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

AGENDA ITEM 73

Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE
(A/34/618)

AGENDA ITEM 85

Review and co-ordination of human rights programmes of organizations in the United Nations system and co-operation with other international programmes in the field of human rights

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/34/646)

AGENDA ITEM 86

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination:
(a) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
(b) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;

(c) Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/34/597)

1. Mr. KOMISSAROV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*interpretation from Russian*): I have the honour, as Rapporteur of the Third Committee, to present three reports of the Third Committee on, respectively, agenda items 73, 85 and 86.

2. The report in document A/34/618, relating to agenda item 73, contains in its paragraph 18 the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee. The annex to that draft resolution contains the programme of activities to be undertaken during the second half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee by a recorded vote.

3. The report in document A/34/646 relates to agenda item 85. The draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee is contained in paragraph 8 of that report and was adopted by the Committee without a vote.

4. The report in document A/34/597 relates to agenda item 86, the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the three draft resolutions contained in paragraph 17 of the report. Draft resolution I relates to the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was adopted by the Committee without a vote. Draft resolution II relates to the status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. It was adopted by the Committee by a vote. Finally, draft resolution III relates to the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It was adopted by the Committee without a vote.

5. In connexion with the aforementioned draft resolution III, I wish to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the blanks in the text of the first preambular paragraph will have to be filled in—after the adoption of draft resolution III—by the numbers of the two General Assembly resolutions whose adoption is dependent on the result of the consideration of draft resolution I in the report relating to agenda item 86 (document A/34/597) and of the draft resolution in the report relating to agenda item 73 (document A/34/618), respectively.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Third Committee.

6. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations
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with respect to the recommendations contained in the reports of the Third Committee to the General Assembly are reflected in the relevant summary records of the Committee.

7. May I remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly on 21 September 1979, to the effect that

“...when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary Assembly, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary Assembly is different from its vote in the Committee.” [4th meeting, para. 349.]

8. We turn first to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 73[A/34/618]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled “Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination”, recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 18 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/34/685. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Jamaica, Japan,¹ Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Burma,² Gabon,² Guatemala,² Mali,² Papua New Guinea, Yemen.²

The draft resolution was adopted by 82 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions (resolution 34/24).³

¹ The delegation of Japan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished its vote to be recorded as an abstention.

² The delegations of Burma, Gabon, Guatemala, Mali and Yemen subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

³ The delegations of Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Botswana, the

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

10. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I wish to explain the vote of my delegation on the draft resolution and its annex contained in the report of the Third Committee [A/34/618] concerning item 73 of the agenda.

11. It is a matter of common knowledge that hostile references to Israel and zionism in previous resolutions on the Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination have transformed this issue into a highly objectionable one and caused deep divisions among States Members of the United Nations.

12. Unfortunately, the malicious manner in which the name of Israel has again been injected into this year's debate on the programme of activities for the second half of the Decade makes this no different from recent years. The programme of activities contained in the annex to the resolution contained two references to the Middle East, in paragraphs 8 and 23. Those paragraphs and the call for action in them are based on false allegations and a complete and wilful distortion of the truth. They are the outcome of yet another attempt to reintroduce through the back door the infamous equation of zionism with racism, which has been rejected with contempt and disgust by the enlightened world. Similarly, any allegation that the Israeli administration in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district is guilty of racial discrimination is a patent and deliberate fabrication.

13. Israel lent its whole-hearted support to the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination adopted in General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973. We were eager to participate in those activities as a people that abhors racism and racial discrimination and as a nation that has been the victim of racism for centuries and still is its victim in some parts of the world.

14. Our Arab enemies, however, had other ideas and jumped on to the band wagon of the struggle against racism in order to introduce the equation of zionism with racism. The unity of intent and action among the Members of the United Nations was thus shattered and has not been re-established since. Our Arab enemies and their supporters persist in demonstrating their complete contempt for the victims of racism in the present and in the past. Resolutions that should have been adopted unanimously have become deeply controversial, and consequently the programme of activities cannot be universally accepted and implemented.

15. It was on this note of sorrow as well as anger that my delegation voted against the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee.

Central African Republic, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Gambia, Ghana, Honduras, India, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Peru, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Somalia, Tunisia, the United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, and Zambia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of Norway subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

16. Mr. ABDUL HALIM (Malaysia): While my delegation supports the draft resolution on which we have just voted, we should like to state, in reference to operative paragraph 3, that we recognize only the national liberation movements that are recognized by the League of Arab States and by the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

17. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

18. Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of Israel is fond of distorting the truth and pretending that he and his Government are gentle sacrificial lambs, and that their tyrannical rule in the West Bank, Nablus, Hebron and the Gaza Strip are very humane.

19. The citizens of those regions are suffering from racial discrimination, which is practised against them by zionism, and I should like to remind the General Assembly of the most recent action taken by Israel, namely the arrest yesterday of the mayor of Nablus and the decision to expel him. What is the meaning of expulsion of citizens from their homes and their own countries but racial discrimination? I think this is sufficient by way of reply for the record.

20. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 85 [A/34/646]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Review and co-ordination of human rights programmes of organizations in the United Nations system and co-operation with other international programmes in the field of human rights", which is recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/25).

21. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 86 [A/34/597]. We shall now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 17 of its report.

22. Draft resolution I is entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination". The Third Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 34/26).

23. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid". A separate vote has been requested on the third and fourth preambular paragraphs. We shall therefore vote first on the third preambular paragraph. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi,

Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Luxembourg, Norway, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United States of America.

The third preambular paragraph of draft resolution II was adopted by 113 votes to 10, with 18 abstentions.

24. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the fourth preambular paragraph. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic,⁴ Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast,⁴ Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore,

⁴ The delegations of the Dominican Republic and the Ivory Coast subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished their vote to be recorded as an abstention.

Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Bahamas, Fiji, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Samoa, Spain, Togo.

The fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution II was adopted by 109 votes to 18, with 12 abstentions.

25. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Draft resolution II as a whole was adopted by 116 votes to none, with 26 abstentions (resolution 34/27).

26. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination". A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 6. If there is no objection, we shall therefore vote first on operative paragraph 6. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America,⁵ Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Burma,⁶ Canada, Denmark, Fiji, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal,⁶ Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution III was adopted by 115 votes to none, with 25 abstentions.⁷

27. The PRESIDENT: The Third Committee adopted draft resolution III as a whole without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution III as a whole was adopted (resolution 34/28).

⁵ The delegation of the United States of America subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished its vote to be recorded as an abstention.

⁶ The delegations of Burma and Nepal subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their vote recorded as having been in favour of this paragraph.

⁷ The delegation of Haiti subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of this paragraph.

28. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their votes after the vote.

29. Mr. PALMA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Pursuant to the traditional position of Peru of giving support to efforts at eliminating racism and racial discrimination and, more particularly, *apartheid*, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II contained in document A/34/597. Nevertheless, we should like it to be put on record that we maintain the reservations expressed by our delegation in Geneva⁸ concerning some of the paragraphs of the declaration adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held in that city.

30. Miss BOA (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like, for the future, to ask the Secretariat to be slower in proceeding to the adoption of draft resolutions, especially when we are voting on separate paragraphs of draft resolutions. I did in fact make a sign to the Secretary, by raising my country's name-plate to indicate to him that the voting system was not operating for the Ivory Coast. Now, with regard to the fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution II contained in document A/34/597 [see para. 24 above], it was shown on the voting board that the Ivory Coast had voted in favour of that paragraph, whereas everybody knows full well that my delegation abstained, or at any rate expressed reservations at the time of the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action of the Geneva Conference. My delegation would like its vote on the fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution II to be considered as an abstention, in spite of the fact that we joined in the consensus on draft resolution II as a whole.

31. The PRESIDENT: This is clearly a technical defect as far as the machine is concerned, and the vote of the Ivory Coast will be reflected as an abstention in respect to the aforementioned paragraph.

32. Mrs. GARCIA GRANADOS de ROSENHOUSE (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala voted in favour of the draft resolution on the status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, but we would like the record to reflect our objection to certain paragraphs of the draft resolution, especially that which refers to the Geneva Conference.

33. The PRESIDENT: The meeting records will reflect the position stated by the representative of Guatemala.

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

34. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Denmark to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.22.

35. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): The United Nations has a clear obligation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, to work for the total eradication of the policy of *apartheid*. Until that objective is achieved, however, the international community is obliged to alleviate to the fullest possible extent the sufferings caused by the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and to assist its victims.

36. That is the principal objective of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa which was established by the General Assembly in 1965 [resolution 2054B (XX)]. As pointed out in the Secretary-General's report [A/34/661], that Fund makes grants to voluntary organizations, to Governments of countries receiving refugees from South Africa and to other appropriate bodies, to provide for the following: first, legal assistance to persons persecuted under the repressive and discriminatory legislation of South Africa; secondly, relief to such persons and their dependants; thirdly, the education of such persons and their dependants; fourthly, relief for refugees from South Africa; and fifthly, relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to their families.

37. In view of the South African authorities' systematic and ruthless repression of the opponents of *apartheid*, the assistance rendered by the Trust Fund is increasingly needed. Fortunately, the increase in the contributions to the Trust Fund in recent years shows the growing international solidarity with the victims of *apartheid*. The Committee of Trustees of the Fund, however, stresses in its report that still larger contributions are necessary in order to meet the ever-increasing requirements.

38. It is against this background that I have the honour of introducing draft resolution A/34/L.22 on behalf of its sponsors. The great number of sponsors is another testimony to the international concern for the plight of the victims of *apartheid* and the need for increased assistance.

39. The draft resolution contains an appeal for generous contributions to the Trust Fund and to the voluntary agencies concerned. The sponsors trust that this appeal will receive a positive response. Moreover, we believe that the General Assembly will again demonstrate its solidarity with the victims of *apartheid* and adopt the draft resolution unanimously.

40. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Tunisia to introduce the draft resolutions contained in documents A/34/L.30 and A/34/L.32.

41. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour for the Tunisian delegation, on behalf of the sponsors, to present to the General Assembly two draft resolutions on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

42. The first of the two drafts is contained in document A/34/L.30 and deals with the dissemination of information on *apartheid*. In that draft, the Assembly asks, in particular, that priority be given to the

⁸ See Report of the World Conference to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 14-25 August 1978 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.XIV.2), annex VII.

* Resumed from the 61st meeting.

dissemination of information on *apartheid* and that radio programmes on *apartheid* be continued on a regular basis. Representatives are aware that these programmes have, thus far, been produced on a temporary basis and have been extended from year to year. We think that it is now time, given their success, to produce them on a stable and continuous basis. The draft contains an appeal to all States to give facilities to liberation movements which would allow them to broadcast radio programmes beamed at South Africa. In draft resolution A/34/L.30, all Governments and information media are invited to counteract the propaganda of the *apartheid* régime. Indeed, it is of the greatest interest for the African populations and, generally speaking, the non-white populations of South Africa to be able to get information on the efforts being made by the international community, and particularly by the United Nations, to combat *apartheid*. That cannot but contribute to encouraging those people in their determination and prevent their falling into despair. Such broadcasts would also give the minority in power an idea of what the world thinks of their *apartheid* régime and of their practices. Finally, Governments and organizations are invited to publicize the declarations of the liberation movements in accordance with paragraph 296 of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22], a paragraph whose contents are entirely reflected in the draft resolution.

