



CONTENTS

Page

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..... 1159

President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 28

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

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1. Mr. AL-GHAFFARI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The *apartheid* policy practised by the South African régime, and the pursuance of that policy despite international condemnation and the peace efforts made by the international community in the United Nations and in other international bodies, leave only one alternative to this Organization—namely, application of the sanctions provided for in the Charter.

2. In our view, this question calls for a collective solution on the part of the international community. That solution will be brought about only through the combined efforts of all countries that sincerely believe in the right of all peoples to freedom and dignity, without distinction as to colour. We agree with previous speakers who have said that all Member States, and especially the Western States, should undertake to implement the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in order to isolate that régime, and to apply economic and political sanctions that would be effective and positive and replace declarations of intent by practical measures of dissuasion.

3. The barbaric policies practised by the racist régime in Pretoria, in Rhodesia and in occupied Palestine are the vestiges of colonial thinking and represent one of the worst forms of exploitation of man by man in our time.

4. The United Nations Charter is very clear on this subject. Its legislators established therein respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all

peoples, without distinction as to race, language or religion.

5. The inhuman conditions of life and health that are the lot of the majority of the population in southern Africa living under the yoke of foreign occupation and oppression, and especially the freedom fighters who are in prisons or in concentration camps, are a disgrace to all the racist régimes and their allies, and they unveil the mask behind which those régimes seek to conceal their real intentions. The continued flouting by the racist régime of the Charter and international conventions calls for urgent decisions and measures by the United Nations, in order that the right of South Africa to self-determination be affirmed and in order to ensure that all peoples fighting for independence may achieve it.

6. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, compels us to give some thought to the number of Members of the United Nations at the time the resolution was adopted and to the present size of the membership. The difference in those figures shows the extent of the invincible will of peoples to achieve independence, self-determination and sovereignty.

7. This increase in the membership of the United Nations shows that small peoples are able to defend their sovereignty and freedom and, at the same time, to participate, in a positive manner, in the elaboration of international relations on democratic bases. It is for that reason that we reaffirm our conviction that the experience of most of the peoples who acceded to independence will no doubt be shared by the people of southern Africa, and that will put an end to all racist colonial régimes.

8. The Pretoria Government continues daily its direct acts of aggression against Botswana and Mozambique, and it recently conducted a nuclear explosion, which represents a danger not only to the security and sovereignty of neighbouring countries but also to the independence of the African continent and its security, as well as to world peace and security. With that explosion, the racist Government in Pretoria has sought to show that it can practise hegemony on the African continent, and it has thus continued to flout the United Nations Charter, international conventions and United Nations resolutions.

9. The Yemen Arab Republic asks all States that still maintain relations with the racist régime to respect the boycott decision and it asks all States to continue to apply resolution 418 (1977) of the Security Council concerning an arms embargo. We are convinced that application of such sanctions would suffice to put an end to the practice of *apartheid*.

10. My Government pays tribute to the Government of Sweden, which has enacted a law prohibiting all

Swedish enterprises from investing in racist South Africa, and we also pay a tribute to the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has stopped exporting oil to South Africa.

11. In this connexion, we wish to refer to the claims made by the representative of the Zionist entity in his statement yesterday [58th meeting] concerning the trade of gold and oil with the South African régime. That statement does not deserve an answer. The history of relations between the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes is well known and has been thoroughly documented by the United Nations. The agreement signed between the two racist régimes on the question of scientific co-operation and the development of nuclear weapons is the greatest proof that the claims of the Zionist representative were untrue. We are convinced that our Assembly will not be deceived by the desperate attempts of the representative of Israel to sow discord. This Assembly has already clearly given its views in its resolution condemning zionism as a form of racism.

12. The Arab States, whether oil producers or not, firmly maintain their position of support for United Nations resolutions condemning racial discrimination, including zionism, and we should like to refer now to the resolution, adopted by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, prohibiting the sale or export of oil to South Africa.

13. The efforts made by members of this Organization to isolate those racist régimes and to apply sanctions against them will expedite the downfall of those régimes, but only if such efforts are intensified.

14. The continuance and the very existence of racist régimes in southern Africa constitute an affront to human conscience. The occupation of Namibia and the continuance of the unlawful régime in Rhodesia constitute the facets of the struggle between the nationalist forces fighting for national independence and the colonialist régimes that seek to repress and destroy the freedom of peoples.

15. In conclusion, we wish to pay tribute to the memory of the martyrs who have fallen in the cause of freedom, justice and a better future for their countries and their neighbours.

16. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): The position of Jamaica on the evil and inhuman system of *apartheid*, and our strong condemnation of the racist régime of South Africa, have been stated and reaffirmed on many occasions before the General Assembly. We continue to hold that the elimination of *apartheid* and the liberation of the oppressed majority in South Africa constitute the greatest and most pressing challenge facing the United Nations. This challenge can only be met by resolute and united international action and an effective campaign to isolate the *apartheid* régime. But the tide of the verbal opposition to *apartheid*, which has been expressed year after year at the General Assembly, has not been matched by action to bring about the desired results. The *apartheid* régime not only has continued to exist, but it has continued to flourish in mockery of our principles. This situation is caused by the continued collaboration of certain Member States, particularly Western countries, with the racist régime of South Africa. The consequences of such collaboration in strengthening the hand

of the *apartheid* régime and enabling it to perpetuate its criminal policies have been stressed time and time again in debates and resolutions of this Assembly.

17. Developments over the past year have demonstrated anew the dangerous consequences of collaboration in all its forms. The recent investigations, which resulted in the so-called information scandal in South Africa, have revealed significant elements of South Africa's overseas strategy. They reveal a well organized and well financed programme of covert operations in Western countries to spread racist propaganda through infiltration of the mass media, and to encourage and provide financial support for racist groups and organizations in these countries. What has been revealed publicly is only the tip of the iceberg, but it is clear from that alone that South Africa is using its remaining overseas contacts to promote its own ideology of racism by covert operations.

18. Recent reports have also indicated the dangerous results of collaboration in the nuclear field. Despite the numerous warnings and appeals issued on the subject, the persistence of nuclear collaboration with South Africa has now yielded its bitter fruit. It is now widely acknowledged that South Africa has acquired nuclear capability and evidence has been brought to our attention that South Africa may have exploded a nuclear device on 22 September. The dangerous implications of South Africa's acquisition of the nuclear bomb can hardly be exaggerated, and those whose assistance contributed to this result must bear the responsibility for all its consequences. Jamaica continues to urge, even at this late stage, the complete cessation of nuclear co-operation with South Africa, in particular the termination of all exports of nuclear material and technology and an end to the exchange of scientists and scientific data in the nuclear field. This should be achieved by broadening the terms of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) to prohibit all nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

19. Further action is also necessary to terminate collaboration in other areas. South Africa has continued to step up its brutal repression of the black majority in South Africa and has continued to launch criminal acts of aggression against black African States, particularly against Angola and Zambia. These criminal acts not only are to be condemned, they have to be stopped. Jamaica believes that the international community should bring its full pressure to bear by terminating all forms of economic collaboration with the *apartheid* system. Further investment in South Africa should be halted and existing investments withdrawn. We are encouraged by recent developments that have increased the effectiveness of the oil embargo against South Africa, especially the decision by the Government of Iran to cease oil shipments to South Africa. We also urge that measures be adopted to ensure the cutting off of all sources of trans-shipment of oil to South Africa.

20. My delegation has examined the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/34/36], and we have taken note of the significant progress the *Ad Hoc* Committee has made in the drafting of that convention. We believe that the conclusion of such a convention would be a valuable contribution to the overall campaign against *apartheid*, and it is our earnest hope

that the *Ad Hoc* Committee will be able to complete its work during the 1980 session and present a draft convention for the consideration of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

