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## GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 10 November 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda)  
(Vice-President)

Later: Mr. MACIEL (Brazil)  
(Vice-President)

Later: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)  
(President)

- Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa: [33] (continued)
- (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
  - (b) Reports of the Secretary-General
  - (c) Report of the Special Political Committee
  - (d) Draft resolutions
  - (e) Report of the Fifth Committee

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Kabanda (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/41/22 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/41/506 and Add.1-3, A/41/638, A/41/690)
- (c) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/41/779)
- (d) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/41/L.24, A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, A/41/L.27 to A/41/L.31)
- (e) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/41/810)

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The most monstrous form of racism, the obnoxious apartheid system practised by the Pretoria régime, is continuing to challenge the will of mankind with its ugly, barbaric and inhuman policies. Relying on the use of brute force and assured of the full and constant support of their imperialist patrons, the racist circles of the white minority of South Africa continue to disregard the repeated calls by the international community for the dismantlement of the abhorrent machinery of apartheid.

Based on an ideology which is racist in its very nature and in all its dimensions and manifestations, the Pretoria régime is committed to maintaining the supremacy of South African whites over the indigenous and coloured majority. This has resulted in the most inhuman repression of the people of South Africa and the denial to millions of human beings of the enjoyment of even elementary human rights.

In fact the whole ignominious history of apartheid has proved, if anything, that it is incompatible with human dignity and with freedom and justice. Apartheid is totally lacking in human and moral values. It has no room whatsoever for

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

reform. Any claim to the contrary is either based on utter ignorance of the prevailing situation or a thinly disguised attempt at sheer deception.

The policy of bantustanization is not what the racists of South Africa and their imperialist supporters would like us very much to believe, namely, an endeavour to create a situation in which the aspirations of the black majority would find expression and realization. On the contrary, it is an attempt to remove the nuisance by confining millions of blacks and other non-whites to segregated enclaves in unproductive, barren areas, sometimes consisting of several unconnected fragments of land poor in natural resources, which constitute less than 13 per cent. of the territory of the country. The idea is, of course, to turn the millions of black and coloured people into aliens in their own land and to condemn them to permanent economic difficulties which will make them subject to the whims of the racist white rulers in Pretoria. This policy is also aimed at furthering the diabolical cause of apartheid by depriving the black and coloured majority of South Africa of the right to fight against this evil, by denying them citizenship of their own country.

Racism is closely connected to, and in its most naked form a by-product of, colonialism and imperialism. No wonder, then, that the Pretoria régime has extended its racial policy into Namibia as well. The brutality with which the heroic people of Namibia are suppressed by the Pretoria régime demonstrates not only the attempt of an occupying Power to perpetuate the exploitation of a captive people and to plunder the wealth of their land but also the barbarity of a system irrevocably committed to institutionalized racism. Therefore the fight for the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must be regarded as a component part of the

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

international struggle to combat racism and racial discrimination. In this connection, I should like to reiterate the firm support of my country for SWAPO and the front-line States fighting against the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid in that region.

Historically, the strong links between colonialist Powers and the Pretoria régime are responsible for the nurturing of racism and the appearance of the abhorrent phenomenon of apartheid in South Africa. If today the apartheid régime is still able to continue its shameful existence, the reason must be sought nowhere else but in the umbilical cord that attaches the apartheid régime in South Africa to the political, military and economic interests of imperialist Powers and their transnational corporations.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

In fact, it is strange that a hated régime of an inhuman nature which is at constant war with the vast majority of the inhabitants of the land is able to resist and defy for decades the will of all mankind. However, once the nature of the problem is closely examined, matters fall into their proper places in the realm of things in our troubled and contradictory world.

The policy of so-called constructive engagement, or rather destructive marriage, between United States imperialism and the Pretoria régime provides the main clue in this connection. This policy is nothing but an attempt on the part of the United States to bolster the political, economic and military capability of the apartheid régime in South Africa with a view to preserving imperialist strategic interests and receiving dividends from the inhuman exploitation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

It is only through the protection and preservation of the racist régime that the strategic, military and economic interests of imperialism can be ensured. The road of rapacious super-profits in South Africa leads directly and inevitably to a vested interest in maintaining apartheid.