43. The second draft resolution which I am introducing to the Assembly is contained in document A/34/L.32 and deals with the role of the mass media in international action against *apartheid*. In this draft, the General Assembly recognizes the vital role of the mass media in informing world opinion of the evils of *apartheid*. We know that public opinion, especially in a certain part of the world, knows little or nothing about the fact and the extent of the problem of *apartheid*. That is why, in the draft resolution, the General Assembly urges all Member States and governmental and non-governmental organizations to take all necessary measures to make effective use of all the mass media to mobilize world public opinion, with a view to eliminating the odious system that prevails in South Africa. We hope that the mass media will answer our appeal and co-operate with the United Nations by broadcasting objective, factual and truthful information on the situation prevailing in South Africa. The mass media should also, as requested in draft resolution A/34/L.32 demonstrate their solidarity with their colleagues in South Africa who are persecuted by the inhuman and racist Pretoria régime.

44. In conclusion, we should like to express our hope that the two draft resolutions we have just presented on behalf of the sponsors from the African and other friendly countries will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly, since there has always been unanimity in this Assembly on the serious problem of *apartheid*.

45. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Philippines to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.31.

46. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): The delegation of the Philippines has the honour of introducing, on behalf of all the sponsors, draft resolution A/34/L.31 concerning women and children under *apartheid*. This draft resolution is in accord with developments over the past year relating to the entire international campaign against the

inhuman policy of *apartheid* of South Africa. These developments were the results of seminars, mass meetings and other events held in connexion with the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child and also of activities within the United Nations designed to draw attention to the plight of children and women under *apartheid*.

47. In our view, more attention should be devoted to women and children victims of *apartheid* in the continuing struggle against this crime against humanity. Women and children are the most vulnerable and helpless members of society under the South African *apartheid* régime. Indeed, a draft resolution such as that embodied in document A/34/L.31 is most timely and fitting at this session of the General Assembly in view of other United Nations observances or anniversaries in connexion with the rights of the child and of the attention focused on the United Nations Decade for Women.

48. As we are all aware, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is giving special attention to the plight of women and children under *apartheid*. In the draft resolution I am introducing the General Assembly requests Governments "to take all appropriate action in pursuance of the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar on Children under *Apartheid*". In the same draft resolution, the Assembly appeals to all Governments and organizations "to contribute generously towards assistance to the special needs of women and children oppressed by *apartheid* including refugees" and encourages Governments and non-governmental organizations "to promote solidarity with women and children under *apartheid* through conferences, seminars and other activities".

49. The laudable objectives of the draft resolution are clear and precise, and my delegation believes that in view of the humanitarian aspects involved there should be no controversy at all regarding them. It is in this spirit that my delegation, on behalf of all the sponsors, recommends this draft resolution for unanimous approval by the General Assembly.

50. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who will introduce draft resolution A/34/L.36.

51. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/34/L.36 on the policies of *apartheid* of the régime in South Africa, under the title "Declaration on South Africa".

52. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African racist entity is a crime against mankind and human dignity. This racist policy consists in the seizure by an adventurist minority—which has settled illegitimately in the southern part of Africa—of all the riches of the territory of South Africa, depriving the people of South Africa, the legal and legitimate owners, of that wealth and of the right to live in their own homeland in freedom and peace, all this being undertaken in complete disregard of world public opinion and United Nations resolutions.

53. The racist South African entity, in order to continue to dominate the people of the territory, exploit its

wealth and humiliate its inhabitants, has pursued a policy of *apartheid*, which is condemned in all international resolutions and instruments as a policy that is an offence to the dignity of man. The United Nations General Assembly has defined *apartheid* as a crime against human conscience and dignity and has constantly and repeatedly condemned that policy and called for it to be combated and eliminated.

54. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African entity through the arbitrary legislation it has enacted and the threats, terrorism and repression it is directing at the people of South Africa have deprived that people of their inalienable rights.

55. The persistence of the South African entity in ignoring United Nations resolutions, whether of the General Assembly or the Security Council, and its continued defiance of such resolutions have led to increased tension in the region, to the extent that it not only endangers peace and security in South Africa and Africa as a whole but also constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The intransigence of that entity in ignoring the resolutions of United Nations bodies has become an obstacle to the attainment of a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of South African issues.

56. The policy of discrimination pursued by the racist South African entity against the indigenous peoples in South Africa, depriving them of their own property by setting up bantustans with a view to fragmenting that part of South Africa into so-called mini-States, in order to perpetuate *apartheid*, and withdrawing the citizenship from the African inhabitants, has been condemned by both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

57. The General Assembly has also condemned the strengthening of the military build-up of South Africa and its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

58. The General Assembly has recognized the struggle of the people of South Africa for the freedom and equality of which it has been so long deprived. Thus, the General Assembly has declared that all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and to establish a society in South Africa based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and free from *apartheid*. The establishment of such a society would be a significant contribution to the promotion of security and peace—a just peace, not imposed from outside—thus ensuring tranquillity and justice for all.

59. The General Assembly, expressing the views of the international community, would declare by this draft resolution that it recognizes the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate *apartheid*, and that that people has the right to choose the means of carrying out the struggle that will guarantee its rights in equality and justice, regardless of race, colour or creed.

60. Member States, while recognizing that right for the people of South Africa, would solemnly undertake to refrain from co-operating with the South African régime, directly or indirectly, and to take firm action to prevent the recruitment, financing, training or passage of mercenaries in support of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa or the bantustans created by it.

61. Member States would by this draft resolution take appropriate measures to discourage and counteract propaganda in favour of *apartheid*.