21. Finally, Jamaica supports the proposal for an international conference on sanctions against South Africa that has been put before this Assembly. We believe that such a conference, action-oriented and focusing on the kind of action that is now urgently needed, will be an important contribution to the international campaign against *apartheid* that must now be intensified.
22. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Since the debate on this item of our agenda has been going on for the past few days, and since the subject has been so adequately covered by previous speakers, I shall be very brief.
23. My delegation has studied the reports on the policies of *apartheid* [A/34/22 and Add.1] and on the recent developments in South Africa that were so ably presented to this Assembly by the Rapporteur and the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. It is therefore with a profound and renewed sense of indignation and outrage that my delegation takes the floor to express very briefly the full support and solidarity of the Government and people of Ethiopia with the victims of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and the concerted efforts aimed at its complete eradication.
24. Mankind has throughout the ages endured oppressive social systems, ranging from the crudest forms of slavery to the most sophisticated forms of exploitation, and has continuously struggled to break the chains of bondage. In this broad spectrum of man's fight for freedom, the saga of the oppressed people of South Africa is indeed one of the most tragic. These are people that are held in bondage by a régime that has skillfully combined all the worst elements of the most inhuman systems of oppression and exploitation ever devised by man into a diabolic system based on the repugnant concept of racial superiority and pursued by a psychopathic white majority, aided and abetted by international imperialism.
25. The plight of the African masses under *apartheid* has no parallel in history. The systematic persecution, repression and torture of innocent people, murder and destruction, inhumanly uprooting and dispossessing people of their land, liberty and life, are what *apartheid* thrives on. In short, *apartheid* is one word and system combining the oppressive and exploitative characteristics of slavery, feudalism, despotism, oligarchy and fascism.
26. Having perfected its oppressive apparatus in South Africa itself, the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria embarked on a frantic campaign aimed at extending its odious policy to other territories in the region. It has illegally occupied Namibia and is incessantly engaged in manoeuvres aimed at obstructing the decolonization of Zimbabwe. It has, with arrogance and impunity, breached the peace by violating the territorial integrity of independent African States and committing acts of aggression against the front-line States.
27. That is not all. The *apartheid* régime is today attempting to threaten and to blackmail the entire continent of Africa and, indeed, international peace and security, with its newly acquired nuclear capability. Thus, the menace posed by the racist régime of South Africa has now assumed ominous proportions beyond any description.
28. All this has taken place despite our best efforts. We have individually and collectively in this Assembly rejected and condemned *apartheid* as an affront to the international community. We have condemned it as a blot on the conscience of mankind. We have condemned it as an insult to our dignity as human beings, we have condemned it as a crime against humanity and as a threat to peace and security. We have all agreed on the imperative necessity of its immediate and complete eradication from the face of the earth. Yet, far from being eradicated, the architects of *apartheid* are becoming more and more entrenched. In utter disregard of international public opinion, they continue to molest millions of Africans, to plague our conscience and to threaten the world with a race war of ominous proportions.
29. Where does the fault lie? Is it in our perception of the dangers posed by this evil system? No. The issue is crystal clear and the remedies have been prescribed time and again by this Assembly and others. Therefore, I need not elaborate on this. What is seriously lacking is the commitment by those who have chosen to put profits before principles and morality. The fault lies in the failure of the major Western Powers to translate into action the principles they so eloquently enunciate here.
30. The main culprits are the transnational corporations of Britain, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and other Western countries, who pump funds in the form of new investments and continue to rip off windfall profits at the expense of the vast majority of people in southern Africa. The major responsibility for the demise of the African people — and the dire consequences which the continuation of *apartheid* would entail for international peace and security — therefore lies with the Governments of the major Western Powers. Those who have made South Africa an integral part of their economy by investments, by trade, by loans and export credit guarantees, are the ones who could take effective action to prevent the impending racial holocaust.
31. Their military assistance and nuclear collaboration with South Africa should not only be stopped forthwith, but must also be immediately outlawed.
32. To this end, my delegation joins all those who have lent their support to the measures outlined in the reports submitted to this Assembly by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.
33. Mr. MacKAY (Canada): Once again, we, in this Assembly, are faced with the question of *apartheid*. My Government deeply regrets the continued existence of that abhorrent system. *Apartheid* is an anathema. It is an affront to all mankind. Its existence belies the pretence to civilized conduct and respect for basic human rights in the Republic of South Africa.
34. The litany of abusive legislation now in place and of the degrading treatment being meted out to South Africa's majority population does not become any

shorter in this annual debate. The continuing objective of the *apartheid* system remains clear. While its stated objective is separate development, it means in practice the preservation of economic and social privilege for a white minority, dependent upon the subservience of the majority. It should be noted in this regard that our support and encouragement go out to all those who suffer under the system: to the black population, to the Coloured and Indian populations who suffer the effects to a somewhat different degree, and to all those whites inside South Africa who oppose *apartheid* and thereby risk abuse of their own human rights.

35. The inevitability of change in the situation in South Africa must have some effect on the fortress mentality of the South African Government. The pressures exerted by the international community through debates in this Assembly, and through such activities as those of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, do appear to have had some effect. Steps are being taken by the Government in South Africa towards the alleviation of some of the more overt strains of petty *apartheid*. Although, of course, the theory and practice still continue, we must acknowledge these as positive steps, however small. At the same time we realize all too clearly that they are only minor steps in the essential journey of change that is required.

36. In Namibia, there has been a response to clear international pressures, as may be seen from the removal of the statutory basis for discrimination on racial grounds. Yesterday it was reported in South Africa that the opposition Progressive Federal Party, which is anti-*apartheid*, won a by-election in the Johannesburg suburb of Edenvale. The addition of one voice in Parliament to the anti-*apartheid* movement should not be dismissed as insignificant for it is a clear indication of growing support amongst the voting population for meaningful change.

37. The fundamental change now long overdue in South Africa will occur not so much as a result of any comment or action on our part, but in direct response to the pressures which exist within South African society. The role of the international community in that change will be subsidiary to that of the people of South Africa. We can and shall continue to give them our moral support. We shall, furthermore, continue to evaluate possibilities for international pressures which will give support to those of whatever racial origin in South Africa who seek to bring about change within that society. We all agree: it is inevitable that change will occur. The question is how and when it will be accomplished, whether through peaceful means, on the initiative of all groups in South Africa working together to define a new system, or by the violence which will result if the aspirations of the majority are met with continued intransigence and repression.

38. Ever-increasing pressures must continue against the fundamental violation of human rights which *apartheid* represents. However, it is equally evident that direct threats have led to increased South African intransigence and, in some cases, to repression. The Canadian Government is under no illusion as to the magnitude of the task of bringing about the eradication of *apartheid* but it should be recognized that change in the South African racial situation must ultimately come from within the Republic of South Africa itself. The question of how that change can be achieved is very

much a matter of concern to my Government. Canada has taken a number of measures over the years which have had an impact on our relations with South Africa. We continue to be conscious of the need to take further effective steps which will have a beneficial effect on the struggle against *apartheid*.

39. Demands for extreme measures, including the call for violence, have been heard in the General Assembly and are born of frustration and fatigue with the struggle against South African intransigence. Such demands are to a certain extent understandable but should be resisted in favour of constructive action directed to making the Government of South Africa and all of its people realize and give concrete recognition to the need for change.

40. In closing, let me say that our discussions and the measures we take must be as practical and objective as possible. We must work with deliberation towards the ultimate goal of the eradication of *apartheid*. Canada remains totally opposed to *apartheid* and joins the international community in its efforts to establish full and equal participation in society for the total population of South Africa. All elements of that society must be involved in a meaningful manner in the process of change. With the encouragement of the international community, that will be accomplished.

41. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador congratulates the authors of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and associates itself with its programme of work. The Committee has done much to provide information about this grave problem of our time, and the vigorous and overwhelming reaction by public opinion against the crime of *apartheid* is the best proof that the Committee is needed and that it is on the right track.

42. Ecuador's unswerving policy has been to condemn the shameful offence to human dignity represented by *apartheid*. It has done so since the question was first considered in the General Assembly, even before the establishment of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in 1962. Since then, our country has given its constant support to all resolutions, conclusions and recommendations adopted in this field at the United Nations.

43. As far as Ecuador is concerned, *apartheid*, typical and reprehensible conduct of a régime which is in open rebellion against the world Organization, is a crime and practice alien to the psychology and to the way of life of our people in which there is no place—nor will there ever be—for any distinction based on race; our people is proud of its blend of age-old indigenous races mingled with the influx of races from other continents which, in turn, have made their own valuable contribution through their many cultural influences.

44. In strict observance of the resolutions of the United Nations, Ecuador maintains no relations of any kind with the South African Government. A few days ago, we officially expressed our solidarity with the political prisoners of South Africa who are persecuted for their ideological dissidence and for their desire to secure respect for the opinion of the majority. This has caused them to be the victims of the most reprehensible repression on the part of the Pretoria Government.

45. We believe that the true source of power resides in the people and that it can be expressed or tested only through the full exercise of the right to vote in free and democratic elections. If this rule had been followed in South Africa, the problems of the region would have been solved long ago.

46. Ecuador was one of the first countries to ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]. Furthermore, our political Constitution prohibits

“ . . . any discrimination for reasons of race, colour, sex, language, religion, affiliation, political or other opinions, social origin, economic position or birth”.

With full respect for the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, we have submitted to it our fifth periodic report. We have also taken into account the text of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex], under the provisions of which anyone in Ecuador who “by whatever means, disseminates ideas of racial superiority or hatred or encourages discrimination” is liable to imprisonment.

47. Thus, while we have incorporated in our legislation the principles which have emerged from the debates and resolutions of the United Nations, South Africa has turned its back on international law and the recommendations of this Organization, which form part of that law.

48. But the determination that human rights be recognized is spreading to all parts of the world. Repression by a government cannot but bring us closer to an irreversible future in which human rights will be respected and we shall have overcome that shameful stage in the evolution of mankind represented by the criminal practice of *apartheid*.

49. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Among the very varied tasks with which the United Nations deals each year, the consideration at the level of the General Assembly of the question of *apartheid* is undoubtedly of special importance.

50. In fact, while the quest for solutions to the numerous problems with which the international community is confronted often permits us to nurture hopes of solutions that will be in keeping with the ideas of justice and progress, the case of South Africa constitutes in itself a challenge to the universal conscience, a crime against humanity, a symbol—if not the most sinister symbol—of racism in its most horrifying expression, the most cynical example of continued aggression

against all neighbouring African countries and, lastly, the clearest threat to international peace and security.

51. It is for this reason that my country feels duty-bound to express here, at the very outset, its conviction that as long as the South African régime survives, Africa as a whole will be unable to regard itself as free, the world process of decolonization will not be completed and the ideals and principles of the Charter will not be accepted univervally.

52. This year again, consideration of the question of the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government is taking place in a climate of latent crisis, as pointed out by numerous speakers and, more specifically, by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* at our 54th meeting.

53. The Algerian delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a highly deserved tribute to that Special Committee whose action, which is firmly committed to the total eradication of the scourge of *apartheid*, is guaranteed by the dedication of all its members and of its Chairman, Mr. Clark of Nigeria, who struggle for the advent of freedom and justice in that southern part of the African continent.

54. It would be superfluous to recall here all the actions carried out by that important United Nations Committee to mobilize international public opinion and the community of States in the struggle against *apartheid*. All those actions are in fact mentioned in the excellent report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* although that document, despite its many qualities, could never really do justice to the total sum of effort, courage and commitment required of the members of that Special Committee for the implementation of United Nations resolutions and the isolation and condemnation of the South African régime.