It is exactly this intrinsic unity of interests that is the root cause of and the main factor in the denial of basic human rights to millions of people in South Africa and Namibia. It is with the political, economic and military assistance received from imperialist Powers and fellow racist systems, such as Israeli zionism, that the Pretoria régime manages to perpetuate apartheid, to continue the illegal occupation of Namibia and to carry out piratical attacks against neighbouring front-line countries.

My country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, does not maintain any political, economic, commercial, cultural or any other relations whatsoever with the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime. We insist categorically on the full

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

imposition of comprehensive sanctions against that régime as provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In our opinion, failure to do so, no matter on what pretext, amounts to disregarding not only the expressed will of all humanity and the overwhelming majority of States, but also the Charter of our Organization, through which all of us have pledged to strive for the advancement of human rights and the independence of nations from the racist and colonial yoke.

In their struggle, under the leadership of the African National Congress, the people of South Africa are fighting not only for their own legitimate human rights but, in fact, for a cause which all of us consider our own.

The corresponding surge of militancy demonstrated by the people of South Africa in the face of the recent escalation of terror and repression by the apartheid régime, must have proven to everybody that the brave South African people are prepared to continue their struggle to its glorious end. Their victory is certain. The battle against evil in South Africa will be won and the inhuman apartheid system will be dismantled. The international community, therefore, cannot afford to fail to do everything possible to bring closer the victory of the people of South Africa in their struggle for human rights, justice and democracy. Through unswerving determination, concrete action and joint efforts, we must do everything to reduce the outpouring of human blood and tears which the militant people of South Africa have so bravely offered as the price for the attainment of an objective which is not only theirs, but also shared by all humanity.

Mr. FLEMMING (Saint Lucia): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the six States members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, namely, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and my own country Saint Lucia.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

Though our position vis-à-vis the odious practice of apartheid is a matter of public record, we nevertheless wish to reiterate the collective revulsion of the Governments and peoples of the six States both at the doctrine of apartheid and at the régime in Pretoria that seeks to perpetuate it. We have spoken out against this practice since 1946 when the South African National Party made a doctrine of the then extant de facto discrimination against Blacks and people of Indian origin, even though we were then ourselves colonials and, consequently, racial conditions in our own societies were far less than equalitarian. Since taking on the mantle of sovereignty, we have backed up our rhetoric with concrete actions, imposing a total economic, political, diplomatic and cultural embargo against the South African régime.

The United Nations as an organization and, more specifically, the General Assembly as a body, have found the doctrine of apartheid to be anathema from its very conception. In the past four decades the Assembly has also dealt with a myriad of other issues which threatened world peace and security, and in general impinged on the fundamental right of people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But very few issues on the agenda of the past 40 sessions of the General Assembly were of greater gravity or more fundamental to basic human life and dignity than were the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

The enunciation of the doctrine of apartheid was a declaration of war by the minority on the majority in South Africa. This war has been with us for half a century, and the belligerents continue to be, on the one side, the vicious troops of the Government of South Africa and, on the other side, anyone in South Africa who dares to oppose the policy of apartheid. Just as every hot war intermittently degenerates into the massacre of innocent and defenceless civilians, so did this war degenerate in 1960 into the Sharpeville massacre, when the South African Government unleashed a pogrom against innocent women and children. Every war has its prisoners of war. Nelson Mandela is a prisoner of war.

When it comes to apartheid, we the Six are iconoclasts, perhaps even heretics. That is why we cannot understand why the world community has not acted sooner, and more decisively, for the vitiation of apartheid in South Africa. In 1973 the General Assembly, resting on the foundation of the erga omnes decision of the International Court of Justice in the Barcelona Traction case of 1970, declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity and, as such, a clear violation of the international legal principle of jus cogens. And, as we all know, treaties entered into in a breach of jus cogens are automatically void.

The point we are making here is that South Africa has from the outset invoked Article 2, paragraph 7 - or the domestic jurisdiction clause - of the United Nations Charter to argue that the General Assembly has no competence to consider the matter of apartheid. But, since we the Six are Promethean in international legal matters concerning apartheid, we do not believe that this Article is applicable to South Africa. Hence, in our minds there is not a single legal reason why the Security Council should have been repeatedly prevented from imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the South African régime.