62. Since the racist South African entity has undertaken nuclear testing, by which it has demonstrated the development of its potential in that field, paragraph 6 of the proposed declaration on South Africa would stipulate that:

“All States shall respect the desire of African States for the denuclearization of the continent of Africa and refrain from any co-operation with the South African régime in its plans to become a nuclear Power.”

Paragraph 7 of the proposed declaration on South Africa would provide that:

“All States shall demonstrate international solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with the independent African States subjected to threats or acts of aggression and subversion by the South African régime.”

63. The draft resolution is very clear and needs no further explanation. It can be summarized as follows: there is a racist régime, which has defied and continues to defy the international community by imposing the policy of *apartheid* against the people of southern Africa, using threats and terrorist acts and ignoring the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and the United Nations Charter. The indigenous people of South Africa are forced to choose between two courses, of which it is difficult to say which is the easier: they can either accept the fait accompli and wait for the awakening of the conscience of the racist minority, or they can fight the policy of *apartheid* by all possible means and eliminate it. The indigenous people of South Africa have chosen the second alternative, because the racist South African entity is devoid of human conscience. It is now for the General Assembly to support the people of South Africa in their struggle to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* and establish a society free from fanaticism or discrimination.

64. On behalf of the sponsors, my delegation appeals to the General Assembly to adopt this draft resolution unanimously.

65. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the representative of Nigeria to introduce the draft resolutions in documents A/34/L.21, A/34/L.24, A/34/L.25 and A/34/L.34.

66. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria): The debate on the “Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa”, agenda item 28, has taken place this year against the background of the reported nuclear detonation by South Africa, the military aggression of South Africa against the front-line States, the blatant interference by South Africa in the ongoing constitutional talks for the independence of Zimbabwe, the influence peddling, bribery and distortion that make up the so-called Muldergate scandal in a number of countries and the *apartheid* régime’s brazen defiance of the will of the international community as clearly shown in its foot-dragging over the independence of Namibia.

67. Perhaps more than ever before the condemnation

of the policies of the South African Government, which has resounded in these halls, would tend to indicate the continued determination of the international community for decisive action to rid this earth of the plague of *apartheid*, which the United Nations has described as a crime against humanity.

68. In keeping with the multidimensional aspects of the problem, a number of draft resolutions have already been submitted today. On behalf of the sponsors, Nigeria has the privilege of introducing those contained in documents A/34/L.21, A/34/L.24, A/34/L.25, and A/34/L.34.

69. The draft resolution entitled "Situation in South Africa", contained in document A/34/L.21, is what has been usually called the omnibus draft resolution on *apartheid*. It distills the essence of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. It also by and large reaffirms the position of the Special Committee and stresses the importance of both sanctions and support for the liberation movements. Indeed, the draft resolution dealing with the arms embargo against South Africa, contained in document A/34/L.24, and that on nuclear collaboration with South Africa, contained in document A/34/L.24, and that on nuclear collaboration with South Africa, contained in document A/34/L.25, in a sense flow from certain paragraphs of this omnibus draft resolution.

70. I wish to recall that this General Assembly, reacting against the Sharpeville massacres, adopted a resolution in 1962 [*resolution 1761 (XVII)*] calling for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. In that respect, the paragraphs dealing with sanctions in draft resolution A/34/L.21 are nothing new.

71. I now wish to draw attention to certain other paragraphs of the draft resolution to which the Special Committee attaches considerable importance. The first is operative paragraph 15, which requests the United Nations and specialized agencies to set the required example for other hesitant Governments and international organizations to follow.

72. I wish also to draw attention to operative paragraph 17, which contains an appeal to the youth of South Africa to refrain from enlisting in the South African armed forces. This is a quite new element as far as these resolutions go, but it is clear that, since the armed forces are part of the machinery designed to defend and perpetuate the inhuman system of *apartheid* and to repress the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples, this appeal to South African youth not to enlist in the armed forces is quite timely, and, furthermore, is motivated by a desire to save the youth from the consequences of war and, indeed, for peace.

73. Turning to draft resolution A/34/L.24, on the arms embargo against South Africa, it will be recalled that the Security Council in turn adopted its resolution 421 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa. Although the adoption of the resolution was itself a step in the right direction, many problems have been encountered concerning interpretation of that resolution. In the Committee's judgement, the aim of that resolution was to seek the full implementation of the arms embargo. That loop-holes have been discovered in the resolution itself is distressing enough. What is even

more distressing is the narrow and restrictive legal construction put on the resolution adopted by the Security Council. The adoption of this present draft resolution would, in the Committee's view, help to highlight breaches of the arms embargo and would again remind Member States of their binding obligations under the Security Council resolution.

74. With regard to draft resolution A/34/L.25, dealing with nuclear collaboration with South Africa, the recent developments in South Africa demand that this matter of nuclear collaboration be accorded the highest priority in the United Nations. In summary, all this draft resolution seeks is the strengthening of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), in the light of recent developments concerning South Africa's nuclear ambitions, with their ominous prospects for all mankind.

75. I come now to draft resolution A/34/L.34 on the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. As is well known, Nigeria has had the privilege and honour of providing the chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for many years past. It gives the Nigerian delegation cause for much pride and satisfaction to hear the amount of praise being lavished on both the Committee for its work and the Chairman for his guidance and inspiration in that respect. As *apartheid* spreads its tentacles and becomes more unrelenting, it is only reasonable to expect the work of the Committee to increase. However, this is dependent also on the provision of adequate resources for the Committee to prosecute its assigned tasks. There is no gainsaying that the effectiveness of the Committee depends in part on the co-operation and services rendered by the Secretariat. It is quite obvious that the work of the Committee would be paralysed if the staff servicing both the Committee and its sub-committees, on the one hand, and the Centre against *Apartheid*, on the other, were not adequately strengthened and encouraged.