55. It is not difficult to show clearly the full anachronism of the régime of *apartheid* by presenting it from the angle of the defence of human rights. For its part, my country prefers to situate the South African problem in its most complete and enlightening context: namely, the quest of a whole people for its freedom, the quest of an African country to join the community of other independent African nations, the quest of a continent for its total liberation, which will then enable it, with the settlement of other outstanding colonial issues, to turn the page of the colonial era, once and for all.

56. The international mobilization in the fight against *apartheid* has made it possible in the last few years to bring to the attention of world public opinion the multiplicity and seriousness of the racist practices of the white minority against the oppressed South African people, through the most formidable political and social system ever known to mankind.

57. South African blacks are oppressed, exploited, tortured and often physically eliminated to glorify the myth of ethnic superiority, which draws its philosophy from a primary and abject racism, the historic example of which is undoubtedly the Nazi doctrine. But, above all, the South African blacks are captives of the threads of the hateful spider's web of *apartheid*, with its ignoble practices, its inhuman rules, its discriminatory legislation, its infamous behaviour and its machinery of terror

that makes South African blacks foreigners in their own land and aliens to the human condition.

58. Thus the internal situation in South Africa is of special gravity because of the permanent and institutionalized outrage to blacks, who from birth are compelled, individually and collectively to live in a world resembling a concentration camp. This situation is worsened year after year by the enactment of increasingly repressive laws, expressing the will of the racists to stratify a society the soul of which they seek first to destroy. That policy has no other objective than to destroy all the resources which the human dignity of its victims and their quest for national identity might provide to them when they react against oppression. That policy seeks to erase the national identity of that people by imposing on it a whole constellation of disconnected microcosms, with the purpose of preventing the crystallization of national resistance to oppression.

59. World public opinion is sufficiently well informed in this connexion, thanks to the valuable activities of the anti-*apartheid* and anti-racist organizations that exist throughout the world, of the oppressive measures of every kind developed by the South African régime to control and tame the black majority in the country. I refer in particular to punitive operations, seditious measures, massive internments, the organization of fake trials on the basis of special procedures, and other extreme measures such as the summary execution of patriots or their final disappearance somewhere in the bush.

60. These South African practices, now known to the outside world, move the consciences of all men and provide further motivation for the neighbouring countries of that enormous concentration fortress to courageously express opposition to the *apartheid* régime by their active solidarity with the South Africa liberation movement, despite the threat which their proximity to an aggressive South Africa represents for them.

61. We know that, by way of reaction, Pretoria in recent years has intensified the planned aggression against those countries, in particular Angola, a country that has been the target of the South African régime since it acceded to independence in 1975.

62. The nefarious action of South Africa is not confined merely to oppressing the South African people within its frontiers, and externally attacking African neighbouring countries. That action is also expressed in the intolerable and provocative interference with the efforts now being made to settle peacefully the question of the independence of Zimbabwe and to bring about the liberation of Namibia, unlawfully occupied by the racist régime itself in total scorn of all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

63. In Zimbabwe, the present efforts in London to reach a true solution of government by the majority have shown the line of thought in the dialogue and negotiations of the leaders of the Patriotic Front who are striving, despite all the difficulties, to do nothing that might compromise the possibility of reaching a political agreement; the intrusion of South Africa, on the other hand, has been revealed through the bias of the various political manoeuvres and the increase in armed aggression against the front-line countries in an

endeavour to discourage them from supporting the Patriotic Front and thus to isolate that genuine representative of the struggling people.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

64. South Africa's blockage of any genuine solution to the Namibian problem undoubtedly shows South Africa's will to provoke the United Nations and the overwhelming majority of the States of the world. I do not wish to recall all the factors in this affair, which my country follows with the greatest attention, but my delegation wishes the United Nations to solemnly tell all those who take part in the true implementation of the plan for peaceful settlement in Namibia mentioned in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) that it is high time to draw the obvious lessons from the delays and evasions of Pretoria and to embark with the African countries on the course of the implementation of mandatory sanctions against the South Africa régime, in conformity with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

65. In the opinion of the Algerian delegation, this is our last resort, and it is only by embarking on such a course that the community of nations will be able to compel the South African régime no longer to defy with impunity the whole of mankind.

66. By the same token, we wish to reiterate our condemnation of all those countries that directly or indirectly encourage South Africa and help to consolidate the criminal conduct of the Pretoria racists, thus strengthening their dangerous illusion of invincibility.

67. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The President of the present session of the General Assembly, Mr. Salim, is a man who has entirely devoted himself to the noble task of decolonization. He has heard in this forum, in the course of the discussion on the question of *apartheid*, many bitter truths concerning the inhuman policy and practice pursued by the racist rulers of the Republic of South Africa in regard to 20 million people in southern Africa and to the peoples of neighbouring countries.

68. This overwhelming truth, enunciated in speeches made at this rostrum, has been heard by representatives in this Assembly.

69. The specific circumstances of the situation in southern Africa justifiably cause alarm to all honest people throughout the world. Such a massive, flagrant and cruel violation of human dignity affecting many millions of people is incompatible with the level of mankind's social development. People everywhere, with concern and alarm, are trying to examine the consequences of the terrible growing threat to peace and security in Africa and the world as a whole, resulting from the increase in the military potential of South Africa, especially in the sphere of nuclear weapons.

70. The situation in southern Africa is clear to all those present in this Assembly. The Salisbury racists are unwilling and do not intend to put an end to their colonial and racial domination in Zimbabwe. Who is helping them? First of all, the rulers of the Republic of

South Africa. By means of much protracted talks, the racists in South Africa want to gain time to carry out their neo-colonialist designs in Namibia, which they are converting into an enormous bantustan. Neither do the rulers of the Republic of South Africa intend to put an end to *apartheid*—that monstrous relic of the past—in their own country.

71. In this highly dangerous situation, it is insufficient merely to resolutely discuss and condemn the anti-human activities of the racist rulers in southern Africa. The Republic of South Africa is a typical Fascist State in which the official ideology, policy and practice is *apartheid*. Anyone who would wish to see what kind of a world the Fascists would like to create, no matter how they may disguise it, should examine carefully the situation in the Republic of South Africa, for it is precisely that country which is the axis and stronghold of the Fascist, racist preserve in southern Africa and, until an end is put to *apartheid* and racism in southern Africa, the problem of decolonization, as already pointed out by many previous speakers, cannot be solved totally and for good.

72. The United Nations and its Security Council and General Assembly are in a position to adopt measures which might put an end to *apartheid*. Only in that way would it be possible to achieve a more or less peaceful solution to the problem of the decolonization of that region of the African continent.

73. As has already been pointed out here, the ideology of *apartheid* is a typically Fascist doctrine, and there is really no need to elaborate on this. It is an ideology that rejects the inalienable and natural right of the individual to freedom and political equality, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion. Behind every phrase which has been uttered from this lofty rostrum in the General Assembly, concerning the policies and practices of Pretoria, there is pain, suffering, misery and the humiliation of the millions upon millions of indigenous people of South Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, typically Fascist methods of repression are applied to those who are dissatisfied with the prevailing policy. Such is the terrible day-to-day plight of the indigenous population of South Africa.

74. In the struggle for independence and basic human rights, many of the finest representatives of all racial and national groups have given their lives or are languishing in the dungeons of South African prisons. Throughout the entire world and here in the United Nations as well, we have become all too familiar with the names of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeke and many other patriots and martyred fighters, for freedom and basic human rights whom the racists have incarcerated on Robben Island and condemned to life sentences, only because they wished to live like human beings and fought for the freedom of their people.

75. I shall not cite here the numerous statements of recent and present rulers of the Republic of South Africa: that would be too much of an honour for them. They do not recognize the right of the non-white population to live like people in their own country. By their savage practices, the rulers of Pretoria, as was stated on a number of occasions by the late representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroodi, will only succeed in fanning the

flames of the liberation struggle into a large-scale racial war. Yet, as everybody knows, not all whites in southern Africa are exploiters, enslavers and colonizers.

76. In conjunction with the policy of *apartheid*, there is also the practice of bantustanization, which is a further splitting of the races and the transfer of millions of Africans into special regions set aside for them, established on the basis of existing reservations. To the two already created bantustans—Transkei and Bophuthatswana—in September 1979 the Republic of South Africa added Venda. And now the situation is such that Namibia may likewise become a bantustan, with the false label of an independent State.

77. The policy of proclaiming the so-called independence of bantustans in fact means the automatic deprivation of the population of those bantustans of even the minimal rights of the inhabitants in the Republic of South Africa. By that means the racist authorities of Pretoria are trying to rid themselves of Africans as citizens, and to make them foreigners in their own country. The regions set aside by Pretoria for bantustans are absolutely unsuitable, from the economic point of view, for providing even the most basic living conditions for their inhabitants. The populations of the bantustans—which because of racist laws are not even considered to be residents with limited rights of the Republic of South Africa—have already been obliged to seek work in “white regions”. Bantustanization is thus intended to create a cheap labour market, so as to ensure the most favourable conditions for the maximum exploitation of the indigenous population, in the interests of profit for the racist and foreign monopolistic capital.

78. The United Nations has not been ignoring the many problems in southern Africa, such as that of bantustanization, which the Organization has often condemned. The General Assembly and the Security Council have called for a cessation of this policy and the acts of the Republic of South Africa have been declared null and void. The proclamation of so-called “independent” bantustans, as is quite clear to all, is aimed also at splitting the African people, at depriving it of property, and at legitimizing the existence of subject and dependent territories, deprived of any rights.