(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

Even if South Africa's apartheid system were purely within its domestic jurisdiction, we can think of no better reason to re-examine the customary doctrine of absolute sovereignty. We all respect the aphorism that a man's house is his castle. And within his castle a man has the right to correct, even punish, his children when they are wrong. But a good neighbour would not stand idly by while a man maimed and killed his children merely because he did it in his own house. The same must apply in international law. We cannot continue to let autocratic régimes raise glass shields at their borders and proceed to do as they please under the protection of domestic jurisdiction. So, ironically, those nations that continue to give succour to South Africa are not its good neighbours. We who speak out and fight against its policies are the good neighbours.

At this juncture, the Six would like to express their thanks to, and their solidarity with, those Governments, particularly in the Western Hemisphere, that have of late joined the fight by breaking relations with South Africa. And in those cases where the will of the people has forced legislative branches of government to act, despite the intentions of executive branches, we express our solidarity with the people.

The Six have tried to be as emphatic as possible in order to convey how strongly held our views against apartheid are. At present, we feel very confident that apartheid is moribund. But we are not so naive as to believe that the Pretoria régime will let it die a peaceful, non-violent death.

The report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group makes it unequivocally clear that the Pretoria régime has no intention of facilitating the transition to a racially egalitarian society in South Africa. What the régime persists in doing is using a tricameral legislature which is two-thirds impotent to give an imprimatur to a series of cosmetic measures designed to delude the world community into believing that it is in favour of change, even incremental change.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

Anyone who is fooled by these shenanigans deserves to be fooled. After all, the Pretoria régime has glibly and blithely prevaricated to the international community for decades, always indicating its intention to dismantle apartheid and to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Hence, only limited opportunities for satyagraha, or non-violent non-co-operation, remain as the final confrontation nears. Only the world community can ensure a peaceful transition. We the Six, within our limited resources, are prepared to play a role.

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): To begin, I wish to reiterate my delegation's deep and sincere condolences to the people of Mozambique on the recent demise of their President, Samora Machel. The untimely death of President Samora Machel is indeed a grievous loss not only to the people of Mozambique, but to the front-line States, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, all Africa and the international community as a whole. His death in very suspicious circumstances is but one more blatant example of the lengths to which the destabilization activities of the racist apartheid régime of South Africa can go. However, we firmly believe that the people of Mozambique and southern Africa as a whole will be the ultimate winners and that the apartheid régime of South Africa is completely on the wrong side of history.

For a very long time now the Assembly, together with most of its subsidiary bodies and the other principal organs of the United Nations, has been discussing ad nauseam the abominable evils of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, and hundreds of resolutions have resulted from these discussions, but with no commensurate action at the international level. Perhaps the time has now come when the international community should concentrate mainly on programmes of action designed to isolate increasingly the apartheid régime of South Africa with a view to eliminating apartheid, rather than on long catalogues of the atrocities perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa, with which the international community is already only too familiar. Accordingly, our brief statement on this item this year will be mainly action-oriented. Our statement will be based on the excellent report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/41/22 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1), the reports of the Secretary-General (A/41/506 and Add.1-3 and A/41/690) and some of the statements already made by delegations during this session on this agenda item.

First, my delegation sincerely congratulates the Special Committee against Apartheid on its comprehensive coverage, which includes, inter alia, action against

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

South Africa's aggression against independent African States, campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, encouragement of world-wide action against apartheid, action against apartheid in sports, action against apartheid in the cultural field and action concerning assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements.

It is our sincere hope that all Member States will, both individually and collectively, if they have not already done so, seriously consider the recommendations of the Special Committee, as contained in section IV B of its report, with a view to their adoption and implementation by each Member State. This would indeed provide a very wide and effective base for an international onslaught against apartheid. My delegation would, in particular, urge the General Assembly to adopt by acclamation the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid on the arms embargo against South Africa, on the oil embargo against South Africa and the draft resolution that will be submitted on it, on concerted international action against the apartheid régime, on support for the national liberation struggle and on assistance to the front-line States and States members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

At this juncture I should like to reiterate that my Government has already endorsed both the declaration adopted by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June, and the final declaration of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare last September, on concerted international action against the apartheid régime. In addition, we have already signed the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and, as one of the front-line States, we give our moral and material support to the national liberation movements of South Africa; that is well known and needs no elaboration.

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

On the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, my delegation fully supports the Committee's recommendations in Section IV C of its report, and, considering its multiplier effect, the \$US 375,000 which the Committee is requesting from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1987 is very modest and should be approved by the General Assembly.