76. I wish, in this connexion, to recall that the idea reflected in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/34/L.34 was introduced last year. For a number of considerations, action was deferred. It can hardly be over-emphasized that, given the number of special projects, campaigns and mobilization efforts now embarked upon and envisaged by the Committee, it will need all the staff of the right calibre it can get, within reason, to prosecute its functions to a successful end and thus discharge its mandate. The amount requested in operative paragraph 5 of the same text is meant to take care of the special projects which the Committee would undertake to promote the International Mobilization against *apartheid*.

77. Before I proceed, I have the authority of the sponsors of this draft resolution to modify orally operative paragraph 11. The new operative paragraph 11 reads as follows:

"Decides further to concretize its resolution 31/61 of 9 November 1976, in which it declared that the people of South Africa and their national liberation movements are a special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community, by authorizing adequate financial provision in the budget of the United Nations for purposes of maintaining the offices in New York of the national liberation

movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity—the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—in order to ensure the due and proper representation of the people of South Africa through their national liberation movements.”

This paragraph, as has been spelled out, concerns assistance for the national liberation movements. The national liberation movements concerned are recognized by OAU. They participate as observers in the work of the Special Committee and other organs of the United Nations. The need to render them assistance with which to maintain their offices is imperative. Such assistance should by no means be considered a favour; rather, it should be regarded as a means of increasing their effectiveness.

78. In operative paragraph 6, the expansion of the Committee's membership is requested anew, so that it may cope with its increasing and manifold tasks. The Committee is convinced that the inclusion of new members from the front-line States would be most helpful. It is unfortunate that the Committee has not been able to achieve the measure of equitable geographical distribution that is traditional in the United Nations because of the absence of Member States from one of the regional groups. I am speaking of the group of Western European and other States. It is my hope that in holding your consultations, Mr. President, you will persuade members from other groups of States to join their colleagues in the Committee in the common struggle against the evils of *apartheid*, which, after all, this august Assembly has characterized as a crime against humanity.

79. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Peru to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.29.

80. Mr. PALMA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour and satisfaction for my delegation to introduce in this Assembly draft resolution A/34/L.29, entitled “Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement”. This draft resolution has been sponsored by 49 countries, and in it we consider the unjust situation of the South African people subjected to the *apartheid* régime, which has been condemned by the international community.

81. In its preambular part it reaffirms the legitimacy of the South African people's struggle for self-determination and equality. It recognizes the need for increased assistance in various fields by the international community to the South African people, to the refugees fleeing from that country and to the national liberation movement in its efforts to establish a non-racial society. It also considers that the international community has the duty to assist those African States which are constantly victims of acts or threats of aggression because they help the South African people in pursuance of the relevant resolutions of our Organization and of OAU.

82. In its operative part, it appeals to States to increase the assistance they give to the national liberation movements, with a view to placing the South African people in a position to exercise their right to self-determination; it indicates the need to grant support to the educational projects of the national liberation

movements which have been recognized by the Organization of African Unity, with special emphasis on the needs of refugee women and children; and, finally, it requests the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, with the help of the Centre against *Apartheid*, to promote greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

83. In this connexion, we wish to add an operative paragraph 4 in which, taking into account the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the South African people and its liberation movements, would authorize the necessary financial provision in the United Nations budget for maintaining the New York offices of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, which have been recognized by OAU.

84. In view of the aims of this important draft resolution, my delegation is convinced that it will receive the overwhelming support of the members of the international community.

85. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Sweden to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.39.

86. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): On behalf of the sponsors, my delegation has the honour of introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.39 concerning investment in South Africa.

87. During its previous three sessions, the General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority, resolutions 31/6 K, 32/105 0 and 33/183 0, respectively, in which it urged the Security Council to consider steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in South Africa. The last-mentioned resolution also included an element concerning the cessation of financial loans to South Africa. We regretfully note, however, that the Security Council, while seized of the question of South Africa, has so far been unable to reach agreement on steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

88. Since the adoption of that resolution last year by the Assembly, the motives for taking steps in that direction have remained equally pressing. A diminishing inflow of capital for investments and other purposes into South Africa would be an effective means of putting pressure on the South African régime to change its racial and aggressive policies. Among other things, it would make it more difficult for that country to fulfil the ambitious and costly build-up of its military and nuclear capacity and its energy reserves for the purpose of withstanding internal and international pressures. The sponsors therefore find it urgent to strengthen efforts to stem the flow of resources to South Africa for the purpose of investments.

89. Some countries may find the scope of the draft resolution too limited. However, as was the case in previous years, the sponsors have formulated the operative element of the draft resolution in such a way as to make it possible for the widest range of countries to vote for it. The broadest possible support for this kind of action would be a clear signal to South Africa that the world community as a whole is strongly reacting against its *apartheid* policies.

90. The draft resolution that we are now introducing should be seen as one element in a broad and joint international effort to bring an end to the *apartheid* policies, and it is in this spirit that we commend it for adoption by the General Assembly.

91. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Haiti, who will introduce draft resolution A/34/L.27.

92. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the sponsors, my delegation has the honour and the privilege of introducing to the Assembly draft resolution A/34/L.27 concerning bantustans. More than 50 States have sponsored this draft resolution.

93. One of the most abhorrent and most despicable aspects of the racial policy of the South African régime is the establishment of bantustans which, on the pretext of preserving the specific characteristics of the different South African ethnic groups, allow 4 million whites to keep more than 16 million South African blacks in conditions verging on slavery.

94. While *apartheid* is, first of all, a system of domination and economic exploitation, bantustanization, which may be rightly considered to be the biggest hoax in the history of decolonization, is the most dreadful and merciless weapon used by Pretoria to consolidate and perpetuate that system of domination.

95. With the creation of these bantustans, the Africans find themselves banished from the urban areas, which they can visit only if they have the appropriate documents. They remain confined to tribal reservations, providing a cheap source of labour to be exploited unscrupulously for the benefit of the white racists and of foreign economic interests.