79. In connexion with the establishment of the bantustan of Venda in September of this year, the Security Council again warned Pretoria¹ that such an action would further worsen the situation in the region, and called on all Governments to reject any form of recognition of the so-called independent bantustans and to refrain from all contact with them.

80. As has already been observed, Pretoria has carried out its *apartheid* policy in the unlawfully occupied territory of Namibia. In disregard of Security Council and General Assembly decisions concerning a cessation of the occupation of Namibia, Pretoria is expanding its acts of mass repression against the Namibians and against the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

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

81. Indeed, Pretoria is pursuing its efforts to convert Namibia into a very large military base. As the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, stated in the spring of this year, in the first half of the year South Africa had already deployed more than 75,000 soldiers in Namibia. The build-up of armed forces is accompanied by supplies of modern military equipment and weaponry that is far from purely defensive, in addition to the establishment of aerodromes and military bases. As is known, the largest aerodrome in Africa is in Namibian territory, and there are also several military bases there. No country which genuinely and sincerely aspires to a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem by political means would have made such a series of overt military preparations. And against whom? Is somebody threatening the Republic of South Africa? Do the neighbouring States intend to attack it later? Of course, it is absurd to seriously contemplate even the possibility of such a course of events in southern Africa. If there is any kind of threat in southern Africa, that threat emanates from Pretoria, which is constantly committing acts of aggression against its neighbours and intends to continue those acts in the future.

82. In unlawfully occupying Namibia, the Republic of South Africa is using that territory as a military bridgehead for aggression against the independent African States. In their fear of the inevitable collapse of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism under the blows of the national liberation movements in southern Africa, the racist régimes are constantly committing aggressive attacks upon the neighbouring African States of Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and others. For what purpose? As has been indicated, the purpose of such attacks is to intimidate the peoples of the neighbouring countries, and to instil in them the thought that in future they will continue to suffer attacks by the Republic of South Africa if they do not cease to provide assistance to the national liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa itself.

83. The Security Council has, indeed, frequently dealt with the question of the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa against neighbouring African States. The Republic of South Africa has been strongly condemned in the United Nations for these aggressive actions. In the resolutions of the Security Council these actions have been described as a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African countries and a grave threat to international peace and security. Moreover, the Security Council has warned South Africa that if it in future persists in its aggressive policies, the Council would take more effective action against it.

84. Yet only a few days ago, the Security Council was again compelled to deal with the question of an aggression by the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. In the course of the meeting of the Security Council² it was pointed out that the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa against Angola were undertaken on a large scale, with the use of regular army units and extensive utilization of various types of offensive military technology.

85. Everybody knows also about the direct economic, military and political support that is being provided by

Pretoria to the unlawful régime of Rhodesia in violation of all decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

86. Thus, to sum up, we can declare as follows: first, the policy of *apartheid* practised by the authorities of the Republic of South Africa is an evil and the shame of our time. It has been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity and it has been described as a policy that contains in itself a threat to international peace and security. It is also possible to say that the extension of *apartheid* to the territory of Namibia by the South African racists and their occupation of Namibia is likewise unlawful, and this again has been affirmed by the United Nations in its decisions describing such actions as a threat to peace and security; secondly, the aggression of the racist régime against the independent African States has likewise been condemned by the United Nations and is also described as a direct threat to international peace and security; thirdly, the merciless repression of the national liberation movements in southern Africa by racist Pretoria and the actions directed against the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, in violation of all United Nations decisions, the decisions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement, the principles and standards of international law and the United Nations Charter, were condemned by the United Nations, are illegal and represent a threat to international peace and security; fourthly, the support by Pretoria for the unlawful racist régime of Southern Rhodesia is a violation of all decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It is aimed at the maintenance of the colonialist and racist oppression of the people of Zimbabwe and it has likewise been condemned by the United Nations as a threat to international peace and security.

87. The conclusions from all this are easy to draw. They are clear to all. The threat to international peace and security from the Republic of South Africa must be eliminated. The policy of *apartheid* must be ended. The occupation of Namibia must be immediately and unconditionally ended, and the authority in that country must be handed over to the Namibian people in the person of its only lawful representative, namely, SWAPO. The aggression of the racists in the Republic of South Africa and of the unlawful régime of Southern Rhodesia against independent African States must once and for all be stopped. The people of South Africa must be liberated from colonialist and racist oppression.

88. These conclusions are natural, and I am not stating anything new. They are contained in the decisions of the United Nations and in those of OAU and of the non-aligned movement. They are contained in the demands of the whole of peace-loving and progressive mankind. Therefore the task now resides in the implementation of those decisions, and this has been referred to by numerous speakers here. The logic of the historical development of human society will inevitably lead to precisely that. It is only a question of whether this is going to take place with a large or a small number of victims. That is the only issue involved. Furthermore, there is no doubt that these decisions would already have been implemented long ago if the racist régimes in southern Africa, and in the first instance the rulers of the Republic of South Africa, did not have the support of the imperialist circles of the West, and this has been very convincingly stated here by many speakers before me.

² *Ibid.*, 2169th and 2170th meetings.

89. It is precisely through the support of a number of Western countries of the North Atlantic military bloc that the economic and military potential of the Republic of South Africa is growing and developing. It is precisely through that kind of support and co-operation that the Republic of South Africa is preparing to produce nuclear weapons. It is clear to all what could be brought to the peoples of Africa through fulfilment of the nuclear ambitions of the racists of South Africa and how this is fraught with the most dire consequences for Africa and for international peace and security. We might recall the statement by the rulers of Pretoria to the effect that they have the right of "hot pursuit" as far as the equator. That is quite enough—this intention to attack which they have raised to the level of law.

90. The occupation of Namibia by the racists of Pretoria has long been recognized as unlawful. Nevertheless, certain Western Powers still continue to "forget" about this. The same Pretoria, which has neither a legal nor a moral right to Namibia is now coming forward, through the efforts of these countries, as a principal "party" in a settlement of the Namibian question. It sets its "conditions" and is putting forward "claims". It is leading everybody by the nose and is gaining time for the strengthening of its domination there, under a renovated shingle. When we are told, "Please be patient; do not be in so much of a hurry, wait and see how things are going to develop in South Africa", let us not delude ourselves. Never will the Republic of South Africa voluntarily leave Namibia, never will the rulers of South Africa give up the policy of *apartheid*, unless they are obliged to do so. The fuss about the talks and negotiations is increasingly turning into a smoke-screen under which Pretoria and its protectors from the transnational monopolies are trying to drag along and legitimize the neo-colonialist solution of the Namibian question, and to create, under the label of an independent State, a new bantustan in Namibia.

91. While the talks about elections under the supervision of the United Nations were going on, the racists managed to carry out fake elections and pulled out a handful of puppets from the so-called Turnhalle Democratic Alliance. When the question of preventing that unlawful step by Pretoria arose in the Security Council, the Western countries that are members of the Security Council not only failed to do anything in this connexion, but in fact provided support to the racists of the Republic of South Africa by abstaining from the vote on the resolution on that question. Now it is quite clear to all that the talks are being utilized by Pretoria to gain time, to establish conditions in which it would be impossible for the patriotic forces, that is, the only genuine representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, to come to power in Namibia.

92. A similar policy is being carried out in regard to another unlawful racist régime in southern Africa, the Salisbury régime.

93. In this connexion, the policy of certain Western countries of conniving with the racist régimes in southern Africa places the genuine representatives of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe—the national patriotic forces—in the most impossible conditions. They are confronted with the choice: either to agree with the proposals that emerge from Pretoria and Salisbury, or to find themselves outside the negotia-

tions, in other words, outside political life. That is the method they use for negotiations with the representatives of the patriotic forces.

94. The reasons for the support that the Western countries are providing to the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists are well known to all. In the first instance, that support represents an attempt to continue to preserve the economic and military strategic interests of the West; then, it arises out of the great concern that Western transnational monopolies may continue their exploitation of Namibia and Rhodesia and retain the colossal profits they derive from their exploitation of the populations of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. The United Nations have more than enough factual material concerning the close interweaving of the economic and strategic interests of South Africa with the interests of a number of States of the North Atlantic military bloc.

95. Without being aided and abetted by the West, and primarily by the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and without their comprehensive assistance, the Republic of South Africa would have been unable to disregard the will of the United Nations and to issue its challenge to the authority and prestige of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

96. Appeals to the racists and attempts to persuade them will not change them into humanitarian persons, nor will they change the reactionary essence of the policy of *apartheid*. Condoning the racist régimes and conniving with the aggressor will not lead to anything good. In order to compel South Africa to forgo its shameful and inhuman system of *apartheid* and in order to compel it to implement the decisions of the United Nations, what is needed is not words but concrete actions.

97. In speaking, at this session of the General Assembly, of the problem of the ending of decolonization, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of our country, Mr. A. Gromyko, stated:

"By adopting in 1960 the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]—one of the most significant acts of the United Nations—the world community acknowledged the indisputable fact that the hour of colonialism had struck. Since then an overwhelming majority of peoples have cast off the yoke of colonialism. But humanity's conscience continues to revolt against the fact that the shackles of colonialism and racism have not yet been completely broken. And it is above all of southern Africa that we should be talking here.

"For many years now the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have been waging a selfless struggle for their freedom and independence. The Soviet Union is entirely on the side of their noble cause. We have raised and shall continue to raise our voice in their support, and we shall co-operate with those States, especially African States, which adhere to the positions of justice, of upholding the inalienable rights of those peoples. All kinds of combinations, no matter how superficially clever, which are aimed at preserving the domination of racists and colonialists with the help of hastily formed puppet régimes should be resolutely rejected.

“Is it possible to achieve a political settlement in southern Africa? Yes, it is possible and there are ways leading to it. But so far the racists and their stooges have replied with bullets to proposals that a choice be made in favour of a just and peaceful solution.