I now turn to the reports of the Secretary-General (A/41/506 and Add.1-3 and A/41/638), for which we thank the Secretary-General.

My delegation would first like to pay a tribute to the Nordic countries - in particular, Sweden, Norway and Denmark - for their positive contributions to the programme of concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, as revealed in the Secretary-General's report (A/41/506 and Add.1-3). My delegation also commends Canada for the very comprehensive steps it has taken in this regard. Our special appreciation goes to New Zealand, which has taken anti-apartheid measures inversely proportional to its size. My delegation also expresses its appreciation for the modest sanctions that both the European Economic Community and Japan have recently adopted against the apartheid régime of South Africa. It is, however, our sincere hope that in the foreseeable future they will find it possible to make their sanctions against racist South Africa more effective than they are at present. Last, but not least, my delegation again sincerely thanks the American people for influencing their representatives in the United States Congress to adopt the comprehensive anti-apartheid Act of 1986, against the wishes of the United States Administration, and for the current divestment process by American multinationals in South Africa. These developments, coupled with the internal revolt of the oppressed people of South Africa, give cause for optimism regarding the ultimate elimination of apartheid.

Now I wish to say a word about some of the statements made at this session by

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

various delegations. I have selected only a few, for the sake of general illustration.

First, my delegation commends the statements by Sweden, Norway and Canada on this agenda item. We are strongly of the view that if other Western nations had the same national policies we would move very fast in the elimination of apartheid. Secondly, while the statement by the United Kingdom on behalf of the European Economic Community was very eloquent in verbally condemning apartheid in all its manifestations, my delegation firmly believes that the European Economic Community has so far not gone far enough in its sanctions package against apartheid South Africa, and it is our hope that the Twelve will soon find it possible to include coal in their package of sanctions against racist South Africa. What I have just said about the statement by the United Kingdom on behalf of the Twelve applies equally to the statement by Japan.

In conclusion, my delegation fully endorses the final recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid as follows.

First, the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid is to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. as the alternative to sanctions is the escalation of violence and bloodshed.

Secondly, we should condemn any attempt to interpret the present conflict in southern Africa as an East-West conflict. The conflict is rooted in the policies and practices of the apartheid régime of South Africa.

Thirdly, the institutionalized racism of the apartheid régime of South Africa has its roots in the same racist and bellicose ideology as nazism, a fact which many Western countries tend to forget. Appeasement of the racist régime of South Africa can, therefore, have the same disastrous consequences as nazism had in the Second World War.

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

Fourthly, we should call for full and unconditional support of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa for peace, non-alignment and freedom, including self-determination.

Fifthly, and lastly, we should appeal to all Member States, as well as anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations, to redouble their efforts to secure the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against racist South Africa and their strict implementation. And my delegation would here like to observe that, since the policy of apartheid is the worst form of violation of human rights, and actually borders on genocide, the protagonists of human rights in the West should critically re-examine their present conflicting policies towards South Africa in this regard. We very much rely on the non-governmental organizations in those countries to initiate this agonizing exercise.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I should like to begin my statement with a verse from the Holy Koran, which I think is very appropriate to the issue under consideration. The verse is: "And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variations in your languages and your colours: verily in that are signs for those who know." (Koran: Chapter XXX; Verse 22)

Once again this Assembly is addressing the perennial issue of apartheid, which seems to be the subject of endless debates in this Organization, and which we hope will soon be totally eradicated in all its manifestations.

Many eloquent speakers have already offered elaborate accounts of the crimes of apartheid. Statistics and facts regarding the area of co-operation between the apartheid régime in South Africa and other countries are very extensive and

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

comprehensive. The anti-apartheid literature of this session of the General Assembly, like that of its previous sessions, is both quantitatively as well as qualitatively very rich and very educative. I have no intention of adding further to those facts and figures.

Some of the speeches made in this context deserve to be treated as reading texts in various fields of the humanities. Interestingly enough, even those who are accused of supporting and collaborating with the apartheid régime did not hesitate to condemn apartheid or the apartheid policies of South Africa. Thus the axiological perspective of all States Members of the Organization regarding apartheid is more or less the same. Yet, in spite of the unanimity of opinion regarding the criminal nature of apartheid, practical approaches to apartheid vary greatly. Some, most regrettably, demonstrate so much accommodation in practice as to maintain technical, economic, cultural and even military co-operation with the apartheid régime.