96. This is not the time to describe the wretched conditions in these bantustans, where the black man suffers from all forms of destitution and deprivation. None the less, it is well to remember that daily life there is characterized by poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, lack of schools, and of medical care, in brief, by the lack of those opportunities which are necessary for a human being to develop.

97. The black man, each time he is admitted into the white zones, which represent 85 per cent of South African territory, has no rights, not even the most elementary ones. In return for his labour he receives merely a subsistence-level salary and enjoys no form of social protection whatsoever.

98. The true magnitude of this unprecedented crime of the creation of bantustans can only be measured in the light of the fact that the African is thereby rendered a stateless person in his own country, in violation of the principles of international law, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the generally accepted standards of civilized societies.

99. Bantustanization is an attack upon the territorial integrity of South Africa and threatens to break down the unity of the South African people, a unity which is essential for the continuation of the liberation struggle.

100. Draft resolution A/34/L.27, which members have before them, reflects the concern of the General Assembly over the worsening of the situation in the

southern part of the African continent, because of the stubbornness of the racist régime in continuing its criminal policy of bantustanization by proclaiming the so-called independence of Venda on 13 September 1979.

101. By denouncing, in operative paragraphs 1 and 2, the establishment of bantustans and by declaring, in operative paragraph 4, its firm support to any State which may be subjected to threats and pressures by the racist régime in the pursuit of its bantustan policy, which is the key element in the oppression of the Africans through *apartheid*, the General Assembly would be acting in conformity with the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the total elimination of *apartheid*.

102. The last two operative paragraphs, which call upon all Governments to continue to deny any form of recognition to the so-called "independent" bantustans and to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with those bantustans, simply reiterate recommendations already adopted by the General Assembly in order to bring about the complete isolation of the South African régime and to force it to end its racist policy of *apartheid*.

103. The other sponsors and I hope that this draft resolution will gain the unanimous support of the members of the Assembly, who would thereby show proof of their solidarity with and their commitment to the cause of the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

104. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Algeria, who will introduce draft resolution A/34/L.26.

105. Mr. BEDJAOU (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the 42 sponsors, I have the honour of introducing draft resolution A/34/L.26 on the oil embargo against South Africa.

106. I should like to recall here the merit and foresightedness of the liberation movements of southern Africa whose efforts and activities within the international community have made possible first the application of an arms embargo measure against South Africa, and then the preparation of equally mandatory measures with regard to supplies of oil and oil by-products to that stronghold of racism and *apartheid*.

107. The draft resolution before the General Assembly today is quite clear. Moreover, it makes a very appreciable contribution to the universal effort to eradicate *apartheid*, which is a scourge of mankind. Therefore I shall refrain from commenting on each of the paragraphs comprising this important document. I do wish, however, to mention the second paragraph of the preamble, noting the great contribution of the new régime of Iran, which has taken the historic decision to halt all oil deliveries to South Africa and also to break off all relationships with Pretoria. That action comes within the context of the general measures advocated by the authors of draft resolution A/34/L.26, who appeal to the Security Council to consider an embargo on the supply of petroleum to South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The sponsors also appeal to all Member States to take a certain number of elementary measures to contribute to the combined effort of the international community as a whole to bring

about the complete eradication of the régime of *apartheid* which—and I think we can never stress this enough—is a threat to international peace and security.

108. Moreover, the draft resolution suggests that the Secretary-General should appoint a group of experts to prepare a report with proposals on means to impose an effective embargo against South Africa, and finally, it encourages the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to continue its activities within the framework of its important programme.

109. On behalf of the sponsors, the Algerian delegation requests members of the General Assembly to adopt draft resolution A/34/L.26 unanimously. In that way, the United Nations would express its complete solidarity with the oppressed South African people and contribute to bringing justice to the entire African continent, which is threatened by the racist minority régimes of southern Africa.

110. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who will introduce draft resolution A/34/L.35.

111. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): Before introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.35, entitled "*Apartheid* in sports", I should like, as one of the members in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, to inform the General Assembly of the progress that we have made so far in the drafting of that convention.

112. Representatives may recall that the *Ad Hoc* Committee was established by the General Assembly under resolution 31/6F of 9 November 1976, with the specific mandate of preparing a draft declaration on *apartheid* in sports and undertaking preparatory steps towards the drafting of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports. In 1977, the General Assembly, by resolution 32/105 M, adopted and proclaimed the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports and requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

113. At the preceding session of the General Assembly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee submitted a progress report and appended a draft convention consisting of 9 preambular paragraphs and 23 articles.⁹

114. At that time, it reported that the *Ad Hoc* Committee had reached agreement on all the preambular paragraphs and on 18 of the articles. On the other 5 articles, however, no consensus was reached. It was then that the General Assembly, in resolution 33/183 N of 24 January 1979, decided to request the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work with a view to completing the draft international convention for submission to the General Assembly at this session. As representatives will recall, this request has been complied with.

115. As I pointed out when introducing the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, that body has made significant progress in reaching an agreement on the preamble and on all the articles, with the exception of one. Agreement was also reached on revisions to the draft international

convention which, in my view and that of the sponsors, underlies the spirit of these resolutions. It is therefore my honour and privilege to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.35 on behalf of the large number of sponsors.

116. The draft resolution consists of four preambular paragraphs and four operative paragraphs. The first preambular paragraph recalls and reaffirms the resolution, so far adopted by the General Assembly, and in particular the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports annexed to resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977.

117. The second preambular paragraph takes note of the reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and that of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports. The other two preambular paragraphs reaffirm the importance of a complete cessation of all sports exchanges with South Africa, while rejecting South Africa's manoeuvres to deceive world opinion into believing that sports in that country are practiced in a proper manner.

118. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution is based on the recommendation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in which it asked for the extension of its mandate in the light of the progress it has made, so that it can continue its work with a view to submitting a draft convention to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

119. Operative paragraph 2 authorizes the *Ad Hoc* Committee to consult with representatives of organizations concerned and experts on *apartheid* in sports. In this connexion, I must point out, as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, that in the course of our work this year we have benefited significantly from the consultations we have had with those organizations, particularly the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and the Tripartite Commission of the International Olympic Committee. We hope that the General Assembly will, once again, authorize the continuance of those consultations.

120. Operative paragraph 3 is a mere expression of appreciation and commendation of those Governments, sports bodies and sportsmen and other organizations that, with self-sacrifice, have taken action to end sports exchanges with South Africa.

121. The last operative paragraph invites the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to continue its activities to promote the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning sports exchanges with South Africa.

122. It is the hope of the sponsors that this resolution will meet with the full support of the General Assembly.

123. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of Liberia to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.23.

124. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Mr. President, may I, through you, crave the indulgence of the Assembly while I introduce yet another resolution on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa?

125. My delegation and the other sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.23 regarding an international con-

⁹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 36, annex, appendix.

ference on sanctions against South Africa are aware that, because this year's profusion of draft resolutions on *apartheid* comes at a time when so many efforts over so many years to resolve the problem of *apartheid* have come to very little, the patience and interest of many people and countries regarding our Organization's preoccupation with this whole question of *apartheid* may have waned greatly. Of course, not many delegations will come here and admit this impatience of which I have spoken, for fear of being considered soft on *apartheid*. But the mere passage of resolutions against *apartheid* does not necessarily prove the existence of a tough stand against that inhuman system. *Apartheid* will not be swept away by an avalanche of resolutions. Indeed, those of us who really wish to see that vile and wicked system ended must be careful to guard against tendencies, no matter whence they come or the motive behind them, that may lead not to the destruction of *apartheid* but to the creation of a climate in which mere verbal opposition to *apartheid* becomes institutionalized and protected by vested interests.

126. My delegation and the other sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.23, together with all members of OAU, seek the total destruction of *apartheid*: nothing less, nothing more. We appreciate the support given by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations from year to year to resolutions against *apartheid*, but we feel that the time for resolutions alone has passed. Concrete action must now be taken, and that is why we have proposed the draft resolution which I am introducing calling for an international conference on sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria.

127. The General Assembly at its resumed thirty-third session earlier this year envisaged the adoption of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter by the Security Council against South Africa, but this has yet to occur. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, when it met at Monrovia in July this year and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, when it met at Havana in September, both supported the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Those two important conferences went further and endorsed the proposal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the organization of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

128. Against the background of such impressive and broad support from the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.23 are confident that the General Assembly will have no difficulty in deciding to organize in 1980, in co-operation with OAU, an international conference on sanctions against South Africa. The Assembly is also being asked to authorize the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to take all necessary steps for the organization of the conference and preparatory meetings. Our draft resolution concludes by requesting the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Special Committee in the organization of the conference and to appoint a secretary-general of the conference; and it invites all appropriate United Nations bodies, specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Special Committee in the implementation of the resolution.

129. We are confident that all States in this Assembly, realizing that the fight against *apartheid* is more than a matter of support for Africa or African interests and that it involves above all defence of the basic principles of this Organization, will give our draft resolution their overwhelming support.

130. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.28.

131. Mr. RAZI AHMED (India): My delegation considers it a great privilege to be able to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.28 on political prisoners in South Africa, which has been sponsored by my country, along with a large number of States Members of the United Nations.

132. It was over three decades ago that the late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru first brought the issue of racism in South Africa before the United Nations. Over those years, the racist régime of South Africa, with the assistance of certain affluent and industrialized countries, has been trying to perpetuate its uncivilized policy of *apartheid*. A reign of terror and suppression has been let loose by that régime on the black majority of South Africa, some of whose revered leaders have been given life sentences and have been even subjected to torture leading to their death.

133. My delegation has just received the shocking news that, in the trial being held at Pietermaritzburg in connexion with charges of "high treason" and accusations under the notorious Terrorism Act, 12 freedom fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa have today been given savage sentences. Mr. James Mange, 24 years old, was sentenced to death. The other 11 were sentenced to between 13 and 18 years imprisonment. Immediately after the sentence, the 12 men sang freedom songs and held up placards reading: "*Apartheid* is a crime against humanity", "*Apartheid* is treason" and "Never on our knees". The judge then sentenced them to an additional 12 months. This latest news underlines the urgency of international action to ensure an end to repression and the release of political prisoners.

134. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has repeatedly stressed that executions of patriots will have grave consequences. The *apartheid* régime, however, defied urgent appeals by the Security Council and by many Heads of State or Government, and executed Mr. Solomon Mahlangu on 6 April 1979.

135. The United Nations and States Members must immediately take action to save the life of James Mange, for the United Nations has recognized that the struggle of the South African people for liberation is a legitimate struggle and, in fact, a significant contribution to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

136. My delegation would like to reiterate India's support for and solidarity with the black majority of South Africa in their struggle against this oppression.

137. Draft resolution A/34/L.28, which is before us today, recalls past resolutions of the United Nations concerning political prisoners in South Africa. It notes with grave concern the executions, torture and killings by the illegal régime of South Africa of the opponents

of *apartheid*, and the institution of numerous trials under arbitrary laws providing for death sentences.

138. While recognizing the great contribution of the opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa to the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations, in the draft resolution the General Assembly takes into account the provision of Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 1949,¹⁰ which recognized that the wars of national liberation, like those being waged in southern Africa by movements recognized OAU, are subject to the Geneva Conventions.