“The session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will be right if it clearly states its resolute support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and condemns attempts to drown this struggle in blood as a crime against humanity. It is a direct duty of the United Nations to make those who ignore the decisions of the United Nations on southern Africa respect them.” [7th meeting, paras. 172-175].

98. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the basis for the solution of the question of the policy of *apartheid* of the Republic of South Africa, and the basis for actions that have to be undertaken against the Pretoria régime in order to put an end to *apartheid* so that Namibia may at last become a genuinely free country and southern Africa may cease to be a bastion of colonialism and racism, is to be found in the resolutions of the United Nations and OAU, in the proposals of the Committee against *Apartheid*, the proposals of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and other bodies. In the view of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the only reliable way to implement those resolutions is by scrupulous compliance with the sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime that have already been adopted by the Security Council and the adoption by the Council of further practical steps to ensure the total isolation and boycotting of the Republic of South Africa on the basis of the establishment of sanctions against it in economic, trade, financial and all other spheres, in full implementation of Article 41 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

99. Many have already mentioned this. Nevertheless, I should like to remind the Assembly of the specific wording of Article 41:

“The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.”

It is an excellent Article. If it were to be applied in fact, I cannot say for sure, but I think that the Republic of South Africa would be talking with the patriotic movements, with neighbouring States and with the United Nations itself in an entirely different way.

100. In congratulating the peoples and States of southern Africa on African Liberation Day, on 25 May of this year, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, stated:

“The Soviet Union is steadfastly in favour of the speedy implementation of the inalienable right of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and

independence. It is in favour of the transfer of all authority to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in the person of their genuine representatives, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO. It is in favour of ending the shameful system of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa. We firmly condemn the manoeuvres of neo-colonialists in southern Africa and the aggressive actions of racists against the forces of national liberation movements and neighbouring independent countries. We support the demands concerning the application to the racist régimes of effective, comprehensive international sanctions in accordance with the United Nations Charter.” [See A/34/282, annex.]

101. The time has come for firm action. Any procrastination in this respect is inadmissible. To slow down the liquidation of *apartheid* and racism would have a negative effect on the fate of the peoples of southern Africa and would increase the threat to international peace and general security. One cannot yield to the racists; one cannot condone them any longer.

102. We firmly believe in the victory of the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. It is a matter of honour for the United Nations to assist them in this respect and to accelerate the coming of the day of freedom.

103. Mr. REDONDO GOMEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Costa Rica has studied with the care and attention they deserve the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22 and Add.1] and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports [A/34/36].

104. By reason of our humanitarian philosophy, which is part and parcel of our Costa Rican national ideals, both Committees are very dear to us, in particular the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which we helped to found and of which for many years our former Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. Gonzalo Ortiz, was a very active member. As is well known, he identified fully with the struggle to restore the attributes of human dignity to those who had been unjustly deprived of them.

105. Despite our profound confidence in the mission of the United Nations, and our firm conviction that since its inception a better future for all human beings has been ensured, we cannot fail to recognize that the perusal of the first of the reports I have mentioned and our knowledge of other facts disseminated by the mass media, have left us with a feeling of great disenchantment and frustration. For not only has no progress been achieved in the Republic of South Africa with regard to humane treatment for the vast majority of its population, but rather, on the contrary, discriminatory and degrading measures against that majority have been intensified.

106. Everything led us to believe that, given the level of universal awareness of the need to respect the human person, the Government of Pretoria would reconsider its position and seek to redeem itself by entering on a new course more in harmony with the present times, which are propitious for the affirmation of the attributes of human dignity.

107. By its persistence, this situation long ago ceased to be a mere confrontation between a dictatorial, arrogant Government and international conscience, and has become a true threat to the stability of good relations throughout a continent and even to international peace and security.

108. The state of affairs created by the Government of South Africa could degenerate into a conflict with unforeseeable consequences to which the United Nations is obligated to put a stop, all the more so if numerous reports which have been spread to the effect that the Pretoria régime has detonated a nuclear device are true.

109. This, combined with its continued opposition to reiterated United Nations resolutions condemning the ignominious conditions in which the great majority of the country's population is kept by the South African Government, constitutes a grave precedent for similar conduct which, if it were to be adopted, would undoubtedly signal the beginning of the end of this Organization which, as declared by the Costa Rican Minister for Foreign Relations in this very hall in his statement of last September, is the last hope for the survival of mankind [see 19th meeting, para. 349].

110. Compliance with United Nations resolutions is the most important requirement in fact and law not only for the fulfilment of the purposes and principles that were invoked for the establishment of the new international order, but also for the stability of world peace. This leads us to the conclusion that if it has not been possible to persuade the Government of South Africa to put an end to its policy of *apartheid*, this Organization has no alternative but to resort to the application of Chapter VII of the Charter to the full extent of its provisions.

111. From no point of view can the United Nations shrink from the challenge of any of the Governments which form the international community, and this is all the more true when the issue is the protection of the dignity of man and his fundamental rights.

112. This is all the more true since the Government of Pretoria has been guilty of the unspeakable crime of aggression against neighbouring countries.

113. Costa Rica, which, on the basis of its own experience, has arrived at the conviction that there can be no peace without the practice of justice, once again condemns, with all the strength of its spirit and its centuries-old traditions, the heinous racist policy of the Government of South Africa and the continual acts of aggression it commits against the front-line States. We reaffirm our resolve to continue the struggle to put an end, as quickly as possible, to the humiliating, inhuman treatment to which the white minority régime of South Africa, flouting the international order, continues to subject large groups of brother Africans.

114. In conclusion, permit me, on behalf of my delegation, to thank the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports for their efforts to provide us with detailed information about events which have occurred in this field during the recent period and which are connected with the obdurate refusal of the Government of

South Africa to bring its policies into conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

115. Mr. FOFANO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My first words will, of course, be a tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and to its courageous Chairman, our friend and brother Mr. Clark, for the remarkable work they have accomplished. Their report helps us to make a leap forward in our knowledge of the deep workings of the practices connected with the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa that now appear in the harsh light of day. In paying a tribute to this Committee, my delegation is grateful for new impetus it will give to the struggle against the most odious political and social system of our century.

116. The greatest case of our century unquestionably remains the one which our Organization has been pressing for more than 30 years against South Africa and its *apartheid* régime. Indeed, our times run the risk of seeming one day, if they do not seem so already, to be the era of contempt. It has been said from this rostrum that never in the history of our world Organization, or in all of modern history, has there been any question capable of martialling such unanimity and constancy in reprobation and condemnation as the question of *apartheid* and the régime which is its most quintessential expression. But it has also been observed that never has universal condemnation been followed with so little action. In fact, the gap which we can all see between this fine unanimity and the powerlessness to which it has paradoxically given rise over the past 30 years is simply the indication of a tragic and genuine disagreement within our Organization. This impotence, both of the General Assembly and the Security Council, can only be explained by what we must call the complicity of certain Western Powers which continue to provide financial, diplomatic and military support for the *apartheid* régime and whose multinational corporations reap immense profits thereby. The price of this duplicity, resulting from the complicity of certain Western Powers, is revealed by statistics on their trade with South Africa and by the resultant plunder and exploitation of the wealth of the southern African countries under racist white domination.

117. The point is that the situation prevailing in southern Africa is a colonial situation of a particular type, whose victims are no longer counted in scores, but in thousands. It is no secret to anyone that since the odious massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, the arrogance of South Africa, fed on violence, has continued to grow. The massacres at Soweto, the unspeakable murders of Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu and so many other South African martyrs, daily swell the list of South African crimes.

118. In addition to witnessing the crushing of the black population in South Africa, we are also witnessing a frenzied policy of bantustanization, a policy that has been condemned by the international community and that is aimed at creating a belt of satellite, buffer micro-States intended to act as a shield for the racist régime of Pretoria.

119. Each day, another tribunal hands down sentences against blacks, and summary executions and mass imprisonments are carried out, not to mention the black

families being destroyed to appease the racist violence that is being fomented and intensified by Pretoria's policy of *apartheid*.

120. The Fascist South African army has engaged in numerous acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, causing incalculable human and material losses. The result has been that the incursions into Angola and Mozambique, the infiltrations into Botswana and Lesotho, have succeeded in forcing those countries to turn away from their peaceful policy of national construction and have compelled them to devote their efforts to questions of national security rather than of economic and social progress. My delegation notes with regret that despite the countless crimes committed against the African populations by the *apartheid* régime, the Security Council has as yet failed to give convincing proof that it is seriously concerned about this situation and that it has finally determined to adopt concrete measures against that régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

121. In July 1976, following the aggression against Zambia carried out by the South African soldiery at Sialola, the *apartheid* régime solemnly stated its determination to invade any African country giving aid to national liberation movements. Such a declaration of war—which my delegation vigorously denounced at the time—deserves greater attention today. At the time, ironical statements were made when my country issued its solemn warning of the ever-growing power of South Africa. Today, no one can deny that South Africa has become a nuclear Power.

122. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has issued reports from several seminars and conferences indicating the nuclear collaboration that exists between South Africa and certain Western countries, on the one hand, and between Israel and South Africa, on the other. Despite the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and despite evidence gathered by anti-*apartheid* organizations throughout the world, the warnings contained in these reports have never been taken seriously.

123. Despite such evidence, the idea that no nuclear threat whatsoever exists in southern Africa has continued to be perpetuated, and attempts have been made to convince public opinion that no solidarity exists between the white minorities that might lead the racist Pretoria régime to intervene in Rhodesia. But only four days after the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly began its work, South Africa celebrated its triumphant entry into the atomic club, challenging the entire international community.