Co-operation in nuclear technology between the United States and South Africa as well as the economic activities of the United States and some other West European countries with South Africa, cultural exchanges in the field of sports and other areas are only some of the outstanding examples of this discrepancy between theory and practice, or we may say between words and deeds. Incidentally, the same hypocrites, who in practice support and verbally oppose apartheid, are also the same Member States which are often the staunch supporters of human rights as well. Enjoying considerable influence in the Organization, they consistently bar the materialization of all decisions that this body takes to suppress apartheid. Consequently, apartheid and the apartheid régime survive, despite the fact that all Member States condemn it.



(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

In other words, certain countries are suffering so much from moral destitution that their base material interests in South Africa rather than their professed values determine their policies towards South Africa . The United States Administration, with its long record of co-operation with the apartheid régime, is the extreme example of this moral bankruptcy, though it is not the only example. A cluster of rich and so-called developed Western countries, which may owe a great deal of their wealth and economic development to the poverty-stricken, discriminated against and victimized black majority in South Africa, are to be blamed as well. Hence in spite of all the facts and figures accumulated in the verbatim records of every General Assembly, the apartheid régime remains strong, thanks to Western loyalty towards it.

What has recently shaken the apartheid régime is the valiant struggle of the deprived black majority that has entered its militant phase, and has therefore opened an entirely new and extremely decisive chapter in the age-old struggle of the black majority against apartheid. This new development has also awakened many more peoples, groups, institutions and national organizations to the situation in South Africa. Great sacrifices by the rising masses have even made the United States Senate challenge the pro-apartheid policies of President Reagan. It is therefore necessary for us who wish to fight racism and apartheid to go one step beyond a political struggle in the United Nations and offer whatever material help we can afford to those combatants who are actually fighting inside the apartheid hell in South Africa.

Moreover, since zionism, racism and apartheid are three ugly manifestations of the same crime against humanity, all anti-apartheid countries should treat the two criminal régimes in South Africa and occupied Palestine equally. It is

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

particularly essential that all those countries which are sincere in their anti-apartheid position should dismantle all their relations with the Zionist base occupying Palestine. It is painful indeed that even some of deprived African countries have diplomatic relations with the criminal régime occupying Palestine which is not only one of the practical allies of the Pretoria régime but also a régime essentially of the same immoral character.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani,  
Islamic Republic of Iran)

It is such a criminal régime that, as has been reported, orchestrated a premeditated scenario for planting a bomb on an El-Al aircraft which was accordingly subsequently discovered - and attributed to Syria so as to isolate that country and have economic sanctions imposed against it by the United States and some other countries.

We strongly condemn the apartheid régime in South Africa and the Zionist base occupying Palestine for what they are and for the economic, technological, scientific and cultural ties and loyalties which the former holds to the latter. While the United States policy of constructive engagement and economic, technological, cultural and scientific co-operation with South Africa deserves the sincere condemnation of all of us individually and collectively, we should not fail to commend the valuable and courageous anti-apartheid developments in the Senate of the United States and by responsible people in that country.

A point was recently made by a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa that should not go unmentioned in this Assembly. A so-called "Reverend Father", a chaplain to the South African army, is reported to have said that those Muslims who are fighting the apartheid régime in South Africa subscribe to a "phoney religion" because their faith is being exploited for the war against the South Africa régime.

First of all, it should be noted that the participation of the Muslim people of South Africa against the oppressive racist régime is indicative not of the phoniness but of the constructive and responsible character of the faith of Islam.

Secondly, Muslims fight apartheid on the basis of their faith. It is a duty of every Muslim to fight apartheid and racism. Islam considers the differences of colour and languages as one of the outstanding signs of Almighty God, comparable to the creation of the heavens and the earth.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani,  
Islamic Republic of Iran)

I shall now repeat what I recited at the beginning of my statement:

"And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variations in your languages and your colours: verily in that are Signs for those who know." (S. XXX: 22)

Elsewhere in the Holy Koran we read:

"O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other ... Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of God is ... the most righteous of you. And God has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things)."

(S. XLIX: 13)

These diversities - diversities in languages and colours - according to Islam, are Divine grace and favour and do not constitute the criteria of privilege or superiority; the best of us is only the most pious of us in the eyes of God.