139. In its operative paragraphs, the draft resolution, expressing solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa and all those struggling for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, once again demands that the racist régime of South Africa end violence and repression against the black people and release all persons detained, imprisoned, restricted or charged under arbitrary repressive laws.

140. The draft resolution specifically condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its execution of Solomon Mahlangu and declares that freedom fighters captured during the struggle for liberation must be entitled to prisoner-of-war status and treatment in accordance with the relevant Geneva Conventions. It also urges the Secretary-General and Member States to take appropriate measures to save the lives of all prisoners threatened with execution in trials staged by the illegal racist régime of South Africa under the obnoxious Terrorism Act.

141. My delegation is aware that the States Members of the United Nations fully recognize the gravity of the situation in South Africa, which not only affects the black majority of that unfortunate country but also endangers world peace and security. My delegation therefore sincerely hopes that the States Members of the United Nations will adopt this important draft resolution by consensus, as they have done in similar cases in past years.

142. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Ghana to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.33.

143. Mr. NYAMEKYE (Ghana): I appreciate the opportunity offered me to introduce, on behalf of its sponsors draft resolution A/34/L.33 relating to the role of non-governmental organizations in international action against *apartheid*.

144. In paragraph 329 of its report to this Assembly, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* drew attention to the important role played by anti-*apartheid* and solidarity movements, and by numerous trade unions, religious bodies, and student and youth organizations, in co-operation with the Special Committee, in support of United Nations efforts for the eradication of *apartheid*. It made particular mention of the invaluable co-operation of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, *Apartheid* and Decolonization, the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Co-operation with South Africa, the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the International

University Exchange Fund, the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the World Council of Churches, the World Peace Council and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity.

145. The declaration on the role of transnational corporations, adopted by the International Seminar organized by the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement in co-operation with the Special Committee and held in London early this month, is before this Assembly [A/34/655, annex].

146. The role of non-governmental organizations in our common effort to find ways and means of promoting concerted international action to eliminate the criminal policies of *apartheid* cannot be over-emphasized. They have been a major pillar of support to the Special Committee and to the liberation movements. The Chairman of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, *Apartheid* and Decolonization is here in New York to consult with the Special Committee on future programmes and activities, and particularly the proposals on holding an international action conference of non-governmental organizations on sanctions against South Africa from 30 June to 3 July 1980. The action conference of non-governmental organizations on sanctions against South Africa would provide a very useful preparatory ground for or contribution to the United Nations-OAU international conference proposed in draft resolution A/34/L.23 which was just introduced by the representative of Liberia.

147. The draft resolution on the role of non-governmental organizations in international action against *apartheid* gives recognition to the very important role played by non-governmental organizations in moulding world public opinion on international action for the eradication of *apartheid*. The second preambular paragraph relates to the commendable activities of non-governmental organizations in support of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and in co-operation with the Special Committee and the Centre against *Apartheid*. The last preambular paragraph acknowledges that the success of the international mobilization against *apartheid* requires concerted action by non-governmental organizations.

148. The operative section of the resolution has three paragraphs. In the first, the General Assembly

“Requests the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Centre against *Apartheid* of the Secretariat and other United Nations bodies concerned, as well as the specialized agencies, to continue and further develop co-operation with all non-governmental organizations active in opposition to *apartheid*”.

In operative paragraph 2, the Assembly

“Invites all Governments to take appropriate steps to encourage and assist such non-governmental organizations”.

In the third and last operative paragraph, the Assembly “Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to ensure closest contact by all United Nations offices with such non-governmental organizations.”

¹⁰ Document A/32/144, annex I.

149. The draft resolution contained in document A/34/L.33 pays a tribute, as it were, to the role of non-governmental organizations in the international action towards the eradication of the criminal policies of *apartheid*, and calls for closer co-operation with Governments and with the United Nations, and further intensification of the activities aimed at bringing *apartheid* to an end. This is a simple and worthy draft which, in the expectation of the sponsors, should be adopted unanimously by this Assembly.

150. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Sudan to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.37.

151. Mr. OSMAN (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has the honour of submitting, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/34/L.37 on the relations and co-operation between Israel and South Africa.

152. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has confirmed the increasing military nuclear and economic relations between Israel and South Africa. We have all heard the news of the nuclear explosions which were recently carried out by South Africa and of the technical assistance given by the Israelis in that respect.

153. There are three operative paragraphs in the draft resolution. The first would condemn Israel's relations with South Africa, and the second would demand that Israel desist from and terminate all forms of collaboration.

154. The General Assembly has adopted similar resolutions by an overwhelming majority. We are sure that this resolution will also be supported by the Assembly because relations between the two entities are constantly increasing, in spite of the many resolutions

which have been adopted by the General Assembly on the question.

155. The PRESIDENT: In order to give some time for delegations to study the draft resolutions and hold consultations, and for the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee to consider them under rule 153 of the rules of procedure, voting on these draft resolutions will take place on Friday, 23 November.

156. Given the difficulties in concluding our voting expeditiously today, in that several delegations were late for the voting, I should like all delegations to be aware of the manner in which I intend to conduct the business of the plenary meetings. This is particularly important since, during the remainder of the session, we shall be receiving a large number of committee reports and shall be required to take a large number of votes.

157. I should like to restate that it is my intention to begin plenary meetings punctually. Secondly, it is my intention to proceed to the vote when such is required whenever—and I repeat: “whenever”—the necessary quorum exists. For those who arrive late or wish to change any inaccurately recorded vote, a system exists whereby representatives may proceed to the voting table on the floor of the hall to my left and fill in a special form designed for this purpose.

158. I appeal for the co-operation of all delegations in expediting the business of the plenary meetings, since, as I have indicated previously, we have an especially large number of items this year requiring consideration by the plenary Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.