124. The South African nuclear explosion is a challenge, an unbearable challenge. Such a challenge is not created by that explosion alone—the very existence of the *apartheid* régime itself is a challenge.

125. For some time, we have been hearing talk of human rights. It is true that the defence of human rights is just and legitimate, but why are those crusaders for human rights hesitating to raise their banners in the heart of the citadel of *apartheid*? Is there a better or more pressing opportunity for the Western Powers to evidence their determination to ensure respect for those human rights that the white racist minority has been

consistently trampling underfoot ever since the creation of its racist State? Yet if South Africa is able to exist with impunity and in its present state, it is because it enjoys the unbelievable support of the Western Powers. No declaration or proclamation can conceal this glaring fact.

126. Today, the game is obvious. The support South Africa is giving to the Ian Smith-Muzorewa clique rests on the same logic: South Africa is fated to expand the geographical spread of white racist hegemony in southern Africa. This explains clearly the intensification of the attacks against Angola aimed at annihilating SWAPO and at establishing in Namibia a Rhodesia-type situation, despite all the warnings of the United Nations.

127. There are some challenges that we must accept or we will perish. The challenge issued to the United Nations by the racist minorities of southern Africa and their allies must be answered. For the peoples cannot be misled about the plots being fomented against Africa and the world, menaced by threats of war.

128. The challenge of South Africa exists because that racist State derives its power from the differences that divide the African States and all in southern Africa who are struggling against the *apartheid* régime. For more than 30 years, we have been acting aimlessly, and we now have proof that we must seek elsewhere for ways to meet that challenge, and that we must give priority to a different approach to the problem of the *apartheid* régime. It is not that my delegation underestimates the capability of the United Nations to stop this crime. We are bound to recognize, however, that to achieve success in the struggle against the *apartheid* régime, we must begin at the beginning. And in this case, the beginning is tantamount to what Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, has been proposing at every meeting of the OAU. This can be summed up in two points: first, the liquidation of the contradictions that prevail in southern Africa among all who are determined to achieve the liberation of their countries by strengthening their unity, their organization and their ability to struggle, including armed struggle; secondly, a unity of views on the strategy and tactics to be adopted by the African States in lending as a matter of priority political, financial, diplomatic and military support to the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

129. When these two conditions have been met, then the first great and historic victory over the *apartheid* régime will be within our reach. The assistance that the international community has constantly given and will continue to give will be an added bonus. This is the proper path that the Guinean Head of State has consistently proposed. Conditions are perhaps not yet ripe for entering onto this perilous path. But one day, we will have to begin at the beginning. That is the only way we can acquire the essential means to respond to the challenge, including the nuclear challenge.

130. In the meanwhile, the Council of Ministers of OAU, which met at Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, appealed to the Western countries and to Israel to cease providing South Africa with technical equipment and technology that can enable it to acquire a nuclear capability [see A/34/552, annex I, CM/Res. 718 (XXX-III)].

131. The Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries, who met at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979, stressed that the serious problems facing southern Africa are created by the racist policies of the South African régime. In their Final Communiqué [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex], the Heads of Government emphasized the need for the peoples of the Commonwealth to collaborate closely in order to destroy *apartheid*, which was described as a crime against humanity.
132. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, declared southern Africa to be the theatre in which the fundamental question was that of *apartheid*. Freedom and peace, security and progress in southern Africa and in the world cannot be achieved without the total eradication of the *apartheid* régime [see A/34/542, annex, sect. IV, para 78].
133. There are dozens of pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, and yet the only change has been the increase in the arrogance of South Africa, brought about by the complicity of those who speak to us of peaceful settlement, at the same time as they supply Pretoria with sophisticated techniques and technology accompanied by increased financial aid so that it can arm itself further against the African peoples.
134. My country, Guinea, a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, strongly supports the recommendations in the report made by Mr. Clark, of Nigeria. My delegation hails the courageous struggle of all the peoples of southern Africa against the white racist minorities. It sees the certain pledge of their victory in the unity of all the adversaries of *apartheid*, who, supported by the whole of Africa, will in the end triumph over *apartheid*. It also salutes all the States and forces throughout the world that have given concrete help, not just empty words, to the invincible partisans of the overthrow of the dictatorship of the white racist minority.
135. My delegation subscribes to the programme proposed by the Special Committee with a view to improving the means of fighting against *apartheid* and appeals to the international community to convene an international conference on sanctions against South Africa. It is firmly convinced that during that conference the peoples of the world would be able to find a definitive solution to the grave problem of *apartheid*.
136. Mr. WAPENYI (Uganda): The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Clark, of Nigeria, deserves special commendation for the excellent work it has performed in the crusade against *apartheid*, as indicated in documents A/34/22 and A/34/22/Add.1, now before the General Assembly. I wish also to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Leslie Harriman for his dedicated and outstanding contribution to the work of the Special Committee during the time he was its Chairman.
137. The report that the South African Fascist, racist régime has detonated a nuclear device puts into special focus the findings and recommendations of the United Nations International Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London on 24 and 25 February of this year.³ That Seminar recommended that the Security Council consider urgently the question of nuclear collaboration with South Africa but, to our regret, that matter has not yet been taken up. My delegation hopes that, in the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council will consider this matter as soon as possible. Moreover, my delegation associates itself fully with the recommendations of the London Seminar, as set out in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [see A/34/22, paras. 50-57]. The reported detonation of a nuclear device by the South African régime does not take us by surprise. Nuclear armament has been a long-term master plan for Fascist South Africa, to enable it to hold Africa at ransom. Those countries which, either directly or through their multinational corporations, have transferred nuclear technology and equipment to the criminal South African régime cannot stand before us and shed crocodile tears. They must instead take responsibility for the denuclearization of South Africa. We have been let down by those same Western countries which, while stretching out a hand of friendship to us, have extended the other hand to the Fascist South African régime. South Africa does indeed pose a very serious and grave threat to international peace and security.
138. The Government and people of Uganda fully support the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for dignity, freedom and justice. We have supported and will continue to support publicity aimed at exposing the evils of *apartheid*. In this regard, we urge all States Members of this Organization to give generous material support to the voluntary Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*.
139. Our colleges and institutions of higher learning in Uganda will continue to offer places and scholarships to the unfortunate victims of *apartheid* who find their way out of that Fascist State. We shall endeavour, within the limits of our ability, to provide shelter and employment opportunities to refugees fleeing from the South African racist régime's campaign of terror and torture.
140. My delegation would like to thank those countries which have responded positively to the various resolutions of this Organization on stopping economic collaboration with the South African Fascist régime. For, as various studies and most recently the conclusions of the recent International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa [A/34/655] have shown, these economic activities do sustain the system of *apartheid*. The multinationals which invest in South Africa have demonstrated that they are interested in securing quick and excessive profits by exploiting the cheap labour and the abundant natural resources of the indigenous people of South Africa, rather than in promoting the welfare and political rights of all the peoples of the area. We are particularly concerned about those multinational companies which are investing in research, on behalf of the South African régime, on alternative sources of energy. The Fluor Corporation of California has already been singled out for its \$4 billion investment in that field. A global arms embargo must be imposed urgently on the South African régime before it becomes independent in energy resources. In this

³ *Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13157.

regard, we should like to express our appreciation of the recent moves by the Governments of Iran and Nigeria to prevent such resources reaching the South African régime. My delegation fully supports the proposal of the Special Committee to organize in 1980 an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

141. The courageous nationalists engaged in a legitimate struggle for the attainment of their fundamental freedoms and human rights in South Africa must, at worst, be treated as prisoners of war when arrested. When we remember the death of Steven Biko through torture, we ask ourselves why the Fascists had to kill him. Many more have died the same way in South Africa, without publicity. How much longer must we stand by and let this humiliating, barbarous brutality continue? Where are freedom fighters like Solomon Mahlangu and David Sibeko who have since died in the struggle? The régime has to face the inevitable fact that the death of a freedom fighter such as David Sibeko must inevitably have fired the resolve of Elizabeth Sibeko to carry on the struggle and that through her children, and her grandchildren if necessary, the struggle will continue. Furthermore, the truth of the matter is that there are too many Steve Bikos, too many David Sibekos, too many African States and peoples in the continent of the black race for a Jamestown-type massacre and suicide, in company with a bunch of self-destructive racists, to be possible. Africa will never allow itself to be indoctrinated or lulled into submission by such racists so that it drinks the poisonous potion of *apartheid*, as the disciples of the Reverend Mr. Jones drank the poison in Guyana. When will the racist régime realize that its policy is doomed to fail and be exorcised from the face of this planet? It took two decades for Hitler and Mussolini and eight years for Amin to be rejected for their fascism. But since 1948, when Malan concocted *apartheid* as a policy, we have had to put up with it for 31 years, and to some of us those 31 years have been as long, as painful and as humiliating as any three decades in Hades could be. We have cried out for that "beloved country", to use Alan Paton's immortal phrase, and that cry has been swelled and made louder by the united force of more than 50 members of OAU and the majority of the Members represented here in the United Nations.

142. Those cries are not wasted, those deaths will not be forgotten, Robben Island cannot be forgotten and the Mandelas are not forsaken. The Sharpeville, Guguletu and Soweto massacres are not fiction. To us they rate the same as Treblinka, Dachau and Auschwitz because, in the minds of all African freedom fighters, they are rated not so much for the massacres associated with them as for what they reveal of the inhumanity and brutality that is latent in and has been associated with many European societies. That brutal and inhuman policy has spread and, like a cancer, now afflicts a portion of the continent of Africa. That cancer, if not treated in time, will doom mankind to inevitable self-destruction. If this racist disease was conceived in Europe—and I say "if"—then we can look hopefully to Europe to help us find some antidote for it and call upon its inhabitants to help us to eradicate it from our continent by using the same dose as they have used on their own Fascist societies wherever they have erupted into existence. To those who wish to continue to support fascism and the Fascist *apartheid* régime in South Africa because of economic gains, we say: Africa's wealth is for Africans, but where we have to share its ex-

ploitation we will do so without the Fascist contamination, without *apartheid* and with respect for the legitimate owners of that wealth.

