme as a way of showing solidarity with our brothers in South Africa and of contributing in our own way to the fight against racism. We cannot promise from our actions any striking solutions leading to the eradication of the ills of *apartheid*, but we do hope that, together with the rest of the world community, we shall be able to force a change in South Africa so that all South Africans will have a better chance to improve their own lives as well as life around them.

174. At the international level, Gambia believes that adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations would certainly have the effect of transforming nations from self-seeking, greedy, unjust and dishonest entities into a community of brothers and sisters living together in mutual respect, harmony, co-operation and consideration for one another's welfare. We also believe that co-operation rather than competition for existence, service to others rather than exploitation and mutual consultation rather than domination should be the guiding principles in our social, economic and political lives.

175. It is quite clear that the racist régime of South Africa has no intention of adhering to these principles. In fact, the *apartheid* system of institutionalized racism, exploitation and oppression has become such a commonplace that it is impossible to ignore the predictions that have already been made. The threat to the peace and security of our world will continue, unless South Africa is totally isolated.

176. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): At the last session of the General Assembly, following the consideration of the question of *apartheid*, as well as at previous sessions, the General Assembly adopted a whole series of resolutions condemning South Africa for the situation created in southern Africa, calling upon it to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*. Those resolutions expressed the general will and were in the interests of the peace and security of the peoples of Africa and of the entire world.

177. But, instead of heeding the voice of the international community, the racist régime of South Africa adopted a policy of confrontation which further exacerbated the situation.

178. Instead of repealing the Draconian laws which infringed the elementary rights of the indigenous popula-

tion of South Africa, the racist régime is inventing more and more new discriminatory and increasingly repressive laws in order to defend the interests of the white minority and to increase the exploitation of the majority population of the country.

179. Instead of terminating the policy of bantustanization, which aims to perpetuate domination by the white minority and to deprive the oppressed people of their inalienable rights, the racist régime is proceeding to dismember the country further and on 13 September of this year proclaimed the bogus independence of still another bantustan, Venda.

180. Instead of putting an end to violence and repression against the African population and liberating all people imprisoned for having resisted the policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime is constantly increasing its persecution of the opponents of *apartheid*. A whole series of trials of opponents of *apartheid*, under the notorious Terrorism Act, have been held. There have been more cases of cruel torture and killings in South African prisons. Another heinous crime was perpetrated in April this year when Solomon Mahlangu, a young South African freedom fighter was executed, in spite of appeals and demands by the Security Council, various Governments and world public opinion.

181. Instead of putting an end to its aggressive forays against neighbouring African countries, the racist régime of South Africa has adopted a policy of continuing to encroach upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring independent countries and has repeatedly committed acts of aggression against them.

182. The build-up of South Africa's military potential, beginning in 1960, is clear evidence of the aggressive policy of the *apartheid* régime and proof that it has adopted a policy of military suppression of any resistance to *apartheid*. The military budget of South Africa grows every year. It grew from 44 million rand in 1960-1961 to 2 billion rand in 1978-1979.

183. Finally, instead of withdrawing its troops from Namibia and enabling the people of that country to decide their future for themselves, the racist régime of South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and is attempting to extend to that land the shameful policy of *apartheid*, hampering by all means the transfer of power to its people and their recognized representative, SWAPO. Furthermore, it is utilizing the territory of Namibia as a spring-board to perpetrate acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other neighbouring States.

184. As a result of that policy, the *apartheid* régime remains a real threat to international peace and security.

185. We all know very well that the racist régime of South Africa is obstinately pursuing its policy of *apartheid* and defying the United Nations and the entire international community not because it is strong, but because it is backed by powerful Western countries and the transnational corporations which provide the technology and the licences for building military facilities, and grant credits and loans. Foreign capital investments in South Africa increased from 3 billion rand in 1959-1960 to 21 billion rand in 1977-1978. More than 2,000 foreign companies are operating in South Africa.

186. These facts show that, notwithstanding appeals by the United Nations, the Western Powers are still expanding their economic commercial and financial co-operation with the racist régime.

187. As many speakers have quite rightly pointed out in their statements, that co-operation with the racist régime is the main obstacle to the elimination of the hateful system of *apartheid*. We think that it is high time to proceed to actions to eliminate that obstacle. We can do this only by adopting mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In this respect, my delegation supports the resolutions of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* regarding the holding of an effective international campaign for sanctions against South Africa, as well as the recommendations contained in the Declaration adopted by participants in the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, which was held in London from 2 to 4 November of this year [A/34/655, annex].

188. The discussion of the question of *apartheid* acquires particular meaning in view of the recent news in the press about the nuclear explosion in South Africa. Naturally that turn of events gives rise to legitimate alarm among the peoples of the world. We are all fully aware that the acquisition by the racist régime of the nuclear weapon creates a situation fraught with danger. Therefore, many delegations, mine included, have issued repeated warnings about the danger of the development of nuclear potential in South Africa and have called upon the United Nations to take effective measures to stop the racist régime hankering after the nuclear weapon. A number of resolutions have been adopted on this question. In particular, in resolution 33/183 G the General Assembly requested the Security Council to consider measures which would effectively prevent South Africa from developing nuclear weapons and called upon all States to cease forthwith any collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and to take measures to prevent such collaboration by corporations, institutions and other bodies and individuals within their jurisdiction.

189. But the Security Council was unable to adopt effective measures on this matter because of the well-known position of some of the permanent members, which are also members of NATO.

190. Now the racist régime has detonated a nuclear device, and this is a direct result of the collaboration of the Western countries with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field. It is precisely those countries that have delivered the nuclear technology, the electronic equipment and other material, which are placing the key to the atomic weapon into the hands of that same aggressive régime, a régime which is capable of desperate steps to maintain its colonial domination and the *apartheid* system.

191. We consider that before it is too late, the international community should take effective measures to prevent the racist régime of South Africa from acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

192. An important role here should be played by the Security Council as the main United Nations body responsible for maintaining international peace. The peoples of the world are pinning great hopes on that body and it should live up to those hopes.

193. Concerted action by the international community is of great importance for the struggle to eliminate the shameful system of *apartheid*. In the mobilization of international efforts such measures, adopted at the initiative of the United Nations, as the organization of conferences and seminars and the holding of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, were very important.

194. Notwithstanding the cruel repression and persecution by the racist régime, the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa has scored further successes. Popular resistance to *apartheid* is not confined only to strikes and demonstrations. The people have begun an armed struggle against the odious régime of the racists. The world community and the United Nations should give all-round assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movement.

195. The Government and the people of the Mongolian People's Republic continue, as always, to side with the oppressed people of South Africa and express their ardent solidarity with that people's heroic struggle. My country is duty-bound to wage a relentless struggle against the policy of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination and resolutely to struggle for the immediate elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. On the basis of this position of principle, my country strictly complies with the provisions of all General Assembly and Security Council resolutions adopted on the anti-*apartheid* issue. We have no relations or contacts with the racist régime of South Africa.

196. The Mongolian People's Republic has done much to explain the deleterious and anti-human nature of the policy of *apartheid*, particularly by publishing material in our central and local newspapers and journals, by broadcasting programmes on radio and television, by organizing mass meetings and also by giving due attention to the inclusion of these problems in school textbooks. Much work has also been done in this field in the course of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year.

197. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports all measures aimed at eradicating the shameful system of *apartheid*. My delegation endorses the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and supports its recommendations regarding the need to adopt effective measures to eliminate the shameful system of *apartheid*.

198. Mr. A. OUNAÏES (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The Tunisian delegation wishes, first of all, to reiterate its thanks to all the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the outstanding efforts which they made this year, on behalf of the States Members of our Organization, in studying the evolution of the system of *apartheid* in all its aspects and monitoring the implementation of United Nations resolutions in this field throughout the world. They have acted as the conscience of our Organization with regard to *apartheid*. We pay a tribute to them for their devotion and their contribution to the struggle against *apartheid*, as well as for the report which they submitted to us [A/34/22] and the special report on recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa [A/34/22/Add.1].

199. The evidence provided by those reports, without being particularly new, is none the less overwhelming in scope, in so far as the share of the responsibility which it

indicates—and which is attributable to a certain number of States Members of our Organization—calls into question the very essence of international co-operation. The resumption of this debate, which is proving to be one of the lengthiest in the history of our Organization, at a time when we have not seen any basic change in the very system of *apartheid*, is for us, as an African country, a source of concern and disillusion. I hasten to add that the fate of our brothers in South Africa affects our conscience and our ideals too deeply to allow us to weaken or to cease our resolve to support their struggle and express our total solidarity.

200. Just as we are convinced that decolonization has been for our times an inevitable step in the progress and the liberation of peoples, so too we believe that the elimination of racial discrimination is for human civilization an essential act for the decisive attainment of equality and freedom for mankind. This qualitative progress involves the liberation both of the African individual and of the white man, the victim of the illusion of his superiority.

Mr. K. C. Molapo (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

201. We have faith in that principle of human equality and we believe that the political and social organization of all peoples throughout the world must simply express this principle of equality in basic law.

202. Our Assembly has never failed to echo the legitimate reaction to which the practices of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination give rise in all civilized peoples. The resolutions prepared and adopted by our Assembly are a demonstration of that; moreover, the reports submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* genuinely express our indignation at the repeated violations of international legality by the Government of the racist minority of South Africa and by the Governments which co-operate with it in various fields. The draft resolutions that are to be submitted to the thirty-fourth session of our Assembly and that reflect our demands and our recommendations, appeal to the conscience of all Member States and to the sense of responsibility that inspires them in all the fields of international co-operation. Tunisia will do its share to contribute to international solidarity in the adoption and the implementation of those draft resolutions.

203. Without dwelling on all the major aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, the Tunisian delegation at this stage wishes to stress three points in the evolution of international relations regarding this problem.

204. The resumption of capital punishment in South Africa, which of course affects African citizens accused of struggling against the *apartheid* régime, adds a dimension of horror to the persecution and the persistence of the practices of torture and physical mistreatment which are the plight of South African youth. If we cannot hasten the elimination of the system itself, can we yet hope that a country which remains a Member of the Organization will express its respect for the African person by recognizing that person's natural rights to live according to his own conviction, to struggle in a dignified way for his ideals and to be given the guarantees and rights of a freedom fighter and a prisoner of war?

205. Last April, by virtue of a unanimous decision of

the non-aligned movement, Tunisia for its part made a series of representations to Western countries having relations with South Africa in order to try to obtain clemency for Solomon Mahlangu and to extend the status of prisoner of war to the African detainees who have been arrested while bearing arms. However, the racist authorities disregarded the representations of the countries which relayed our appeals, associated themselves with our concern, but which none the less maintained and continue to maintain self-interested relations with the Government of South Africa.

206. That same appeal of the non-aligned countries had also been addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, first in July 1978 and then in February 1979. We all recognize the significance of the execution of Solomon Mahlangu, and we have seen the powerlessness of our Organization and of all countries, without exception, to ensure that in everyday life in South Africa there are the elementary guarantees which any human being should have. The proliferation of political trials, the latest of which is now taking place at Pietermaritzburg against 12 African National Congress nationalists, bears the threat of legalized assassination.

207. In our view, this form of State terrorism is a challenge to the highest moral responsibility of countries which have relations in any form whatsoever with South Africa and recognize it as a State. We feel that those countries are duty-bound to take effective steps in their approach to the racist régime in the matter of human rights practices. Since the white minority proclaims the values of Western civilization, how far can that identification go? Is not the racist régime a creation of European colonialism? Must we not, therefore, consider our South African brothers as hostages kept in prison by a State which has institutionalized terrorism?

208. No less than moral and legal obligations, do considerations of security and stability in our continent demand our vigilance.

209. The South African régime has consistently developed towards neighbouring peoples an attitude of hostility and disdain which is inspired by its racist conviction. It has delayed and fought against their independence; it has brought war and destruction to their territories; it has savagely devastated and bombed their cities and their possessions. These acts of aggression are based on the keen perception of an arrogant and powerful civilization which denies African civilizations, and on a clear military superiority, to which the Security Council has so far refused to provide a concrete and effective response.

210. The progressive development by that entity of nuclear capacity will enable it to use the ultimate weapon. Hence, the imbalance in forces has crossed regional borders and extended to strategic depths, thus challenging the established facts of stability and security in Africa and Asia. To what purpose will that weapon be put, and what should make up the line of defence?