The obligation of the Muslims of South Africa to fight against the apartheid régime stems from the Islamic position of principle, because Islam is against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. This may remind us of the special responsibilities of Muslim nations towards the apartheid régime and the leading role that Muslim countries are to play in the global struggle against apartheid. The principled position of Islam towards apartheid, vis-à-vis the phony "Reverend Fathers" whose ignorant support for racism manifests their blatant oblivion of their own faith, is an important declaration that I thought I should make in this Assembly.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): We meet once again in the General Assembly to consider the critical question of the apartheid policies of the South African racist régime. That evil system which has its roots in nazism continues to be the source of tensions in South Africa and the southern African region. Since we last

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

met to take up this item, the situation in South Africa has deteriorated. The murderous machine of apartheid has taken the lives of hundreds of innocent black South Africans, killed in cold blood, while thousands have been thrown into gaols and tortured under the successive states of emergency.

May I, at this juncture, pay a very special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the dynamic and able leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba, for the crucial role it continues to play in sensitizing international public opinion to the plight of the oppressed people of South Africa. The report of the Special Committee to the forty-first session of the General Assembly provides unchallenged testimony of South Africa's brutal repression of the black majority in South Africa and its acts of destabilization in the independent African countries in our region.

The picture in that troubled country is gloomy. The racist régime continues on a path of systematic acts of State terrorism and obstinately refuses to heed the calls of the international community to engage in meaningful dialogue with genuine representatives of the majority in order to bring about peaceful change. Thus, we must ask the question whether dialogue, in South Africa's opinion, has any meaning at all. Dialogue, or in President Reagan's words, constructive dialogue, did not prevent the murder of Steve Biko or Ruth First. Dialogue has not got South Africa out of Namibia. Dialogue has made no change to apartheid, except for a few cosmetic so-called reforms.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Dialogue has not prevented repeated attacks by South Africa on its neighbours. Dialogue did not prevent Sharpeville or Soweto, nor has it secured the release of Nelson Mandela or the legitimization of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the true voices of the majority of the people. Dialogue with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and the envoy of the European Economic Community has been a sham.

I wonder if there is any State Member of the United Nations which can say no to sanctions as a sure way of bringing about the end of apartheid? No, because that would spoil chances for dialogue. Are we all speaking with one united voice? Can we all happily coexist when one or more Members refuse to accept the fact of an evil that will not go away simply by hoping to persuade the South African régime to change its policies?

We are sometimes told that sanctions will harm black South Africans. Yes, we know that; but the last poll on the subject conducted by an independent organization showed that almost 80 per cent of black South Africans were in favour of sanctions. From Chief Luthuli to Desmond Tutu, responsible leaders have called for sanctions to end the horrors in which they live today. We are told sanctions will harm the front-line States. We know that too. We know that that is so. But we call for sanctions despite the fact that we will suffer, because it is better to bring apartheid to a quick end than to go on with the attacks and the dangers under which we live today.

Similarly we are told that sanctions will push the Afrikaners back into their laager. But does anyone here, any Member of the United Nations, seriously believe that President Pieter Willem Botha, or any other white administration in the foreseeable future, intends to surrender or share the white monopoly of power in that country? To think so is self-delusion.

Sanctions will work, and that is why Pretoria has ceaselessly been trying to prevent their imposition.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

I wish to reiterate Zambia's firm conviction that soft policies towards racist South Africa will never have any impact for positive change. It is beyond any shadow of doubt that South Africa has no intention whatsoever to grant equal rights to the black majority. Its economy thrives on the exploitation of the black South Africans who provide cheap labour. The near-slave conditions under which the oppressed people of South Africa work have also attracted Western multinational corporations whose only motive is to make huge profits.

South Africa continues to be more profitable for Western business, despite the abhorrent conditions that prevail there. Thus, two of the permanent members of the Security Council have done everything to prevent members of that body from taking appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is unfortunate that the privilege of the veto power has been frequently abused, particularly on issues connected with ending apartheid and Namibia's early independence. My delegation is of the view that the founding fathers' intent for the veto provision was that it would be exercised prudently, only in the interest of the international community at large, and not used as an instrument for safeguarding self-centred national interests at the expense of the United Nations obligation to redress situations that threaten the preservation of international peace and security.