143. We do not wish ever to see the phoenix rising from the ashes of the holocaust that would be the fate of our continent if we in Africa eventually rushed to arm ourselves with nuclear weapons and used them to settle what could be settled peacefully. We shall not succumb to terror. On the contrary, because of this inhumanity in the form of the *apartheid* régime, we are resolved to carry on the struggle until victory is achieved.

144. We express solidarity with the front-line States which, by refusing to be intimidated and silenced, have become victims of aggression at the hands of that South African Fascist régime.

145. The total solidarity of this Organization with the front-line States is necessary if we are to overcome *apartheid*. The sacrifices being made by the front-line States are fully appreciated by us, and we appeal to the world community to give material support to the front-line States and to strengthen their security in the face of constant aggression.

146. My delegation believes in the total isolation of South Africa as long as it continues the hated policies of *apartheid*. That isolation should take the form of an economic embargo, with the severing of sports, communication and educational links.

147. The struggle against *apartheid* has now reached a crucial stage. The writing is on the wall. My delegation is convinced more than ever before that many of us may live to see victory in that part of the world. We are not underestimating the enemy; the struggle is going to be hard and bitter. Once again, my delegation calls upon all to pool all their political, economic and material resources for the sake of the struggle for peace, human dignity and justice.

148. In conclusion, my delegation endorses the recommendation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that missions be sent to the Governments of arms-exporting countries in an effort to strengthen the arms embargo against the South African régime. We also support the sending of missions to countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and to other countries in which the transnational oil corporations have their headquarters, to try to make the oil embargo more effective.

149. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Once again, Member States are considering in the Assembly the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa's ruling white clique. We must admit that since we did so in this forum one year ago there have been no significant changes in the life of the system that has been universally condemned and for the dismantling of which the Assembly has consistently called. In fact, instead of change, there has been further deterioration. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* notes that the situation in southern Africa has been aggravated in the past year by the policy of *apartheid*. The sad plight of the blacks subjected to brutal treatment in South Africa continues to represent the gravest affront to the conscience of civilized mankind. Meanwhile, despite all our protestations and condemnation, South Africa's friends in the West and

Israel continue to bolster the moral and physical strength of the régime that practises *apartheid* by sustaining and strengthening relationships in trade, commerce, investment and diplomacy, and by a variety of mutually beneficial endeavours, including the supply of arms or of the patents for their manufacture, and collaboration in the nuclear field.

150. In these circumstances, we must guard against the cynicism that can so easily overtake us at seeing this exercise as an annual ritual and *apartheid* as an issue which will remain with us for ever. The delegation of Guyana certainly will not give way to such cynicism. As the Apostle Paul said, we "remember them that are in bonds" as if we, too, were "bound with them" [*Epistle of Paul to Hebrews, 13:3*]. The General Assembly has an obligation to the black people of South Africa to bring pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime to free them from those chains, and for my delegation this obligation will always remain in the forefront of our consideration of the question of *apartheid*.

151. The Member States of this Organization have bound themselves together under a Charter founded on the brotherhood of man and on human solidarity, regardless of race, for achieving the common good. In fact, where in Article 1 our Charter speaks of race, it is to marginalize it, to make it of no significance; to subordinate it to the broad goal of promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Yet, in only a matter of years, the Assembly was to declare racism a crime against humanity, and today, after 34 years in the life of that Charter, the Assembly is still waging war against the institutionalized racism of *apartheid*. This battle is being waged with not as much success as we should like to see, for the effectiveness of our struggle is compromised by those among us who still refuse to cast their lot fully with us in that struggle.

152. The reasons for this refusal may not be difficult to find. For a start, let us turn our minds to a hypothetical situation. Let us suppose that the ruling minority in Pretoria were black and the majority over which it ruled were white. Would this debate be taking place now in 1979—a debate which started over 30 years ago? Would a problem of *apartheid* have been allowed to develop in the first place? Would the countries of the West and Israel sell arms—or for that matter nuclear technology—to that black minority régime? Suppose the children of that hypothetical white majority were to rise up one day in a place called Soweto demanding freedom and were to be shot down by black policemen of that black minority régime? Would the West and Israel continue to sell arms to that régime? Suppose the boot were on the other foot?

153. These are all hypothetical questions, but my delegation believes that, if only as questions, they are useful and relevant in our consideration of this question of *apartheid*, whose inhumanity no longer requires any elaboration, for it has been exposed and universally condemned over and over again.

154. In fact, just when we thought we had seen every manifestation of the nightmare of *apartheid*, there came recent reports of a nuclear explosion by South Africa, which must certainly be a source of the gravest concern to us all. For South Africa has shown such contempt for every norm, every precept, every standard of interna-

tional behaviour, that when a nuclear weapon falls into such uncivilized hands, we realize that the nightmare could so easily assume the proportions of a holocaust.

155. We must remember that this is the system which perpetuates a régime of unspeakable violence against the black population of South Africa. Sharpeville and Soweto are synonymous in our time with the most despicable and callous atrocities committed against black men, women and—lest we forget—children, as they peacefully attempted to assert their dignity and worth. This is the system which has insanely embarked on continued military adventurism against the neighbouring States of Angola and Zambia, an adventurism myopically impelled by the futile attempt to construct a *cordon sanitaire* of acquiescent States around itself. This is the system which has defied international opinion, and continues daily to challenge this venerable world Organization and the peoples of the world in its illegal occupation of Namibia and its extension of the infamous *apartheid* system, to that territory.

156. It therefore behoves us to be resolute in our determination to get to the heart of this report of a nuclear explosion by South Africa with all its implications for the peace and security not only of continental Africa but of our world in general. We must not allow obfuscations and the sowing of doubts, whatever their source, to dampen our zeal to get to the truth, and our Organization must necessarily take an active role in this regard. My delegation therefore considered it a duty to support the decision taken in the General Assembly on 26 October last [*decision 34/404*] requesting the Secretary-General to investigate this development urgently and to report thereon to the Assembly.

157. We have all at one time or another expressed our condemnation of the racist régime in Pretoria and the inhuman policy of *apartheid* which it practises—some more honestly than others, some with greater commitment than others. There is, in fact, a moral consensus among civilized nations of the world that rejects out of hand the hateful policy of *apartheid*. Some of us, within the constraints of our resources, have married our moral and diplomatic rejection of the *apartheid* régime with material assistance to the freedom fighters within South Africa and Namibia.

158. But our efforts are being increasingly frustrated by the comfort and succour being provided to the discredited régime in South Africa by certain Western nations and economic interests—support which serves only to fortify the practitioners of *apartheid* in their refusal to heed international opinion and to make a mockery of international law, of the Charter of our Organization and of the resolutions and decisions which we adopt.

159. This is an aspect which is of particular significance to small States like Guyana, which look to international law and to the Charter as their most effective guarantee of survival.

160. Members of our Organization are eloquent in their indignation in cases of violations of conventions and resolutions, particularly where they consider their own interests to be at stake. But the overwhelming black majority of South Africa are perpetual victims of organized State terrorism on the part of the Pretoria

régime, against which the Security Council and the General Assembly have passed several resolutions calling for specific action to be taken, resolutions which are implemented by some States but ignored by others. In some cases, the Security Council has even been prevented from taking decisions which peace-loving and freedom-loving States consider necessary in respect of South Africa.

161. The point I am making is that we cannot be selective in our condemnation of international lawlessness or in the resolve with which we confront it. We cannot, I insist, place ourselves on the side of international law just when it suits us, or when we feel our national interests stand to gain, while taking refuge in verbal gymnastics when we see that those interests would be affected by action consistent with a commitment to legality.

162. Here I address myself particularly to South Africa's major trading partners, especially the members of the Security Council among them, whose privileged positions in the international decision-making process impose certain grave responsibilities in respect of the decisions taken by this Organization with regard to South Africa. When they themselves prevent the Security Council from taking against South Africa the action prescribed in the Charter of our Organization, or when they and others in Western Europe, and Israel also, collaborate with South Africa contrary to the decisions of our Organization, then the credibility of the United Nations itself becomes a casualty, like so many of the victims of *apartheid* who look to this august body for justice, and no amount of pious-sounding condemnations will alter this fact.

163. We have heard enough of the rhetoric of condemnation. Nowhere is it envisaged in the Charter or in the Assembly's decisions that part of humanity should stand aside smiting its breast while another part continues to be victims of racist bigotry.

164. For all our impassioned condemnation of *apartheid*, what meaning does the International Year of the Child have to the millions of black children in South Africa growing up under *apartheid*? What does the United Nations Decade for Women mean to the women living under *apartheid*? What does even the effort for the creation of the New International Economic Order mean to the victims of *apartheid* who are killed or imprisoned when they demand a new national order?

165. Our decisions have always called for positive action. My delegation would therefore like to pay a special tribute to the Government of Iran for its decision to terminate oil sales to South Africa, and to the Government of Nigeria for the indication given as recently as three days ago in this forum that it will continue to judge its relations with other States in the light of the wider interest of Africa. [54th meeting, para. 44]. That is the kind of firm decisive action that needs to be taken in respect of *apartheid* South Africa, and my delegation sincerely hopes that these examples will serve as an inspiration to other States that are not yet able to place principle before profit.

166. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the wise and dedicated leadership of Ambassador Clark of

Nigeria, for the excellent labour it is performing of sensitizing the international community to the horrors of *apartheid* and of combatting this evil monster.

167. To the concerned citizens, non-governmental organizations and other individual Member States of the United Nations, which have also played their part — and continue to play their part — in helping to lay bare the true dimensions of *apartheid* and to isolate the Pretoria régime, my delegation reserves a word of sincerest appreciation for what is a service to humanity and to international peace and security.

168. As it has always done in the past, the non-aligned movement continues to give its support to OAU and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. This support was reaffirmed at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana last September, when they declared that southern Africa as a whole constituted one single theatre of operations in which *apartheid* South Africa was the central strategic issue, and called for strict implementation of all United Nations resolutions on South Africa.

169. Another very important collective expression of concern and support was made at Lusaka last August at the meeting of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries. That meeting issued a Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice which, among other things, rejected as inhuman and intolerable all policies designed to perpetuate *apartheid* [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex].

170. South Africa has so completely and callously disregarded the principles of international law and of civilized behaviour, that it is difficult to imagine what it must do next in order for its collaborators to respond to the demands of history and of all mankind to cease their collaboration with *apartheid*. The moment is grave enough already. My delegation sincerely hopes that these demands will be heeded before that next action.

171. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Once again, the General Assembly is concluding its debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the white racist minority régime in South Africa. The debate shows, once again, that racism and racial discrimination in the institutionalized form of *apartheid* flourish in the climate of terror and continued repression perfected by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa.

172. I have come back from Manila to join, and share the privilege of closing, the debate on this question in solidarity with the oppressed black people of South Africa and their national liberation movements. I have come back because the Philippines, as a founding Member of this Organization and also a founding member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, firmly believes that the time has come for the United Nations to assert its authority with finality over a Member State which is guilty of a deliberate pattern of gross and massive violations of human rights, and of aggression against its neighbours.

173. The past several years have shown that there is a continual flouting by South Africa of every resolution or decision of the General Assembly or of the Security Council on this issue; every declaration or programme

of action voted upon by countless international conferences—Oslo, Dakar, Lagos, and many others—has been rejected by this régime, or unimplemented by other States.

174. Several years ago, the General Assembly launched the International Anti-Apartheid Year and the international mobilization against *apartheid*. None of their objectives has been achieved. Instead, South Africa not only maintains its *apartheid* policies—it seeks to strengthen all of them by increasing its armaments and by committing aggression against the front-line States of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

175. Recently, we received word of an ominous event: it is reported that South Africa exploded a nuclear device in September 1979, and my delegation wishes to thank Ambassador B. Akporode Clark of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for having quickly alerted the General Assembly to this fateful and unfortunate development. I do not have to tell representatives that this event bodes ill not only for the region of South Africa, but for the peace and security of all nations. For this reason, the Philippines supports the Assembly's decision to request the Secretary-General to carry out an investigation, and also supports the appeal of the non-aligned movement to the nuclear-weapons States to co-operate with, and lend their support to, the Secretary-General in this inquiry.

176. For several years the General Assembly, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and various non-governmental organizations, including the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, *Apartheid* and Decolonization as well as various international conferences, have issued warnings about nuclear experiments being carried out by South Africa in the Kalahari Desert. These warnings were consistently ignored. If indeed South Africa has exploded a nuclear bomb, we are all threatened, and *apartheid* may become a perpetual bomb amongst us, unless concerted and massive international action is brought to bear on this defiant régime immediately.

177. We are all aware of how South Africa has, by other means, manoeuvred to escape the onus of *apartheid* by spurious schemes to set up what it claims to be independent bantustans, and of how we all saw through these schemes, as in the case of the Transkei. In sheer defiance of General Assembly resolutions on the subject, South Africa continues to set up more bantustans.

178. The international community has reiterated its will, as reflected in the debate just concluded on this item. The Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador Clark of Nigeria, in his introductory statement on Tuesday morning last, indicated to the General Assembly the elements of concerted international action against *apartheid* if what he calls "such tragic and explosive potential for a race war of continental proportions" arising from South Africa's intransigence and aggressive policies is to be averted [see *54th meeting, para. 20*].

179. There is general agreement that concerted international action must be taken for the total elimination of *apartheid*; that the *apartheid* régime must be isolated;

that *apartheid* exists because of the assistance the South African *apartheid* régime continues to receive from certain extra-continental Powers; that there is an immediate need to prohibit nuclear collaboration with South Africa; that instead of moving away from its policies of *apartheid*, the South African *apartheid* régime is consolidating its *apartheid* policies through more Draconian legislation and the creation of bantustans; that the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa must be complemented by the cessation of further investments in South Africa; that profit-making must be subordinated to the higher goals of ensuring the dignity of the black man in South Africa and in southern Africa; and that the United Nations must put a stop to the utilization by South Africa of foreign mercenaries that threaten the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States.

180. Is it not a bending of the truth when South Africa claims, in pursuit of its *apartheid* policies, that it is the vanguard of Western civilization in southern Africa and that therefore it needs the assistance and support of the Western Powers? The representative of Sweden, Mr. Thunborg, ably refuted in effect the fallacy of such a claim when he articulated Sweden's call in this very hall on 6 November [*54th meeting*] for the cessation of further foreign investments and loans to South Africa and suggested a total cut-off of all nuclear co-operation as part of a programme of economic sanctions by the Security Council.

181. In the light of the present grave situation in the southern African region, brought about by short-sighted South African policies, there has developed a consensus in the General Assembly for the convening of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa in 1980, in co-operation with OAU. The Philippines supports this proposal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We also support the proposal that the arms embargo must be strengthened and nuclear collaboration with South Africa must cease.

182. There must be no form of recognition of or dealings with the so-called independent bantustans, as the General Assembly has declared them totally invalid.

183. In the context of events in South Africa, a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, has become an urgent necessity. The Philippines, as a prospective member of the Security Council, will support such an initiative in the Council. It notes with satisfaction that the Islamic Republic of Iran has taken a unilateral step in instituting an oil embargo against South Africa. We can also support the appointment of a small group of experts to prepare a report with proposals on means to enforce an effective oil embargo against South Africa.

184. The Assembly must demand abrogation of the bans on anti-*apartheid* organizations and news media opposed to *apartheid* and encourage the International Committee of the Red Cross to obtain access to political prisoners and detainees in South Africa.

185. In this Decade for Women and in the International Year of the Child, as well as in the second half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it behoves the international community

and the United Nations to extend generous assistance to the men, women and children, oppressed by *apartheid*, including refugees from South Africa.

186. For its part, the Philippines has consistently supported the peoples of South Africa and southern Africa through United Nations humanitarian funds. If the martyrdom of the freedom fighters in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Soweto in 1976, as well as the martyrdom of Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu in more recent times, is to have any meaning, Member States must contribute generously in this struggle for human dignity and equality.

187. However, beyond this, the objective, as the majority of speakers in the debate has shown, must be the total isolation of South Africa in all fields—diplomatic, political, military, economic, cultural and sports.

188. Meanwhile the United Nations and the Member States must counter the propaganda efforts of South Africa and continue to support the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid*. In this international campaign, we recognize the important role of non-governmental organizations, specialized agencies, and institutions within the United Nations system, the Department of Public Information and the Centre against *Apartheid*.

189. Indeed, if the United Nations and the international community are to be true to the special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement that they assumed under General Assembly resolution 3411 C (XXX), then all Member States, without exception whatsoever, must begin to implement numerous resolutions of the United Nations and sever all relations with South Africa.

190. Some Member States, unfortunately, have deluded themselves into thinking that a dialogue with South Africa is still possible at this late stage and have taken the situation in South Africa more casually than they should. They have regarded South Africa's intransigence as a temporary phenomenon. For some reason or another, they have somehow been blind to the calculated effort of the régime to perpetuate *apartheid*, unmindful that their collaboration in fact strengthens the racist régime and encourages it to persist in its anachronistic and aggressive policies. Thus, such Member States suffer from a grievous illusion. At this late date only a shock can bring that nation to its senses. By its actions South Africa not only defies the United

Nations; it also repudiates the part it played in its founding.

191. I recall, when we were drafting the United Nations Charter in San Francisco, in 1945, it was a South African, that great soldier-statesman, Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, who played a major role in drafting its Preamble, whatever inevitable and unavoidable political pressures may have changed his mind subsequently. I cannot but turn my reverential thoughts to him on this occasion, for he was my dear friend, our rooms in the hotel were next to each other, and I saw him writing, in longhand, some lines of the original draft of that Preamble. Therefore, whenever we read the ringing words of that Preamble, whenever we reaffirm, as the Preamble says, our

“faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,”

whenever we invoke the aim

“to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours,”

we must not forget—and let South Africa remember that it was a South African who, 34 years ago, bequeathed to mankind these noble sentiments. Jan Smuts wrote those passages—and I was a witness when he wrote them—not as a South African, but as a citizen of all nations, a man among men. Now it appears that the country of his birth never intended to honour those words, certainly never to honour him. Indeed, everything that South Africa has done for the past 34 years to enforce *apartheid* has been a betrayal of that noble person and his ideals.

192. On the shoulders of Member States which exert influence over South Africa rests the burden of rescuing that nation from that supreme irony. There may be a faint glimmer of hope. South Africa still has the opportunity to return to the ranks of civilized nations which it has all but abandoned, to reaffirm its allegiance to the principles its illustrious son helped to give mankind, and to abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the logical outcome of those principles enumerated in the Preamble, and by so doing resolve this intolerable situation once and for all. This is a test that the United Nations must not fail; it is a test that South Africa cannot afford to fail.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.