211. At this stage we must urgently seek ways and means of maintaining international peace and of shouldering that responsibility. There are three elements in our response. We have already assessed the genuine character of the racist régimes of South Africa, since they have been haunting our continent and attempting,

against our will, to become the absolute masters of the land, the resources and even the people. Those people have in turn identified their implacable enemies. Africa is therefore the natural axis of the line of sight. The scope and frequency of the acts of aggression coincide with the racist régimes' strategies and ethics. Moreover, the total alliance between Israel and South Africa, which our Organization has constantly denounced, is the object of the same system of sanctions directly applied by the entire Afro-Arab world, supported by the non-aligned movement, with the fullest backing of the United Nations. This twofold axis of Tel Aviv and Pretoria, which develops the same racial and strategic system and openly practises preventive aggression and intimidation against neighbouring countries, is adopting the same range of targets and of tactical reprisals.

212. Finally, we feel that the time has come for the United Nations to reflect on the example of nazism in possession of the nuclear weapon. It is the duty of the General Assembly and the Security Council to deal with this issue and fulfil their responsibility, having re-evaluated the concepts of nuclear commitment and non-commitment for all the countries of the region, from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean.

213. The last aspect on which we should like to dwell concerns the process of decolonization throughout southern Africa. The General Assembly has certainly not been fooled by the diversionary tactics which there has been an attempt to apply to the process of the genuine liberation of our continent, an attempt which, as always, stems from the desire to safeguard the unity and the dominance of the hard core of racist South Africa.

214. Decolonization is a simple notion that is easily comprehended by all peoples. If the opportunity for a negotiated settlement is not grasped, with the sincere and responsible agreement of all parties concerned, we should not resign ourselves to subterfuges or unilateral settlements, which would only serve to rekindle the fires of war and once again plunge Africa into a cycle of violence and confrontation, doubtlessly in conditions ever more desperate and therefore more bloody and ruinous.

215. The militant liberation movements—the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the African National Congress—command our trust, our solidarity and all our hopes of replacing the racist reactionary system, which still afflicts the continent, by a national system based on equality and free from racism, which will help to convert adversity and hatred to dignified and civilized coexistence, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

216. We believe that these objectives can be attained by peaceful means. This is why we believe that the definitive decolonization of our continent, as well as its security and stability, are closely connected with the structure of *apartheid* and thus with our common determination, as Members of the United Nations, to ensure that decolonization.

217. Mr. PALMA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is of special and grave significance that the discussion of the "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" is taking place in this Assembly a few days after the international press informed us of a

possible nuclear blast by South Africa. If that were to be corroborated, the consequences would be incalculable, not only for southern Africa but for the entire continent and, indeed, for the world in general. Thus we trust that all countries able to do so will give the Secretary-General the co-operation he has requested so that he may prepare a detailed report on the matter. However, even if that report were not to prove that such an explosion has in fact taken place, it should in no way prevent us from reiterating that South Africa is acquiring the necessary technological know-how that would allow it to manufacture nuclear weapons, or from endeavouring to take the most appropriate measures, making full use of the means at our disposal under the Charter of our Organization, in order to induce the Government of Pretoria to put an end to that type of activity.

218. My delegation, which is a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, has in the course of the present year been a witness to the increasingly grim domestic situation in South Africa. Its deterioration is clear from the report submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee. That report reveals the latest steps taken by the South African Government to entrench the *apartheid* system: the intensification of political trials, the increase in executions, the enactment of new repressive and discriminatory laws, the creation of new bantustans, armed attacks against neighbouring African countries, and many other acts. And, if we add to all that the terrifying possibility of nuclear weapons in the hands of a minority obsessed with power and strengthened by the interests supporting it, there emerges a grave threat to international security.

219. Thus there is an ever more imperative need for us to intensify our co-ordinated action against that loathsome system, which is one of the most recalcitrant instruments of colonialism.

220. The struggle against *apartheid* represents one of the most significant battles for the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination from the African continent. At the same time, it represents, as my delegation has declared more than once, a valuable effort to create an area of political autonomy in that continent where it would be possible, on the one hand, to ward off the threat of new competition for the enormous wealth in the soil and, on the other hand, to prevent the area becoming the arena for strategic rivalry and the object of political and ideological domination.

221. The struggle being waged today in Africa and all over the world, against all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination, is consolidating the process of setting up, as the number of peoples and territories free from political, ideological and economic neo-colonialism increases, a new, more just and democratic system of international relations. In this way, future national development projects, when carried out, will be less vulnerable to the upheavals of the present unjust economic system and will be in keeping with national and regional choices and characteristics.

222. In the course of its history, my country has received the contribution of men and women of many races, and from many different lands and cultures. It has been a place where the efforts of all of them could contribute to the common ideal of full development of its people and the elimination of all forms of injustice. This ideal is nurtured primarily on the great diversity and thorough racial integration which are among the

basic hallmarks of Peru and a source of legitimate pride.

223. My country's membership in the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is not merely the result of circumstances: it attests to Peru's commitment to achieving respect for the inherent rights of the individual and to the creation of a just world for ourselves and for succeeding generations. That is why one of the postulates of the Peruvian Government's foreign policy is our determined and constant support for all peoples facing any form of domination or racism, as is the case of the South African people. As my country's new Constitution states, in its article 88:

“The State rejects all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination and is at one with the oppressed peoples of the world.”

224. The principles of the equality, freedom and justice which inspired the Charter of our Organization and ought to guide our joint undertakings are being ignored and flouted. This sad state of affairs requires the persistent, steadfast efforts of us all to ensure the eradication of that crime against humanity which is *apartheid*. We bear an enormous historical responsibility to future generations. It is up to us to find and implement measures to put an end to a system of social control based on the institutionalization of racial discrimination, a system that governs all aspects of human life from the cradle to the grave, a system that brings destructive consequences in the fields of health and welfare, that violates all standards established by the international community, that hinders free access to education and that controls creativity and the authentic means of expression of millions of human beings.

225. A very special contribution is being made in this task by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the wise chairmanship of Mr. Clark of Nigeria, who has presented us with a valuable report containing important recommendations that will help to speed our progress towards the establishment of a society in which all member communities will participate and which will be governed by the principles of freedom, justice and concord, and to put an end to the maintenance by force of a situation that contradicts history. At stake in the attainment of this objective are not only the dignity and the liberation of the peoples of the United Nations, but also our very capacity to take up the challenge that in all parts of the world is posed to mankind by the oppression and injustice which some minorities try to perpetuate, oblivious to the fact that certain questions have already been decided by history.

226. Mr. DUNFEY (United States): My Government shares the total and inalterable opposition of this body to the institutionalized system of racism called *apartheid*. We are committed to affirmative policies which promote genuine social and political change in South Africa. We believe that economic forces are particularly important in the effort to effect the kind of changes in South Africa we all desire. In the last several days, other speakers have introduced reports of a possible nuclear event into this debate. Because these comments are based on information which originated with my Government, I shall address this issue briefly.

227. As the members of this Assembly are aware, my Government has had an indication of the possibility of a

low-yield nuclear explosion in the area of the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic, although we do not have corroborating evidence. It is important to understand that we cannot confirm that a nuclear explosion took place nor, obviously, can we say at this time who was responsible. We are continuing to investigate this matter. Earlier in this session, a distinguished representative called upon the Assembly to address this issue, not in panic, but with facts. We could not agree more.

228. My Government has made clear that a fundamental objective of our national policy is to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We have joined others in expressing concern that South Africa's nuclear facilities could be used to develop a nuclear-explosive capability. The United States Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 provides, as a minimum condition for the licensing of nuclear exports to any country after March 1980, that that country must have all its nuclear activities under international safeguards. As a practical matter, however, the United States ceased exports of nuclear materials or equipment to South Africa four years ago.

229. My Government calls on South Africa and all other countries which are not parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to adhere to that Treaty and to act promptly to place all their peaceful nuclear activities under international safeguards.

230. In recent years, the United States Government has taken a number of actions to underscore our opposition to the *apartheid* system in South Africa. Following the death of Steve Biko, the United States supported a mandatory arms embargo in the Security Council. In addition, the United States has unilaterally imposed a ban on all exports of whatever nature to the South Africa military and police. On 4 October 1979, speaking here in New York before ambassadors and ministers comprising OAU, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reaffirmed that unless a system of government evolves in South Africa in which all South Africans can participate equitably, our relations with South Africa would inevitably deteriorate.

231. The United States opposes the racially motivated bannings and detentions in South Africa. We oppose the pass laws and other such forms of social discrimination. We oppose the policy of separate development under which black South Africans are systematically being denied citizenship in their own country and, instead, are being documented as nationals of so-called independent homelands. We oppose the current lack of equal opportunity for all races regarding employment, job promotion and education. We oppose the lack of opportunity for full political participation by all the citizens of South Africa, regardless of race or colour.

232. We do note, however, that there have been some signs of a more flexible attitude on the part of white South Africans over the last year, and that the present Government of South Africa has taken steps to eliminate some aspects of discrimination in the economic area. These have included steps to eliminate most categories of legal job reservations, recognize trade union rights for blacks, and lift some restrictions on the operations of black businesses. Unfortunately, most of these steps have been hedged with qualifications that seriously dilute their impact. It is too soon to say

that they have in fact led to real, specific changes. We reiterate our position that any changes that leave the basic framework of *apartheid* intact are by definition inadequate. *Apartheid* is based on practices as well as laws—practices frequently sanctioned by the South African Government.

233. The presence of United States corporations in South Africa has become an important political issue in the United States and a focus of the more general debate on United States policy towards South Africa. Our degree of economic involvement represents potential leverage for social and political change. Since 1973, we have urged United States firms operating in South Africa to institute, maintain and expand enlightened employment practices for their black employees, including improvements in wages, working conditions, fringe benefits and opportunities for advancement, as well as dealing with legitimate representatives of black workers, including black unions.

234. Students on many United States college campuses have focused on college and university investments in United States corporations that do business with South Africa. Many institutions have been under pressure to divest themselves of all stock of companies doing business with, or in, South Africa, and about a dozen have done so. At this time, many college and university boards are urging corporations in which they own stock to work for social change in South Africa. For now, we believe the latter initiative is a valid means to confront the *apartheid* system realistically. But we are monitoring closely the progress of such initiatives. If their effects prove neither significant nor rapid enough to satisfy our commitment to end *apartheid*, we will consider other ways to bring about change.

235. One of the more successful of the initiatives to bring international pressure to bear on South Africa has been that undertaken in the United States by the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan. His action in launching a set of principles for fair employment practices by United States companies doing business in South Africa, and in subsequently established reporting and monitoring procedures, has set the pace for corporate conduct and procedures in South Africa. There are now 135 United States companies which have signed the Sullivan Principles. These companies represent 75 per cent of the work forces on the payrolls of United States corporations doing business in South Africa. The Sullivan initiative springs from the private corporate world. It brings together United States companies voluntarily to pursue a common objective based realistically on their growing awareness that an investment in an *apartheid* environment is not in their interest.

236. Following the lead of the Sullivan Principles, 13 similar codes of conduct have emerged from other nations with corporations doing business with South Africa. Also, this year, 10 of the largest South African corporations, employing more than a half million black workers in mining and other labor-intensive areas, have agreed to implement the Principles.

237. The third report on the progress of United States companies doing business in South Africa in implementing the Sullivan Principles was issued on 18 October of this year. While the report indicated that the Principles had become an important force for social change in

South Africa, it is clear that the companies should not be satisfied with the current progress and need to push their effort significantly further.

238. There are many groups in the United States today calling for stronger measures to combat *apartheid* in South Africa, in the private sector, in churches, on campuses, and in Congress. And, indeed, my Government's objective remains fundamental change, not peripheral or token change. In this context, we recognize, as do their sponsors, that the existing principles and procedures concerning corporate conduct in South Africa need to be applied so as to ensure their relevance to this objective. They should address additional significant problems of labour and social conditions in South Africa, including, for example, migratory labour, a minimum wage and influx control. They should examine the continuing role of banks and lending institutions. This would require effective monitoring systems for the activities of all foreign firms. In this regard, it is important that fair employment principles and procedures be supported by all those who trade with and invest in South Africa.

239. While we believe that corporate principles for fair employment practices in South Africa can have a cumulative effect on South African labour policies and practices, we also recognize that they can affect the structure of the basic *apartheid* system itself only in combination with an unrelenting commitment by the world community to the ending of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* will end only when the people and the Government of South Africa, motivated from both within and without, accept the inevitability of change. In the final analysis, it is those persons in influential positions in South Africa, particularly those who now dominate its economic life, who must catalyze and promote the fundamental changes for which the majority of the population yearn and to which my Government remains firmly committed.

240. Mr. ALIHONOU (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): No one any longer introduces the issue of *apartheid*, defines its essence or its various aspects. *Apartheid* is already on our agenda, along with other subjects forming part of the present world crisis. It is abhorrent that this should be so. The persistence of the crime of *apartheid* could even lead us one day to wonder what is our *raison d'être*, as a community of nations sharing the same ideals of mankind. What, indeed, is man in the last analysis, and what is culture, progress and all the great ideals of the world if there is still room in 1979 for *apartheid*?

241. The South African régime, built and consolidated with the most active complicity of the West, is undoubtedly the most radical negation of all that might be thought, said, written or preached in all the assemblies, churches and most brilliant intellectual circles in the world. It is our shameful side, the bestiality of mankind. And yet, *apartheid* survives and prospers; it has its public relations, its advertising agencies, its learned exponents and its incense-bearers of every kind. Our delegation said some time ago that "the United Nations has *apartheid* sickness". How can we safeguard the prestige of our Organization in the face of such an arrogant and scornful challenge?

242. The Congolese delegation wishes, first of all, to

pay a well-deserved tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its dynamic Chairman, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for the complete conviction and expertise that they have shown in their continuous action, carried out on behalf of the United Nations, against the criminal scourge of *apartheid*. We also pay tribute to all the actions, known or unknown, in South Africa itself or elsewhere in the world, that have contributed to progress, however modest, in the struggle against *apartheid* and, in particular, to bringing about a growing universal awareness of the absurdity of the system in question.

243. We do not doubt that one day *apartheid* will come to an end. That concept of life and of the world already bears within it the seeds of its own destruction. But it is clearly insupportable that so much blood and so many tears may be shed before light dawns on the South African night.

244. The time for theoretical analysis has passed; it is important now for us to know how, surely and irreversibly, to overcome *apartheid*. Recently, in order to promote sporting events which are abhorrent to the extent that they place financial profit before ethics, the Pretoria Government put out feelers to test international opinion. It is thus that we have learned of the creation of a black South African trade union movement, of the abolition of *apartheid* in toilets, in employment and in work, of the forthcoming repeal of the notorious law against immoral sexual acts — in brief, we have heard of the more or less short-term abolition, of the so-called petty *apartheid*.

245. In the People's Republic of the Congo we do not dwell much on the variations of one and the same sickness. When the dignity of man is trampled upon because of the colour of his skin or the conditions of his birth, there is no choice but to accept the challenge to our understanding.

246. We therefore support all the measures which have been studied and proposed by the Special Committee and, in particular, those aimed at bringing about economic sanctions against South Africa.

247. Ever since the United Nations began advocating measures regarding a trade embargo against South Africa, it has run up against a veritable wall of indifference on the part of certain Powers. Those countries which maintain economic or trade relations run serious risks and bear serious responsibility with respect to the sacrifice of the most elementary liberties, to which they are contributing.

248. It is therefore necessary to know what the industrial Powers most involved think about South Africa. Why has not even the beginning of an oil embargo ever been undertaken? It appears ever more clear that the responsibility lies with a handful of great Powers which share the same political and ethical, indeed, ethnic, concept as South Africa, and the first concern of which, despite the denials, is to defend the *apartheid* régime.

249. But is it simply a question of defence? When the *apartheid* régime expresses its intention to act militarily against its neighbours, it finds no more complacent listeners than those same Powers. They were the ones

that provided the technology necessary to make the atomic bomb and that, directly or indirectly, convinced South Africa that it could with impunity play the bogey man in the African region. Tomorrow, it may be too late, but we must define the areas of responsibility.

250. Everyone knows that South Africa has for at least four years made it a rule to intervene anywhere at all in Africa, especially south of the Equator, when it felt like it. Aggression against Angola and Zambia has been going on regularly over the years. Although seized of this, the Security Council does not even dare consistently to apply the most elementary principles of the Charter, and so Chapter VII is tending to become obsolete, since it does not suit the purposes of the imperialist circles.

251. Those many facts burdening our conscience lead us to ask terrible questions: for example, when will there be an end to the era — that began several centuries ago — of contempt for and exploitation of what some people call “the Coloured peoples”? Why, after and since the genocide of certain peoples in the name of Christian civilization, has there been an attempt, by all possible means, to shut the blacks of South Africa into an immense ghetto?

252. OAU has for a long time had the mission of fighting *apartheid*, racism and colonialism in all their forms. Therefore, we are certain that in the long run, when all those who are involved are unmasked, there will be in African policy, as can already be seen in its public opinion, a dividing line between States in terms of their policy regarding South Africa.

253. Document A/34/22/Add.1 of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contains very revealing data on the collaboration between certain States and South Africa. Most of those States, we must emphasize, claim to be “crusaders” in the struggle for human rights. There are even some which, in the Third Committee, proposed the creation of a bureaucracy and a United Nations police force specifically entrusted with defending those rights in places outside their own sphere of culture.

254. Since there is no such thing as a disembodied human being, with no needs and no conditions of existence, we propose that, before adopting such proposals, we should have a report on the programme of action which such a body would undertake at the United Nations level. We shall then see whether the rights of peoples have proper priority in those programmes and whether South Africa is at the top of the list of the fields of action of this machinery for the defence of human rights which it is desired to create. We shall also see the definition of the means which will be used in that operation.

255. In saying this, we have in mind the relevant resolutions adopted each year by the General Assembly or the Security Council setting out specific measures, such as economic sanctions and the cessation of any kind of financial or trade transactions with the *apartheid* régime. Even in the field of sports, a pre-eminent area for exchanges and contact among peoples, we are demanding the conclusion of a convention agreed to and applied by all the States Members of the United Nations.

256. In order to achieve that, the States most involved in the collaboration with South Africa, namely, the Western States and Israel, must at least give proof that they are using their entire political and technical capacity to carry out appropriate campaigns against *apartheid* among the public. These are the most important actions advocated by the United Nations and which could serve as a test of the real political will of those who are the natural allies of the system of *apartheid*.

257. As a member of the OAU, and especially as a country whose political principles condemn the exploitation of man by man, the People's Republic of the Congo will obviously become a sponsor of most draft resolutions on the question of *apartheid*. We earnestly request all delegations that have been unwilling to support this unequivocal condemnation of *apartheid* to review their position on an objective basis.

258. Indeed, a fine unanimity in words is not enough and will never be enough to put an end to the *apartheid* régime. Pretoria's informants, who follow our debates although they hardly ever participate in them, know full well that their Government can always count on the understanding of certain Western countries when they carry out quite openly their policy of bantustanization and of reducing the South African people to slavery. The major Western Powers are not yet ready — or at least they have never let us know if they are — to throw their weight into really stopping the policy of *apartheid*.

259. Consequently, until there is unanimity within the United Nations, the régime we are talking about will always be able to count on its happy days of survival. That is where the drama is played out.

260. In conclusion, we wish to hail the struggle against racism, carried out under heroic conditions and almost with their bare hands by the South African people, including women and children. We are also grateful to several Scandinavian countries, as well as to the socialist States, for the specific proof of their commitment to the people of Africa in this many-sided struggle for the dignity of man. All the non-aligned countries have long associated themselves with the struggle, so there is no need to mention them here, and the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979 [see A/34/542/annex], again demonstrates that.

261. The international community must move on to action against *apartheid*, that crime against mankind.

262. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Practically and theoretically, all has already been said about *apartheid*, so that everything that could be added to it may sound a hollow repetition. All this has been synthesized in the definition that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and mankind and a threat to world peace. However, we should constantly draw attention to all the aspects of this system in order to awaken and enhance awareness of this evil, stigmatize its defenders and stimulate general international support for its victims.

263. What is actually involved is not only an oppressive political, economic and cultural system but an elaborate set of instruments for the racial, political and

intellectual humiliation not only of Africans but also of the human person in general. Therefore, no one can feel free, either in Africa or elsewhere, until this mechanism of subjugation is destroyed. In fact, experience has shown that *apartheid* is not an isolated phenomenon but a link in the chain of an elaborate system of subjugation and other activities aimed at maintaining relationships based on dependence, exploitation and domination in southern Africa and on the African continent as a whole.

264. Consequently, the policy of *apartheid* is not merely one of the items which are perennially on the agenda of the General Assembly but constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the whole of mankind is confronted, which is very ironical in itself in this age of universal technological, scientific, social and humanitarian progress, regardless of the fact that it is territorially confined to Africa. The reply to the question why we consider the policy of *apartheid* to be one of the most serious problems in the world is simple. This policy, especially when it is accompanied by brutal exploitation of the human and natural resources of peoples and enormous development of war potential, including the mastery of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, is leading directly towards the transformation of southern Africa into one of the most explosive focal points of crisis threatening peace in Africa and in the world as a whole. Responsibility for such a situation and its consequences rests squarely on the shoulders of the South African racist régime, which in itself constitutes an absurdity in an age of emancipation and affirmation of human rights. Furthermore, that régime subverts and undermines all the principles on which a stable international order is founded.

265. This responsibility, however, is borne by the whole international community, by all of us together, as we are in duty bound to take measures to eliminate this crime against humanity. Nevertheless, the greatest moral and political responsibility for its existence is borne by the countries and forces that maintain close relations with South Africa and that, whether intentionally or unintentionally, enable that régime to pursue its policies of oppression within and aggression without.

266. The policy of *apartheid*—which emerged at the time of colonial conquest and introduction of cheap slave labour for work on large plantations, a policy that later transformed itself into a philosophical and ideological umbrella for the inhuman and immoral system—is, in the final analysis, aimed at preserving not only the economic, political and military interests of the minority racist régime but also the similar interests of all those forces that make use of that régime in their mad rush for profits. The insatiable desire to exploit the labour of others and to grab the property of other people is at the root of the policy and practice of *apartheid*. For purposes of illustration, may I mention the mere fact that, in the course of the last few years, transnational banks and corporations have granted to the Government of South Africa—at a time when that country was faced with growing economic and political crises—approximately the same amount of loans as to all the other African countries south of the Sahara taken together.

267. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the period since the last session of the General Assembly has been characterized by a fur-

ther deterioration of the situation provoked by the policy of *apartheid*. The *apartheid* régime has enacted new discriminatory and repressive laws and is continuing its policy of bantustanization of the territory. In spite of general protests, the *apartheid* régime has stepped up the persecution, arrest and assassination of its opponents. After the assassination of Steve Biko two years ago, two outstanding patriots and fighters against *apartheid*—Solomon Mahlangu and David Sibeko—have lost their lives. The appeals and protests of Governments, public organizations and outstanding individuals to spare the lives of those fighters for the principles on which our Organization is based, were of no avail.

268. Not content with resorting to increased terror and intimidation—which have been constantly intensified and escalated since the Sharpeville massacre in 1960—the racist régime of South Africa, which holds the Territory of Namibia under illegal occupation and supports the régime in Southern Rhodesia, is committing, almost every day, acts of aggression against independent sovereign African countries. Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are constantly the victims of that aggressive policy.

269. The least that we can say in describing such a policy is that it holds in utter contempt all the norms and principles of international behaviour that are woven into the United Nations Charter. A few days ago, the Security Council examined precisely the question of such acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.⁵ We feel obliged to express our dissatisfaction and disappointment at the fact that the aggression in question which, without any doubt, constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter, was not unanimously condemned by the key organ of the United Nations and that the Security Council did not recommend the taking of more effective measures for preventing similar actions in the future.

270. Of particular concern is the fact that South Africa has mastered nuclear-weapon technology. Thus, the system of *apartheid* has added one more dreadful means of mass destruction to its already existing frightful arsenal of weapons. This increases the responsibility of countries which, by co-operating with South Africa in all fields, have contributed, even if indirectly, to enabling the racist régime to master nuclear technology. It is high time that we all wake up and prevent, before it is too late, an irresponsible and aggressive régime from coming into possession of this weapon—a development that all of us might regret one day when it will be too late.

271. Conscious of their responsibility, the non-aligned countries have not only drawn attention in time to all those dangers posed by that régime but have also taken practical action with a view to limiting and eliminating the effects of misdeeds. They have always emphasized the urgent need to eradicate colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa, stressing that freedom, peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in southern Africa as long as *apartheid* as an institutionalized system of racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is not overthrown and replaced by a democratic State whose policy will be in keeping with the principles of OAU, the non-aligned movement

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year*, 2169th and 2170th meetings.

and the United Nations. This has been the position of the non-aligned countries from their first Conference, held at Belgrade in 1961, to their most recent one, held at Havana last September. In their over-all approach to the struggle against all forms of dependence and domination, the non-aligned countries have also pointed to the danger of tolerating the colonial and racist system in southern Africa, a system that has transformed the whole region into an object of strategic rivalry and struggle for influence.

272. We consider that support for the liberation struggle of peoples in southern Africa—under the leadership of the liberation movements of SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the liberation movements of South Africa—is the most effective way of eliminating the system of *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination. Of course, this does not exclude support for any other solution of those problems, provided it is based on the inalienable right of the peoples of that region to self-determination and independence.

273. Proceeding from those principles, my country advocates the taking of urgent measures, including mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, against the policy of *apartheid* as an extreme form of racial discrimination. We believe that, in addition to the arms embargo, it is indispensable to adopt other measures such as the prohibition of investments and the cessation of every form of economic, military, nuclear, political, cultural and sports co-operation with South Africa. The adoption of such measures implies also their strict application and the observance of decisions adopted in common.

274. Yugoslavia will continue to lend moral, material and political support to fighters against *apartheid* in South Africa and to the liberation movements of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front in Namibia and Zimbabwe. My country feels that in this way it can contribute most effectively not only to the uprooting of *apartheid*, colonialism, racism and racial discrimination from international life, but also to the maintenance of peace in the world—which is the basic objective both of the non-aligned movement and of the United Nations Charter. We consider this to be one of the most urgent tasks facing the United Nations, without the solution of which our professed dedication to freedom and justice will amount merely to empty words.

275. It is clear that solutions are ripe; the bases for them are acceptable and have been endorsed; broad international consensus in favour of the right to self-determination of the peoples of that region has been achieved, and the system of *apartheid* condemned. All that is left now is to translate words into deeds—and that is precisely our most urgent task at the present moment, a task to the fulfilment of which my country will devote its efforts both within the framework of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations and in its bilateral relations with the liberation movements and the front-line States.

276. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Since the creation of our Organization 34 years ago, no subject has focused the concern of the international community as has *apartheid*. None has been the object of a greater series of condemnations and judgements than those that have been

levelled against that régime. And, paradoxically, no other issue has so clearly revealed the impotence of the United Nations.

277. For three decades, in fact, the General Assembly has adopted, at times with complete unanimity except for the lone voice of South Africa, a multitude of resolutions condemning the racist régime of Pretoria in the most severe manner and acknowledging that the policies of *apartheid* constituted a crime against humanity.

278. For three decades that shameful régime, in defiance of universal condemnation, has continued to subject tens of millions of Africans to the evils of its racist policies and to pillage the wealth of the international Territory of Namibia.

279. This is the most insulting challenge ever issued to human dignity and the human condition, and especially to the dignity of the African people and to the authority and the credibility of our Organization. South Africa not only has no intention of abolishing the obsolete system of *apartheid*, in accordance with the resolutions of our Organization, but reinforces it unceasingly, and to that end has undertaken a vast movement of subversion and aggression against the neighbouring States. Only last week, the Security Council found it necessary to condemn the Pretoria régime's acts of aggression against Angola.

280. All this leads us to believe that the upholders of that odious régime are more than ever determined to fight for its survival, regardless of the cost. And it is from this standpoint that we should consider the often apparently contradictory manoeuvres of the leaders in Pretoria. Regardless of whether they consist of offers of dialogue and of economic co-operation designed to break the isolation of the Pretoria régime and to ingratiate it with world public opinion, or of attempts to eliminate within its borders the most visible ancillary manifestations of *apartheid*, the goal continues to be the maintenance of the system.

281. We know, furthermore, that Pretoria has decided to make every effort to construct around its frontiers a veritable bulwark composed of client-States and bantustans or pseudo-independent ethnic groups subject to the hegemony of the *apartheid* régime, thereby allowing it to redouble its fight against African nationalism along the shores of the Zambezi and of the Limpopo rivers.

282. We have said that this was an unprecedented challenge to the credibility of the United Nations. The question thus arises why, although we have declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity and adopted decisions and resolutions to eradicate that scourge from our society, those decisions and resolutions have remained up to the present a dead letter and *apartheid* endures and is becoming increasingly brutal.

283. Need I recall that the overwhelming majority of States Members of our Organization have supported the many measures that we have advocated to encourage the creation in that part of our continent of a fundamentally egalitarian and democratic society which would give the same opportunity of access to well-being, prosperity and happiness to all? Thus, during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, on the recommendation

of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we adopted no fewer than 15 resolutions covering practically all aspects of *apartheid*.

284. It is appropriate at this point to tender the warmest congratulations on behalf of my delegation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the effective manner in which it is discharging its heavy and delicate task under the guidance of my colleague and friend, Mr. Clark of Nigeria.

285. The very valuable information and the bold proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee give proof, if indeed proof were needed, that that body remains true to the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly in its resolution 2671 A (XXV) of 8 December 1970.

286. We are forced to note that, to our dismay, *apartheid* lives on. The very fact that this situation persists is particularly revealing of the ambivalence of States towards that scourge. There is obviously a gap between their adherence in principle to the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and their actual, real and concrete behaviour with regard to the white racist minority of Pretoria.

287. We understand that that minority takes advantage of the situation because it is convinced that it is in a favoured position in relation to the hegemonistic rivalries of the great Powers and imagines that it has made of South Africa an outpost for the defence of the vital interests and the civilization of the Western world. We would have expected the Western Powers to have been the first to condemn and firmly reject such allegations and to break off all co-operation with the racist régime which, as there is no need to stress, contributes to the strengthening of *apartheid*. Instead, over the course of the years, we have continued this debate which has become a sad ritual in which statements of intentions serve only to calm consciences, and where rhetoric, masking short-sighted interests, replaces action.

288. To justify themselves, some have often stated that a total break with South Africa and its exclusion from our Organization would throw it into dangerous isolation and thus deprive the international community of any means of exerting pressure on it to change its policies.

289. We might be willing to support that argument if we were not already familiar with the bad faith of the leaders of Pretoria and their refusal to engage in honest dialogue. We know that the Pretoria régime has decided, once and for all, that terror employed against the adversaries of *apartheid* is its best argument. We are no longer unaware of the barbarous methods—of which assassinations and mass executions have become daily events—which this racist régime has prescribed for its repressive machinery to use against the liberation movements, whose representatives are languishing by the thousands in South African gaols, where they are subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment and to tortures worthy of the Gestapo.

290. How can we hope, in those circumstances, to influence the policy of such a régime through dialogue from which are excluded the tens of millions of Africans who are the ones most concerned?

291. The truth is that the many-sided collaboration of certain States with South Africa is part of a strategy whose motivations are not always revealable. The final result is that we see that it is the interested collaboration of certain States which, directly or indirectly, allows the Pretoria régime to continue to defy international public opinion, to step up its intransigence and set itself up as a defender of white Christian and Western civilization. In addition to this, within the framework of the hegemonic rivalries which set the great Powers against one another, South Africa has become a strategic bastion for control of the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

292. All this is going on as if this state of affairs necessarily implied the maintenance and reinforcement of the *apartheid* system and as if the application of the rule of the majority represented a potential threat to Western interests and certain values preached by the countries in that part of the world. Indeed, how can one at the same time preach human rights and maintain and apparently exemplary co-operation with a régime which has institutionalized their systematic violation? This is not to say that we underestimate the efforts made by some in the last few years.

293. Therefore, we welcomed with great hope the adoption, on 20 September 1977, by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine countries of the European Community of a "Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa".⁶ That document doubtless was meant to reduce the poverty of the working masses of southern Africa and to open the way for their enjoyment of minimum trade union rights. However, we must deplore the fact that the application of that very modest step was left to the discretion of Governments and big multinational companies, of which the least that can be said is that they show no desire to displease those in control of the immense riches of South Africa and Namibia.

294. It is more than ever time that our morals should match our actions. As far as Cameroon is concerned, it has never departed from such an attitude. Constant and effective, its contribution to the struggle against racism and *apartheid* has taken the form of the adoption of many legislative, administrative and legal texts and its active participation in various international forums on that question. It will be recalled also that Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, on behalf of the whole of Africa, submitted here, on 6 October 1969, before the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa⁷ which then received the unanimous approval of our Assembly.

295. Moreover, Cameroon has signed several international conventions on *apartheid*, notably: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*], the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity [*resolution 2391 (XXIII), annex*] and the International Convention on the Suppression and

⁶ See document A/32/267, annex.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session*, 1780th meeting, paras. 2-32.

Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex].

296. Furthermore, measures have been taken and are constantly being applied by the Cameroonian Government in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and of OAU, with a view to prevent any relations with the Pretoria racists. Thus the following are prohibited: any economic or commercial exchange with the Republic of South Africa, either directly or through third parties; the entry into Cameroonian ports of ships flying the South African flag; the landing at Cameroonian airports, as well as the flying through Cameroonian air space, of aircraft coming from that country; the issuance of transit or entry visas or residence permits to nationals of South Africa or foreigners who have visited that country.

297. Lastly, my Government constantly gives assistance in many forms to the liberation movements fighting against the racist and minority régimes, mainly through financial support to those movements both through OAU and the United Nations, and Cameroonian schools and educational establishments open their doors wide to African refugees who have fled southern Africa.

298. We call on all States, without exception, to truly and resolutely engage in the struggle against that inhuman policy. The adoption of resolutions does not constitute a panacea. It is only their application that can restore to our Organization the credibility that is constantly being eroded.

299. It is from this standpoint that my delegation pledges its full support for the recommendations of the Special Committee. Our joint and resolute action should, in my delegation's opinion, come within the framework of the following priorities: first, the mobilization of international public opinion against *apartheid*; secondly, growing and multiple support for the liberation movements in southern Africa; thirdly, the denunciation of any economic, military, political, diplomatic or moral co-operation with the defenders of *apartheid*; fourthly, strict respect for the arms embargo decreed against South Africa by the Security Council and scrupulous application of that body's resolution 418 (1977); fifthly, the revoking of all licences for arms manufacture granted to South Africa; and sixthly, action which would lead the Security Council to decree a strict economic embargo against South Africa, starting with an oil embargo.

300. In conclusion, we are convinced that our Organization has no alternative but to do everything, in accordance with the powers conferred upon it by the Charter and in particular by Chapter VII, to prevent the inhuman policy of *apartheid*—whose defenders have just demonstrated their nuclear capability—from dragging mankind into an international conflict with unpredictable consequences.

301. Mr. STEPHANIDES (Cyprus): Once again, the General Assembly is meeting to consider South Africa's abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which has justifiably been described as constituting an international crime of the greatest magnitude and an affront to our civilization.

302. The annual report of the Special Committee

against *Apartheid*, which is now before us, clearly shows the important contribution made by that Committee during the past year. I therefore take this opportunity to commend highly its Chairman, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, as well as the other members of that important Committee.

303. I should also like to say that we have given careful consideration to the report, and I am pleased to state that my Government fully concurs with the Committee's conclusions and recommendations.

304. We wish particularly to emphasize the importance of the proposal that the United Nations should urgently launch an international campaign for comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime and to convene an international conference for this purpose in close co-operation with OAU.

305. Of no less importance are the recommendations on nuclear and military collaboration with South Africa, as well as on the need for increased assistance to the liberation movements and the front-line States.

306. As stated on previous occasions, Cyprus has since its independence maintained no relations whatsoever with the racist Pretoria régime. Moreover, we have tried and we shall continue to try in the future, despite our well-known present difficulties, to make our modest contribution to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the other United Nations funds for South Africa.

307. The consistent policy of Cyprus, which is based on principles and ideals, has always been in favour of taking all measures provided for in the Charter, in particular enforcement measures under Chapter VII, to bring about the speedy eradication of the evil of *apartheid*. Yet, why is it that after so many years the racist Pretoria régime finds it possible to persist in and intensify such practices of racial discrimination, even extending its aggression against neighbouring African countries and, more recently, proceeding with the reported detonation of a nuclear device? I respectfully submit that it is because of the lack of more determined action by the Security Council—through extension of the mandatory sanctions against South Africa to make them comprehensive—that the Pretoria régime seems to have been emboldened into continuing and escalating even further its sinister practices against the indigenous majority African people of Azania as well as against the peoples of the front-line States.

308. It is indeed high time for the Security Council to face up fully to its primary responsibilities under the Charter and to acknowledge more clearly its special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa, indeed towards all peoples of the world suffering oppression, racial discrimination, foreign occupation or alien domination. We the Cypriot people, in the light of our bitter experience, are in a position to understand fully what it means to be uprooted from your home and to become a refugee, what it means to be discriminated against on the sole criterion of your racial or ethnic origin.

309. We recognize the dangers emanating from the condemnable policy of bantustanization, which has culminated in the recent proclamation of the so-called independence of the bantustan of Venda, as a devious

pursuit for dividing the indigenous African people and perpetuating settler-colonialist domination. We ourselves are victims of such a policy, as demonstrated by the purported setting up of a so-called separate State on the invaded territory of our country and the importation of tens of thousands of alien settlers to usurp the homes and lands of the expelled indigenous people.

310. We indeed understand. That is why we strongly believe that the Security Council should proceed determinedly, without any further delay, to impose, apart from the arms embargo, mandatory comprehensive sanctions, in particular a full oil embargo as well as other economic sanctions against the Pretoria régime. It is only through such comprehensive and effective action by the Security Council that our resolutions and decisions will be translated into reality and the struggle of the oppressed people of Azania and the struggles of all oppressed peoples of the world will at long last be vindicated.

311. After so many years of debate, there is indeed unanimity in this Assembly about the need for the immediate eradication of the evil of *apartheid*. Scores of resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this or other situations endangering international peace and security. Those resolutions—and even unanimous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, like those adopted in regard to my country—remain totally unimplemented. Will the United Nations meet the challenge and, before it is too late, act decisively to implement those resolutions? Or will the General Assembly or the Security Council continue adopting one resolution after another without taking any corresponding action under the provisions of the Charter to bring about the due implementation of those decisions, thus encouraging the continuation and even intensification of the evils of *apartheid* and more acts of aggression? That is the challenge before us. I venture to hope that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, will meet this challenge.

312. Mr. GHAFAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): If we study closely the policies of *apartheid* practised by the racist régime in southern Africa, we cannot help feeling sadly disappointed and thinking that the civilization of the twentieth century is in recession and drifting backwards into the grim abysses of the past, causing us to slip into a new era of the Middle Ages.

313. It is natural that that image should haunt our thoughts and our minds when we witness the injustice and the oppression imposed by a racist minority on the majority of the population of southern Africa—a majority totalling about 20 million inhabitants, according to the 1978 census.

314. The policy of *apartheid* that has been practised by the Government of Pretoria for the past 50 years or so has only very superficially touched the conscience of those countries that support it. The cries of the peoples of southern Africa, who are subjected to slavery, deprivation and torture, have not reached the conscience of those countries sufficiently to awaken them from their peaceful torpor.

315. The leaders of Pretoria have until now not been able to understand how dangerous their policy of *apar-*

theid truly is, that policy which they practise with such brutality and arrogance, for they cannot envisage the day when the majority will eventually overcome the minority. History proves that oppressed peoples are ultimately victorious.

316. The racist régime has tried to throw dust in the eyes of those that have asked it to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and, to that end, they have developed a plan to create weak political entities in territories which have neither economic nor industrial viability and that are very poor from the agricultural point of view. What we are saying is not new, but it is clearly proved to us by our reading of the Tomlinson report,⁸ drafted by a commission set up by the racist régime to study certain questions concerning South African citizens and the creation of bantustans. It dates back to 1955. Yet, despite the clear conclusions arrived at by that official commission, the authorities in Pretoria continue to pursue their plan to create bantustans, without taking account of the recommendations of their own commission.

317. We all know that, ever since the Government of South Africa began to implement the bantustan plans, the objective of that policy has been twofold: first, to break up the territory of South Africa into entities, contiguous or not, claiming, by its propaganda, that they are independent States; secondly, to disperse the indigenous population of the country to poverty-stricken territories on a tribal basis, so as to remove them from the areas occupied by the white ethnic minorities, and thus to try to quench the flames of nationalism.

318. We know that the Pretoria Government actively continues to implement its programme of creating bantustans for the Africans, so as to achieve the aims which it has set for itself since the beginning.

319. The number of units scattered over the territory is 79. The racist Government has made certain proposals regarding combinations of these units according to the ethnic and cultural background of each African community, as was decided in the integration programme of 1975. According to those proposals, the number of units would be reduced to 34, since each bantustan would include a number of units occupied by the indigenous inhabitants. For example, the number of units constituting the bantustan KwaZulu was 44, but after integration took place, that figure went down to 10.

320. The South African nationalists have refused the bantustanization policy because they have seen the dangers inherent in such a policy which generally is intended to regroup the Africans in lands which represent no more than 13 per cent of the total territory of the Republic, whereas the whites control 87 per cent of the lands, the latter comprising the arable and mineral-rich areas. Furthermore, the Pretoria Government admitted one of its main aims when, in April 1978, the Prime Minister stated that Africans living in bantustans would lose their nationality and identity as inhabitants of South Africa. This doubtless meant that the true owners of the country would be foreigners in their own territory and homeland of their forefathers.

321. The facts in South Africa prove that the racist

⁸ Union of South Africa, *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa*, U.G. 61/1955 (Pretoria, the Government Printer).

régime will not cease its efforts to create bantustans to strengthen the policy of *apartheid*, particularly since the South African leaders fear the growth of the African population. A South African university professor has published a population study in which it appears that the rate of population growth of Africans was 40 per 1,000, whereas the figure for whites was 18 per 1,000. This means that the whites are increasing by 40,000 per year, whereas the blacks are increasing by half a million inhabitants per year.

322. When we talk of policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, we should demonstrate the sufferings the Pretoria régime imposes on African workers who sweat blood in order to find enough to eat for themselves and their families and not to succumb to starvation.

323. Many African workers, the majority of whom are unskilled, live on the fringes of industrial centres or agricultural areas and have emigrated from bantustans. It is estimated that about 35 to 55 per cent of the men between 25 and 64 years of age have been forced by the cruel conditions imposed on them and by poverty to emigrate to their places of work. The highest rate of emigration in the search for work has been recorded in the Transkei. Those who emigrated to look for work in the year 1972 amounted to half a million persons.

324. This shameful situation is borne out by the repeated strikes carried out by African workers demanding better wages and improved living conditions. In 1975, 119 strikes were declared, 87 of which were for a salary increase. In 1976, there were 109 strikes, and the reason behind 69 of those strikes was also a demand for better pay. We all know that the racist régime in Pretoria brutally repressed those non-violent strikes.

325. We should mention here that that Government considered all those strikes illegal, since they were not organized through contact committees which are normally appointed by factories and firms.

326. These data are irrefutable proof that the racist régime in South Africa defies the appeals made by the international community, which has for many years condemned the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms.

327. To try to escape the international rejection of its racial policy, the régime of South Africa has got into the habit of making some form of changes from time to time in matters of concern to Africans, but the world knows full well that these reforms and changes are only dust thrown into the eyes of mankind, to counter the growing awareness in African nationalist circles which are seeking to uproot the political system of *apartheid*.

328. A few days ago, the international community was particularly shocked by two reports: the explosion of a nuclear device by South Africa and the acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime against Angola.

329. These two facts give a new political dimension to the situation in the whole continent of Africa: they attest clearly to the fact that the racist régime in South Africa is determined to catch African countries, particularly the front-line States, between the devil and the deep blue sea, between the nuclear threat and its aggression against those countries which oppose its policies.

330. The major question that we have to solve is the following: what duties are incumbent upon the international community in the light of this inhuman situation prevailing in southern Africa? How can we humble the arrogance of the leaders in Pretoria towards the neighbouring States?

331. The fundamental answer that we can give is that hypocrisy must be abandoned, particularly in cases like that of *apartheid*. We are sure that many countries have taken a hypocritical position, since their acts are so much at variance with their words. They contend that they sympathize with the Africans in southern Africa, but at the same time they allow the white minority to obtain the tools of economic and military power. The latest proof of this is to be found in the special report submitted to the General Assembly by Mr. Clark, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in document A/34/22/Add.1. One of the most outstanding aspects of that report is the co-operation between Israel and the racist régime in Pretoria, particularly in economic and military matters—first and foremost, in nuclear armament. The report clearly shows the danger that Israel brings to the African continent and to the Middle East by the introduction of nuclear weapons in the two regions. There is no need to delve into the details of the Committee's report.

332. Nevertheless, the will of nations is stronger than weapons and contemporary history is full of illustrations of this for those who are willing to draw the right conclusions.

333. Mr. SKOBELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of the *apartheid* policy pursued by the racists of South Africa has been before the United Nations for many years. To citizens of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, who have been raised on the communist ideals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and happiness for all people on earth, *apartheid* is synonymous with imperialist reaction, with political and social repression and the trampling of national freedom.

334. *Apartheid*, an extreme and aggressive type of racism, has been condemned by United Nations decisions as a crime against humanity, as the most monstrous form of mass violation of human rights, and indeed as an outright threat to international peace and security. *Apartheid*, as justly emphasized by those delegations that have spoken here, is an open challenge to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

335. Yet, despite the numerous decisions of the United Nations and the demands of progressive world public opinion, the racist régime in South Africa continues stubbornly, crudely and harshly to trample upon the elementary rights of millions of indigenous inhabitants of that country. The *apartheid* régime was and remains a pillar for the imperialist and colonial Powers. *Apartheid* is wholly rooted in the colonial exploitation of the natural and human resources of the country and in the suppression of its spiritual culture by means of the imperialistic monopolies. The interests of South African and Western monopolies are very closely intertwined. In South Africa hundreds of British and American companies have set themselves up and are in operation, as are companies from many other Western countries. Their investments in South Africa amount to approximately \$25 billion, attracted, not least of all, by the

supplies of uranium ore. Their trade with racist South Africa runs into billions of dollars, and no less attractive are the profits and dividends received by the Western transnational corporations and banks. An arsenal of weapons is being amassed there which is most dangerous to the African peoples and to international peace.

336. Moreover, the transnational corporations of the Western countries are playing a leading role in extremely important branches of the South African economy, as is pointed out in the report of the United Nations Secretariat on the activities of transnational corporations in the industrial, mining and military sectors of southern Africa which states that:

"The . . . position of South Africa has been defined largely by its reliance on major developed market economies and its dominance in the southern African region."⁹

The relevant data on this are contained in numerous United Nations publications.

337. The transnational monopolies, those disguised monsters motivated by sinister goals, are playing a decisive role in the development of modern weapon systems intended for the military and repressive apparatus of South Africa. There is a special threat implicit in the military co-operation of a number of Western countries with South Africa, especially in the nuclear field. Indeed, everybody knows the goals underlying the use of the "nuclear cudgel" of the Pretoria régime. We cannot allow nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of the South African racists.

338. A very accurate description of the links between South Africa and Western imperialist circles has been given by the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, and I take the liberty of quoting just a few lines from the statement he made at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"South Africa is but a branch plant of British, American and other Western firms. It is in fact but an imperialist outpost on that continent. A recent study in the United States Congress has revealed that more than half the United States senators have shares in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa. Examine any of the prospectuses of the major firms in South Africa and you will see that most of the English 'Sirs' and 'Lords' are directors of the major South African companies."¹⁰

339. The persistence of the South African *apartheid* régime is explained primarily by the comprehensive co-operation between the major Western countries and the Pretoria racists and by the aspirations of the imperialist circles in those countries to maintain their political, economic, military and strategic positions in South Africa, to defend the interests of their monopolies and to block the national liberation movements of the African peoples in South Africa itself, in Namibia and in Zimbabwe. To that end, well-known attempts are being made to protect the *apartheid* régime from the just indignation of the African peoples and of all progressive forces of the world, and also to prevent the Security

Council from adopting effective measures against *apartheid* in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

340. The maintenance of the *apartheid* régime clearly attests to the fact that *apartheid*, as an imperialistic instrument of oppression and exploitation, is not limited to South Africa alone. *Apartheid* is a policy of counter-attack of the combined forces of colonialism and imperialism against the peoples' liberation movements. It represents the aspiration to maintain a strategic spring-board for further opposition to the overwhelming process of history. In the southern part of that huge awakened continent, we daily see how the fundamental principle of the policy of the colonialists and neo-colonialists is being carried out: it is that of "divide and rule". By acts of collusion, by resort to blackmail, bribery and demagoguery the colonialists and neo-colonialists, fearing the political union of those against whom they discriminate, have replaced chains of steel with chains of economic inequality, political pressure and psychological influence. It is there, where the human being is degraded and insulted, where his dignity is trampled upon and his political consciousness denied development, where attempts are made to prevent people from uniting in their struggle for justice, that the dangerous and perfidious mechanism of *apartheid* makes itself felt. In their fight against *apartheid*, peoples must be alert to the neo-colonialists' policy designed to split them and to sow doubt amongst them. It is here, in the southern part of Africa, that the colonialist forces have united to demonstrate their strength. The peoples must not yield. The United Nations has the obligation to take more decisive measures on their behalf.

341. The Pretoria racists, with the support and connivance of the chief Western Powers, are continuing to pursue their criminal policy. Despite United Nations decisions, South Africa continues to proceed step by step with the policy of bantustanization, creating puppet administrations composed of Africans who are, in fact, under the full control of the racist minority. In addition, it pursues the goal of splitting the 18 million Africans in South Africa, pitting one national group against another.

342. The *apartheid* forces of South Africa, intensifying their repression of the native African population, are continuing their acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States and are creating a situation that is a threat not only to the security of the African peoples, but to the peoples of the entire world.

343. The armed provocation of the Pretoria racists against neighbouring independent States demonstrates the fanatical intention of that criminal régime to escalate its aggression in an attempt to frighten and split the ranks of those who are fighting in African national liberation movements and to lure them into the trap of neo-colonialist so-called partnership. The constant provocations against neighbouring sovereign States, the establishment of puppet régimes, the threats to step up military activity, on the side of the Muzorewa-Smith régime, against the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe, all of this reveals that the Pretoria racists are becomingly increasingly aggressive.

344. Owing to the stubborn refusal of the racist régime of South Africa to end its criminal policy of *apartheid* and its aggressive acts against neighbouring African

⁹ See document E/C. 10/51.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third session, Plenary Meetings*, 58th meeting, para.72.

States, the situation in southern Africa must rightly be seen as a true threat to international peace and security. The United Nations Security Council should respond to the demands of African countries and many other countries Members of the General Assembly and should, without delay, adopt comprehensive and binding sanctions against South Africa, in keeping with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

345. We must succeed in having all States Members of the United Nations, without exception, strictly implementing the embargo on arms and weapons to South Africa. Economic sanctions, and particularly an oil embargo, must be adopted against South Africa. In addition, we should boycott the imperialistic monopolies that are co-operating with the *apartheid* régime, despite the decisions of the United Nations, and are strengthening the colonial racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

346. The Byelorussian SSR has consistently supported the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and their national liberation movements for self-determination and independence and against racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The Byelorussian SSR is a party to and observes the provisions of such important international instruments as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260 A (III), annex*], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*], the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*], and many other conventions. At the initiative of the Byelorussian SSR,¹¹ General Assembly resolution 32/122 was adopted on the protection of persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle against *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation and for self-determination, independence and social progress for their people.

347. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR commends the activities of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and it supports that Committee's report [A/34/22] to the General Assembly. The Byelorussian SSR will support any other effective United Nations measures and decisions designed to promote the full liberation of colonial and dependent peoples and to achieve the final elimination of the vestiges of all forms of colonialism, including that dangerous form of racism and racial discrimination, *apartheid*.

348. Mr. S. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): This year, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is being presented to us in a very special context. On 21 March 1979, the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year came to an end. On 22 September, slightly more than six months after the conclusion of that widespread and historic manifestation against the system of *apartheid*, which has rightly been described as a crime against humanity, we received the news of the South African nuclear test for military purposes.

349. Once again, we have an appointment with history. Yesterday, we missed that appointment. Mankind, as a result, experienced "untold sufferings", but then we

owe the Charter of the United Nations to that experience.

350. The delegation of Mali takes pleasure in extending its most sincere congratulations to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the praiseworthy efforts they have made throughout this year to expose the true nature of the odious system of *apartheid* and its goals.

351. The General Assembly is now in possession of valuable information concerning the activities that are being pursued virtually everywhere in the world on behalf of the martyr population of South Africa. The Committee's report emphasizes the scope and aims of the front formed by the supporters of *apartheid* and their allies. Fortunately, it also indicates the existence of an opposition front that is gaining strength from the ever-growing awareness of the international community with regard to the real and growing threat to peace which the system of *apartheid* represents.

352. That system has not changed either its nature or its manifestations; nor has it changed the goals it is seeking to attain.

353. The brutality with which the system of *apartheid* is attempting to destroy the movement for freedom and dignity of the non-whites in South Africa remains unaltered, as do its scorn for international morality and ethics and its expansionist ambitions.

354. The illegal régime of Pretoria has, since its creation, been notorious for its crimes, and it must pay for those crimes. It must also answer for the recent assassinations of South African patriots, among whom we sadly number such ardent defenders of freedom as Solomon Mahlangu and David Sibeko.

355. Those criminal acts, added to that of the creation of a new bantustan, perpetrated in deliberate violation of the relevant provisions of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, unquestionably indicate that the effective defence of human rights in South Africa must be the first priority.

356. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted three years after the brilliant but bloody victory of all mankind against the murderous plans of those who wished to vilify, if not destroy it. Over 30 years after the adoption of this major document concerning the dignity of man, the system of *apartheid*, which from the moment of its birth officially embraced the philosophy and political methods of nazism, still exists.

357. The Nazis are to this day pursued to the furthest corners of the world, since their atrocious crimes were declared beyond any statute of limitations. It is therefore paradoxical, anomalous and revolting that the Nazis who taunt us from Pretoria and who continue to desecrate the international conscience should not be punished with the necessary severity, especially at a time when the question of the defence of human rights is duly and insistently inscribed on the agendas of all international meetings.

358. The rejection by Pretoria of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is coupled with the rejection of the right of States to existence.

¹¹ Ibid., *Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, document A/31/395, para. 27.

359. The Security Council, the primary responsibility of which is the maintenance of international peace and security, last week adopted yet another resolution vigorously condemning South Africa for its military aggression against an African State. The frequent military attacks by the *apartheid* régime against Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and other African States are not only a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity and the security of those States, but are also designed to weaken those States and create there a political clientele, South Africa nursing the great dream of forming with Namibia an imperial entity in Africa so as subsequently to conquer the rest of the world. It would indeed be intolerably naïve to believe that Pretoria has embarked on the nuclear race simply in order to manufacture toys. Still, the question for Africa is not whether or not Pretoria possesses the atomic bomb. Africa's international responsibilities make it distasteful to participate in futile Byzantine discussions on the sex of angels. The international community will encounter great dangers if it forgets the lessons of history. At the present time, the international community is trying to establish an era of stable peace; it therefore cannot fail to ask itself what would have happened to mankind had the Nazi party survived at the beginning of the era of nuclear and inter-continental weapons.

360. As was recently reported by the Agence France-Presse for the French newspaper *Liberation*, South Africa has nuclear weapons. This tragic achievement was possible only thanks to its Western suppliers and

“The racist Doctors Strangelove of Pretoria, who are now laughing like madmen . . .”

The newspaper adds:

“Officially, all the Western States are concerned; however, without those States, there would be no nuclear weapons in the Republic of South Africa.”

361. That comment is highly significant. It should be even more so for the leaders of the victims of the final solution, who are today conniving with the South African racists.

362. The assistance given to South Africa is not only political, diplomatic and military but also economic. Paragraphs 67 to 94 of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22] contain enough information on the commercial, monetary and financial support which transnational corporations generously afford to Pretoria to make it unnecessary for us to spend time listing it.

363. The non-whites of South Africa are thus the victims of a vast and subtle plot. But, despite such a situation, this great and intrepid people will triumph in its long Calvary, because opposition to the South African front is growing stronger and developing among those who do not weigh human dignity against the preservation of selfish interests. Indeed, international mobilization against that scourge was launched just as the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year was ending.

364. During that International Year, the appeal made to States to disseminate as much information as possible about the crime of *apartheid* was well heeded. The specialized agencies of the United Nations, numerous non-governmental organizations, associations of youth, women and scholars, all were anxious to make their

contribution, however modest, to the liberation struggle of the Azanian people.

365. Reassuring news has reached us on the refusal to allow South Africa to participate in athletic events in Europe. It is to the credit of the Scandinavian countries that they broke such relations with Pretoria.

366. All Africa admires the political courage with which Sweden decided to suspend the activities of its investors in the country of *apartheid*.

367. Iranian oil no longer flows to racist South Africa. Independent Africa hails once again this major contribution of the Iranian revolution to the efforts of the international community to eliminate the scourge of the century.

368. The contribution of the people of Mali to this just fight against the racists of Pretoria could not fail to be forthcoming. The International Anti-*Apartheid* Year opened in my country under the chairmanship of the head of State, General Moussa Traore. All the administrative regions of Mali, through their regional anti-*apartheid* committees, competed among themselves zealously and ingeniously to make a success of the campaign. There is today no one in Mali who is unaware of the international scourge represented by the *apartheid* system, against which for days on end the intellectuals of the country, the workers and the artisans, the democratic and popular organizations and particularly the fervent youth, who know that it is they who are stabbed at Soweto and elsewhere, gathered to protest.

369. The more intense the fight against *apartheid*, the greater the vigilance and determination needed. The delegation of Mali therefore firmly supports all the proposals made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in the conclusion of its report. Those proposals deal, *inter alia*, with the strengthening of the mandate of the Committee, the intensification of the campaign against *apartheid*, the convening of an international conference on military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa, and the adoption by the international community of more rigorous measures to eradicate the cancer of *apartheid* once and for all.

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

370. To this end, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the permanent danger of this system of *apartheid* to the preservation and maintenance of international peace and security would be strengthened if all Member States acceded to the conventions on racial discrimination, and in particular the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*.

371. Racial discrimination in South Africa feeds on our weakness, on our imperfect analysis of the deep aspirations of peoples and of international reality. It will exist as long as we continue to evoke the pious memory of millions of people savagely massacred by the Nazis as a political slogan or to ease our conscience.

372. The challenge which we must face today is one of the most bitter facing the world. The survival of the

world requires action which does not simply consist in piling Platonic resolutions. Those already adopted against *apartheid* have resulted from the warnings expressed in Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter "With respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression". Intimidation does not pay when directed against a State that only understands the language of force and uses that language for all purposes. The non-application of strict sanctions and the non-use of force against such a State then becomes complicity. In order to remain faithful to the spirit and provisions of the Charter, the Security Council has no alternative but to be guided by the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and to adopt energetic measures to exterminate *apartheid*.

373. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, when he spoke on 10 October 1979 before this Assembly [27th meeting, paras. 43-112], referred to the urgent appeal made by the Head of State of Mali to the Powers which are supporting South Africa to help us to overcome the hateful system of *apartheid*.

374. The delegation of Mali fervently renews that appeal. Ancient Greece smiled when Cassandra predicted the baneful stages of its destiny. History will show that Mali did give warning of the imminence and seriousness of the danger of racial conflagration constituted by *apartheid*.

375. The people of Mali cannot remain indifferent to the humiliation and torture unto death of non-whites in South Africa, including valiant daughters and mothers. It cannot close its eyes to the picture, recently painted by an eminent French political personality, of maltreated children, "an obsessive image of children . . . who had known nothing of life but suffering, without even the hope of a smile". That smile must return to the poorest and remotest hut in Azania, otherwise tomorrow the death knell will sound for us all.

376. Mr. MAITHA (Kenya): Mr. President, I thank you for calling on me to take part once again in the debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

377. Many years have now passed since the United Nations started debating this item. The racist régime in South Africa continues to defy resolutions of the United Nations and world public opinion. It continues to deprive the black people of South Africa of the right to the enjoyment of their basic human rights and their inalienable fundamental freedoms. In all walks of life, the black people in South Africa have no say in the political and economic affairs which affect them. They are ruthlessly and brutally suppressed. Measures are designed and effected for the increased forceful exploitation of their labour and land. Such inhuman practices have created a climate of tension in which no one, white or black, can feel entirely free.

378. The current frenzied efforts by the racist régime in Pretoria to arm itself to the teeth, even with nuclear weapons, is clear indication that, unless fundamental changes are made in the system, the end of the road for that régime is rapidly approaching. Even the blind racists in that miserable country cannot fail to appreciate that the system cannot last. It contains the contaminating germs of self-destruction, as it is too absurd for a human society.

379. The racist régime, haunted by its evil doings, has embarked on a policy of fragmentation of the territory into a variety of bantustans. We have rejected this concept of bantustans under whatever pretext they are set up since we consider them to be a form of prison without walls within South Africa. They cannot solve the problem of racism in that country. We call for the liberation of South Africa as a whole, so that men and women of all races can enjoy the fruits of their labour on an equal basis, respecting the dignity of each and all in full freedom.

380. It should be recalled that the United Nations has, on a number of occasions, issued repeated warnings to the effect that the continuation of the practices of the policies of *apartheid* by the Government of South Africa constitutes a grave danger to the people of South Africa and to the maintenance of international peace and security. These warnings appear to fall on deaf ears. In the view of my delegation, and given these circumstances, the international community is obliged to deliver these warnings loudly, right on the doorstep of South Africa. We consider that South Africa should be totally isolated until it abandons the policies of *apartheid*.

381. South African policies of repression, persecution, intimidation and murder of innocent black people have reached a point where refuge behind the principle of non-interference in internal affairs cannot be justified. Thousands of people are sentenced to serve long prison terms purportedly for having violated the so-called Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts. Ironically, those deemed to have violated that law are only those who oppose the *apartheid* system, particularly those whose skin complexion is black. Many of those people are detained without trial and denied the right of access to their legal advisers. As though that were not enough humiliation, they are also subjected to brutal prison conditions, police brutality, harassment and even cold-blooded murder. Such inhuman treatment demands not only our strongest protests but also the highest form of censure and sanctions against the South African régime.

382. The deliberately institutionalized racism of the Government of South Africa has no parallel in the history of man. The racist régime continues to intensify in every possible way the application of its instruments of racial discrimination, segregation, oppression and suppression so as to place the black people at an even greater disadvantage in their own country. Various programmes and intrigues are continually being hatched and implemented for the unending exploitation of the human and natural resources of the country. Instruments of coercion are constantly being sharpened and improved to ensure effectiveness in their use as weapons of terror, police brutality and intimidation—all deployed under the sanction of "law", the law itself being unjust in the first place.

383. The oppressed people are always the intended victims, suffering for no other reason than that they are a proud black people and opponents of the internationally condemned system of *apartheid*. The history of the régime is drenched with innocent blood and marked by the humiliation of the black people, whose only crime is to demand the restoration of their basic and inalienable right to dignity and equality. My delegation is deeply shocked by the barbarity of the Government of the racist régime in South Africa and hopes that no one will

any longer give it encouragement in any form to maintain its oppressive system.

384. Once again, we take this opportunity to appeal to all countries which collaborate with South Africa to reconsider their position and without any reservations adopt necessary measures that would contribute meaningfully to the total isolation of the racist régime and the eradication of *apartheid*.

385. Information has come to us through the public media to the effect that the racist régime is making moves to remove so-called petty *apartheid* in public places. Such information should not confuse the international community. All along we have been calling for the total eradication of *apartheid*. For our part, we cannot allow ourselves to be deceived: the régime still pursues repressive policies based on the stereotyped dogma of racial superiority, in complete disregard of the principles of human dignity and equality as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

386. We consider such moves as half-hearted endeavours, calculated to buy time; they do not in any way address themselves to the root of the problem. The racist régime must be told in the most unequivocal terms that no such devices will serve to divert the attention of the people of South Africa from the goal of freedom and dignity. Instead of its constant manoeuvring to circumvent the real issues in question, the régime should take full measures to preserve human dignity in freedom for each and all the people of South Africa, without any distinction as to race, colour or creed. It is only in that way that the Pretoria régime can build peace in the country and create confidence among the people of South Africa.

387. All along we have been aware of South Africa's preparedness to explode a nuclear device—a matter over which we have expressed serious concern. That concern has passed unheeded by those who have been supplying South Africa with the technological know-how and assistance in the field of nuclear weapons. Now South Africa is reported to have exploded a nuclear bomb. However, to us, a bomb—nuclear or otherwise—is not of any consequence in relation to the people's determination to bring freedom to South Africa.

388. In like manner, Africa had warned against assistance being given to South Africa to arm it to an extent obviously dangerous to peace and security in the region. All previous claims that this was for the defence needs of South Africa have been exposed. The sole purpose behind South Africa's need for huge arsenals of armaments and a nuclear capability is to intimidate and carry out aggression against African States. If South Africa thinks possession of weapons of all kinds will make *apartheid* survive, it is wrong. Needless to say, the possession of such weapons, while they may intimidate, will not—and I repeat "not"—allow *apartheid* to survive, will not stop the struggle for dignity and equality in South Africa.

389. In the light of the unending misery and deprivation visited upon our people in South Africa and mindful of the unceasing brutality and ruthlessness of the white racist régime and its obstinate defiance of the international community on all matters pertaining to southern Africa, Kenya is resolved to continue its resolute support to the liberation movements of South

Africa in all ways within its ability, and calls upon all other States to join together in the fight against *apartheid* until the racist régime abandons the evil system. We express the hope that all clandestine co-operation in trade, armaments, nuclear technology and other forms of collaboration with the régime will be brought to an end.

390. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm Kenya's strong opposition to the practice of the policies of *apartheid* which is a crime against humanity. We further wish to reaffirm our unreserved support of all the resolutions of the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned movement pertaining to the fight against the practices of *apartheid*. We consider that the Government of South Africa should not be accorded any passport of respectability unless it can institute the internal policy changes necessary to abolish effectively the practice of *apartheid*.

391. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly quite justifiably considers *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity and a true threat to international peace and security. And it is within this context that the United Nations has already adopted numerous resolutions with regard to the *apartheid* policy of the racist South African Government. And yet the system of *apartheid* becomes stronger every day. South Africa has in fact hardened its policy of repression and exploitation of the people of South Africa and is strengthening its military arsenal and continuing its programme of acquisition of nuclear weapons and its policy of armed aggression against Namibia and the independent neighbouring States of the region.

392. The question therefore arises as to what South Africa considers to be its justification for spurning the international community and continuing to hurl this challenge at the United Nations. In the opinion of the delegation of Burundi, the system of *apartheid* is maintained, first of all, because of the persistence of the racial prejudices of the organizations of the extreme right which are the heirs of fascism and nazism; secondly, because of the various forms of co-operation extended to South Africa by the West; thirdly, because of the policy of domination with regard to Africa which is still being fostered by certain Western Powers; and, finally, because of the ineffectiveness of our Organization brought about by the abuse of the right of veto in the Security Council.

393. The policy based on racial superiority has caused a great deal of blood to flow in the world. So many millions of innocent human beings have been sacrificed and massacred because of racial prejudice! The modern society to which we belong has seen the horror of the scourge of war, which, in the very words of the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, brought untold sorrow to mankind in the course of a lifetime. It was precisely in order to preserve succeeding generations from that scourge that the peoples of the earth, united by the terrible experience of the Second World War, decided to turn the page of that dark period, which had been dominated by the theory of racial superiority, and to found an Organization based on the ideals of justice, peace and equality. Unfortunately, one of the States signatories to the Charter of the United Nations was South Africa itself, whose most odious racism has been channelled into a system of government. Thus, this Organization has from its inception

carried within itself the seed of its weakness and, perhaps, of its destruction.

394. The States Members were not slow in realizing this. Therefore, they should have set to work for the elimination of *apartheid*, that product of nazism. Vigorous action on the part of all Member States would have been decisive in this matter. Those who nourished that hope had forgotten that racial prejudices had not been eradicated at the end of the war. With the passage of the years, neo-Fascist organizations catered to these feelings of racial discrimination and finally gained support for their cause in many circles. It is the action of those organizations, we believe, that underlies the support that certain Western countries have given South Africa. It is that rebirth of nazism that makes possible the recruitment of mercenaries to serve in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

395. Some might think that our point of view is exaggerated. I would venture to ask them the following questions. How is it that the Governments that co-operate with the racist régime of South Africa in economic, military and even nuclear spheres are not incensed by — and do not put an end to such co-operation with — a régime which murders an entire people because of the colour of its skin, while these same Governments do not hesitate to intervene, with their regular armed forces, in so-called humanitarian operations designed to save the lives of their own citizens? What would be the attitude of those same Governments if the policies of repression and exploitation that afflict South Africa were to be practised by the Coloured races against the whites? Do you think that those same Governments would advocate non-violence and recommend moderation? The answer is surely in the negative. Why should that position be so fundamentally different?

396. When fascism and nazism swept over Europe all the peace-loving and freedom-loving forces joined together to combat those régimes by all means at their disposal and at any price. The Western Powers did not even hesitate to appeal to the Soviet Union to ensure their survival. Why then should the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, who are the victims of the most barbarous persecution, be condemned and rejected by certain countries of the Western world when they turn to the socialist countries in order to free themselves from their oppressors?

397. We know that in South Africa the fundamental freedoms and the most elementary rights do not exist for the Coloureds and the blacks. How is it that Governments can declare themselves champions of human rights, yet lack the courage to put an end to the summary executions — which take place daily under the South African régime — of the innocent and the old, of women and of defenceless children?

398. I shall venture to ask one last question which touches on the nuclear collaboration of certain Western Powers with South Africa. Is it not surprising that assistance of such a nature as to permit the acquisition of nuclear weapons should be given to a régime that is the very negation of the universal values of man and of the idea of equality among the races and that is today the very incarnation of Nazi and Fascist ideas? Is it not time to renew our oath at San Francisco to work together for a future society based on the solidarity of humanity and on equality among men and peoples? In

saying this, I am not unmindful of the great difficulties that must be surmounted in order to achieve that aim, especially in South Africa.

399. Indeed, apart from the racial prejudices, which are at the root of the policy of certain States on the question of *apartheid*, there are the powerful, even colossal, economic and strategic interests of certain Western Powers.

400. I do not intend to draw up an account of the huge benefits that those Western Powers get from their investments in South Africa. Pertinent United Nations reports give us quite an exact idea. But my delegation would like to draw the attention of the international community to the grave consequences of these activities of foreign economic and other interests in which certain Western countries or certain multinational companies from the Western World are involved.

401. There can be no doubt that it is thanks to those investments and that many-sided co-operation that the system of *apartheid* survives and gets stronger. As a result, that régime will not be brought down until the Security Council has decreed binding economic sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the terms of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

402. Certain Member States are opposed to the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter. Many kinds of argument are invoked: first of all, the ineffectiveness of those measures. Indeed, some delegations say, the international community has not fully succeeded in applying the sanctions decreed against Southern Rhodesia, even though its geographical position is better suited to control.

403. That argument cannot convince us, because it is those same States that are violating the sanctions and obstructing the Security Council in order to prevent it from extending the sanctions.

404. Other delegations would have us believe that investments by foreign companies in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are of benefit to the local population and the countries in the region. To decree economic sanctions under those conditions would jeopardize the improvement of the working conditions of Coloured workers, who would thus be deprived of wages. Economic sanctions against South Africa would also strangle the economies of those countries bordering South Africa.

405. In our opinion, those arguments should be rejected, for reasons which seem obvious to us. First, those foreign companies which work in South Africa have to conform to the laws in force. In addition, those companies have no other aim but to accumulate and repatriate as soon as possible the considerable profits made thanks to the exploitation of the human resources and the pillage of the natural resources of those countries. This is confirmed by the fact that those companies have been working in South Africa for a long time without giving rise to any change.

406. As far as the protection of the economies of the countries in the region is concerned, those Member States that are worried about the prosperity of those countries would do well to abstain from co-operating in the military and nuclear field with a country that con-

stantly carries out acts of armed aggression against the countries of the region. The Governments of the countries of the region are thus compelled to devote their very meagre resources to ensuring the survival of their peoples and their national independence. This is because, without security, there is neither development nor prosperity.

407. Perhaps certain delegations have agreed in good faith to consider the grounds of these various arguments. But what explanation can there be in the light of the consternation of the international community at the announcement of the possible nuclear explosion by South Africa on 22 September 1979?

408. The collaboration of certain Western countries with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields has given the criminal Pretoria régime a very powerful modern army with the most sophisticated and destructive means of warfare. This co-operation has also allowed South Africa to acquire nuclear capability. South Africa is capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons and also possesses a perfected delivery system. According to the report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa:

“South Africa could easily deliver a nuclear device by any of the several aircraft in its air force and it also had access to various rocket and missile systems.”¹²

409. This nuclear potential will be strengthened in the future thanks to the co-operation of certain Western Powers. That assistance, or rather complicity, in South Africa's policy of nuclear-weapon acquisition is concentrated in a certain number of nuclear installations or collateral industries, such as the Safari-1 and Safari-2 reactors, the Koeberg nuclear reactors, the pilot uranium-enrichment plant which has been operating in South Africa since 1975 and the Rössing uranium installations.

410. Of course, as is clearly shown in the report I have just mentioned, this collaboration has taken many forms. It is a chain co-operation, where each link is necessary in order to achieve the goal aimed at by South Africa, namely the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Thus certain States can deny that they have helped South Africa in its nuclear weapons programme. It is not for me to question the sincerity of those Governments. It might even be imagined that those States had supplied enriched uranium to South Africa, opened their nuclear installations to South African experts, sent their own experts to set up installations and financed the major part of them in all good faith. But in that case they must realize that South Africa has taken advantage of their trust, because it has proved to the world that it is resolutely engaged upon a programme for the acquisition of nuclear weapons.

411. That is why, in order to be logical, the page of co-operation with South Africa must be turned once and for all. This change in the policy of co-operation with South Africa is absolutely indispensable if we are to remove this threat weighing on the South African people, the front-line States, on Africa and on the world.

¹² See, *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13/57, para. 60.

412. That is why we appeal to those Western Powers to put a stop to their co-operation with South Africa. We ask those countries to divorce themselves from the policy of domination and exploitation followed by South Africa. Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, the President of the Republic of Burundi, was speaking to those countries which co-operate with the racist régimes of southern Africa when, addressing the General Assembly on 26 September 1979, he said:

“In particular we call upon Member States which maintain various relations with those racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa to review their policy which, in any case, is in quite clear contradiction with their own system of government and their statements in the United Nations. At a time of co-operation between States and of interdependence it is incomprehensible that millions of human beings should be sacrificed on the altar of strategic and economic interests, interests that are futile, because sooner or later the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe will become the true masters of their own countries and resources.” [9th meeting, para. 37.]

413. May that message be heeded by all Member States, in particular those which, through their right of veto in the Security Council, prevent the United Nations and the whole international community from isolating that *apartheid* régime rejected by mankind.

414. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of my Government, to pay tribute to the South African people who, led by its national liberation movement, has already won victories in its long struggle to recover its dignity and freedom.

415. Mr. IBRAHIM (Malaysia): Ever since the question of *apartheid* was raised at the United Nations, as long ago as 1946, there has been considerable discussion and deliberation on the subject with a view to finding effective measures to eliminate the oppressive system. The number of resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly every year on this single item reflects the continuing concern of the international community over a problem which has defied solution for so many years.

416. Malaysia deplores the policy of oppression and discrimination practised in South Africa, which is highly dangerous and potentially disastrous. Indeed, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has pointed out the grave and imminent threat not only of an escalation of racial conflict within South Africa but also of a wider conflict in the entire region with the gravest possible international repercussions. The marked increase in violence within the territory is only natural, for it reflects the deep resentment against an abnormal situation. The freedom fighters have no choice but to resort more and more to armed resistance in an endeavour to bring down the *apartheid* régime in order to assert their fundamental human rights. The Malaysian delegation supports their just struggle and is convinced that, unless the South African Government undertakes to change its *apartheid* system, more violence will erupt. Unfortunately however, South Africa has not shown any willingness to embark on a change. It is encouraged in this respect by the lack of political will, on the part of some Member States, to support United Nations resolutions, particularly those

which call for an end to all collaboration with the racist régime.

417. It is a matter of regret that such collaboration is continuing in the economic, military and nuclear fields, which only serves to strengthen the *apartheid* régime, enabling it to resort to more blatant acts of repression in order to perpetuate its white racist minority rule and further the interests of the minority. This collaboration constitutes the main obstacle to efforts by the international community to liquidate the *apartheid* system and all its evil manifestations. In its report to the General Assembly, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has drawn attention to the fact that any collaboration with the racist régime constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa. It encourages the racist régime to persist in its repressive and aggressive policies, seriously aggravating the situation and thereby threatening international peace and security.

418. Indeed, reports have shown very clearly that the racist régime, instead of relenting, is resorting to more brutal and ruthless repressive measures. These measures, together with intensified acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, carry very serious consequences for the peace and security of the whole region of southern Africa.

419. Very recently this Assembly heard of a report of a possible nuclear explosion by South Africa. This is most disturbing not only to the people of South Africa but also to the world as a whole. A report by the Secretary-General on the subject is being awaited. In any case, one thing is clear: nuclear collaboration by countries which possess the technology continues to take place in total disregard of world opinion. That, together with South Africa's success in circumventing the mandatory arms embargo, which makes it possible for the racist régime to receive outside arms, aggravates the situation to alarming proportions. The international community must remain seized of the potential threat to the stability and security of African States in the region, caused by the military build-up. Every pressure must therefore be exerted against all those who continue to collaborate with South Africa. Public opinion must be mobilized in those countries concerned to create greater awareness of the evils and the indignity of *apartheid*, in order to force an end to such collaboration. In this respect, the Malaysian delegation strongly supports the call for the strengthening of the Centre against *Apartheid*.

420. My delegation extends its full support to the recommendations made in the report of the Special Committee and would like to assure this Assembly of its continued interest in seeing the success of the struggle of our oppressed brothers and sisters in South Africa against *apartheid*. My country is proud to be associated with the work of the Special Committee and we shall continue to do our share in order to ensure an end to the oppressive policy.

421. Before concluding, I wish to reaffirm our full support for all efforts of the United Nations to mobilize public opinion against *apartheid*, to promote action in the campaign to isolate the *apartheid* régime and to render assistance to the freedom fighters in South Africa in their struggle to achieve freedom and equality and establish a non-racial society. We express our full solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with the political prisoners, whose just cause has

won the sympathy and support of the international community.

422. Mr. ESPECHE GIL (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My country's clear and firm position on the question of *apartheid* has been stated on numerous occasions in this and other international forums. Moreover, that position has been accompanied by a series of measures adopted in keeping with the recommendations of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Security Council which demonstrate Argentina's unshakable support for the struggle of the international community against *apartheid*. As has so often been said, the *apartheid* system violates the principles and purposes of the United Nations and is offensive to the conscience of mankind. Therefore, its total eradication constitutes one of the most important and compelling moral and political challenges of our time.

423. To face this challenge successfully, we must mobilize the international community and, more specifically, it is imperative that the United Nations should adopt effective and immediate measures to support the oppressed people of South Africa.

424. Such measures have been repeatedly proposed in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly, including resolution 33/183. By those decisions the overwhelming majority of countries represented here have made urgent appeals to the Security Council, the only organ that is empowered by the United Nations Charter to impose binding sanctions against a State, to formalize international pressure on South Africa.

425. The continued inability of the Security Council to act in the manner indicated by the General Assembly has led the international community to continue debating in limbo resolutions on possible programmes, without any chance of giving effect to concrete measures. We know that that situation is a result of the constant blocking by certain States of the Security Council's decision-making capacity. It is also a known fact that those countries have been repeatedly criticized by the General Assembly, which has considered them South Africa's main support in the international community.

426. It is true that the Security Council did adopt an important resolution, namely 418 (1977), which imposed a binding embargo on the sale of weapons to South Africa. But it is equally true that, while that decision is a very useful instrument, it is on its own inadequate and should be reinforced by additional measures such as those proposed in resolutions 33/183 E, G, H, M and O. These measures are all the more urgent since recent news speaks of a significant increase in the growth of the military offensive-defensive capacity of South Africa and the possibility that a nuclear device may have been exploded in maritime areas close to southern Africa. These are matters of the deepest concern to the international community, and it is essential that South Africa be convinced that any action it may take in this field will spark an immediate reaction in the international community.

427. The Argentine Government, true to its tradition of full compliance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the international commitments undertaken, offers assurances of its best efforts to ensure full implementation, within its jurisdiction, of any binding

decisions which the Security Council may adopt to put an end to the threat to international peace and security that exists in southern Africa.

428. This readiness by the Argentine Government was officially made known in a communiqué addressed to the Secretary-General on 20 June 1979,¹³ in response to a request for information from the President of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

429. In that note, which was circulated as a document to the Committee, we also reaffirmed Argentina's will faithfully to fulfil all decisions of the General Assembly regarding other aspects of the struggle against *apartheid* and we outlined a series of important measures we had adopted to that end. Furthermore, the note ratified Argentina's support for the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa, set forth my country's concern over the situation of political prisoners and reaffirmed our repudiation of the policy of bantustanization carried out by the authorities in Pretoria.

430. Moreover, the note mentioned the financial assistance given by Argentina to a number of bodies dealing with the situation in southern Africa and the decision of the Argentine Government to participate officially in the International Year against *Apartheid*.

431. That communication is only further proof of our firm support for the important activities carried out by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, whose effectiveness does not require stressing. As we have contended in other forums, the Committee is an extremely important instrument in mobilizing world public opinion against *apartheid* and in disseminating information about the unjust situation prevailing in South Africa.

432. I do not wish to end my statement without repeating our appeal to the South African authorities to act with an historical sense of responsibility and political realism and adopt urgently all the measures necessary to reverse the situation of profound social and political injustice that prevails in that country—a situation which pits those authorities against the States of Africa and the rest of the international community.

433. Such a change in attitude as well as the maintenance of the careful and responsible position adopted by the leaders of the African majority are indispensable if the situation created by the policies of *apartheid* is to be solved in a peaceful and concerted fashion. It is obvious that the negotiated solution would not only spare the lives of the people of southern Africa and the resources they need for their development, but would also avoid the dangers of a grave conflict, whose consequences would affect not only those regions, but other regions of the world.

434. Mr. BLOMBERG (Finland): The essence of the question of *apartheid* is the issue of human rights. When we say this, we must keep in mind the fact that one of the main purposes of the United Nations is to promote and to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

435. These ideals of the Charter have not been fully

implemented anywhere. Yet to single out the policies of South Africa year after year, as we do, is justified, because *apartheid* constitutes the most systematic and massive violation of human rights anywhere and is therefore the most direct challenge to the very basis of this Organization. That is why it is the solemn duty of the United Nations to do whatever can be done to put an end to such policies. The United Nations is the only instrument by which this can be done peacefully.

436. Once again, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* gives us graphic evidence of the intransigence of the South African Government in its defiance of the international community. We have not forgotten the events of Sharpeville and Soweto, or the death of Steve Biko. Since then, the South African Government has executed Solomon Mahlangu, in spite of world-wide protest and appeals for clemency by many Governments, including my own. It has also continued the universally condemned policy of bantustanization through the creation of another unviable homeland, Venda. Oppression within the country has been compounded by repeated acts of aggression committed by the Government of South Africa against Angola and other neighbouring States. It is to their credit that, in spite of this, those States have continued their untiring efforts to promote peaceful change in southern Africa.

437. These acts by South Africa follow a cruel yet logical pattern: they are the inexorable consequences of racism when institutionalized and elevated the status of an official State philosophy. An economic and political system based on a massive and systematic denial and deprivation of human rights cannot but breed violence.

438. Is it not obvious that a State built on the repression of many for the benefit of few cannot but live in constant fear and in the agonizing knowledge of its own moral weakness? That weakness cannot be masked by the build-up of military strength, even if that strength were to be buttressed by nuclear-weapon capability or the threat of the acquisition of such capability. By a decision adopted by the General Assembly at its 47th meeting [*decision 34/404*], the Secretary-General has been requested to make an immediate inquiry into reports that South Africa may have conducted an atomic explosion. But there is another dimension to this problem. It demonstrates once again the importance of an effective Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the dangers that follow nuclear co-operation without sufficient safeguards, particularly with countries whose intentions are already under justified doubt.

439. The world community has not stood idly by in the face of South African policies. The mandatory arms embargo was an historic decision because it was the first time that the Security Council—by its resolution 418 (1977)—had applied sanctions against a Member State of the United Nations. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, had advocated such a step, having itself scrupulously applied a voluntary arms embargo for more than a decade before.

440. The measures adopted by the international community so far are clearly not enough. For their part, the Nordic countries are in constant search for new possibilities of concerted international action against *apartheid*. In 1977 the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic

¹³ See document A/AC.115/L.513.

countries decided to establish a working group for the elaboration of further practical measures for that purpose. On the basis of its recommendations, the Foreign Ministers have adopted a joint Nordic programme of action against South Africa. One of the measures included in this programme—and advocated by the Nordic countries since 1977—is designed to prevent new foreign investments in South Africa, and this work will continue.

441. While the United Nations must make every effort to increase pressure against South Africa in order to

make it abandon its inhuman policies of *apartheid*, the international community must at the same time provide assistance to the victims of those policies. The Finnish Government, for its part, has given such humanitarian assistance through, *inter alia*, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid*. We shall continue to do so.

The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.