The oppressed people of South Africa have a right to demand that the international community take effective measures to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to end the obnoxious system of apartheid. They have repeatedly made that demand and they continue to do so today. The United Nations cannot but act decisively to end apartheid.

During 1986 racist South Africa committed acts of aggression against my country, Zambia, as well as Angola, Botswana and Zimbabwe. Mozambique has been threatned many times, and as we meet racist South African troops are deployed in

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

large numbers near the Mozambican/South African border. Namibia is occupied by more than 100,000 South African troops and mercenaries, and parts of Angola are also occupied by racist South African forces. South African acts of terror in our region pose a serious threat to international peace and security. No country or organization in southern Africa, or indeed on the entire African continent, threatens South Africa. The one and only serious threat to South Africa is the apartheid system. Thus apartheid is South Africa's greatest enemy, not the African National Congress or the South West Africa People's Organization. That is the simple truth.

I wish to reiterate that, in order to have favourable conditions for peaceful change, South Africa must take the following essential steps. It must release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, lift the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and permit them to engage in a political process freely within that country, lift the state of emergency in the affected areas, and abolish all discriminatory legislation.

Today we can spell out details of the tragedy of apartheid and adopt resolutions deploring it. We can ask for the sympathy of the nations of the world. We can urge the United Nations to take appropriate steps. If we do all that we shall have done nothing; but much more important we shall have missed the crucial point which the acts of war by South Africa have now highlighted. What is at stake now is the greatest of issues which could confront the United Nations - simply whether or not, in the matter of South Africa, the United Nations has any meaning at all.

We in Zambia are indeed greatly pained to see that in this day and age a barbaric régime can be allowed to coexist among free nations. That is



(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

unacceptable and must not be allowed to continue. We have been told that peace does not mean only the absence of war but also the presence of justice. Justice must therefore be allowed to prevail over evil. That is not too much to ask of the international community.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): The General Assembly's debate on this crucial question of apartheid may, at times in the past, have given the impression to some of being a simple ritual exercise. And yet, for nearly two years and especially in recent months, everything has revealed its true importance in the context of the inexorable course of events.

The Paris World Conference on Sanctions against racist South Africa, the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, the mission of the European Economic Community (EEC), the summit meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the non-aligned countries, and in particular the recent decisions of the United States Congress, were occasions on which the international community as a whole moved from mere perception of the dangers of apartheid to recognition of the urgency for concerted comprehensive action by the implementation of sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Everyone, even those that take the most lenient view of the supporters of this régime, are finally recognizing that, as the late President Samora Machel said, "apartheid is the institutionalization of the violation of every human right" and "apartheid, like colonialism, cannot be reformed but must be rooted out". We salute the memory of that great African, the victim of apartheid. In the wake of the liberation of Mozambique he could not conceive of his struggle as having been completed as long as the other peoples of Africa, above all the South African people, had not gained their freedom.

It is hardly necessary to recall here that the explanation for South Africa's hostility to Mozambique lay precisely in the courageous stand of the late President and the geo-strategic position of that country in assisting the countries members of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) to emerge from economic dependence on Pretoria.

For the past year the situation in southern Africa has been deteriorating tragically. The blind repression within South Africa based on the state of emergency has been coupled with the pursuit of a policy of aggression against the front-line countries, either directly or through the maintenance of armed bands financed and equipped by Pretoria. In the space of a year the practitioners of apartheid have twice had to resort to the arsenals of repression with which the state of emergency provides them. Thus thousands of anti-apartheid militants from various groups have been subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, torture and murder. Trade unions, student movements and the clergy have been the principal targets of the so-called security forces of South Africa. Their leaders have been subjected to mass arrests, some of them have died in detention and others have been condemned to death and executed after mock trials.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The Pretoria racists have also pursued their policy of forced displacement of populations and bantustanization, despite the unanimous condemnation of those practices by the international community and the parties involved themselves, as was clearly shown on 12 August when the population of the territory of KwaNdebele rejected the so-called independence that the apartheid régime was offering them.

The second state of emergency enabled Pretoria to impose a new series of restrictions on the local and foreign press. The official media attempted to distort the fight of the African population by presenting it as a clan or tribal struggle, in order to lessen its international impact.

South Africa must heed the voice of reason. External pretexts no longer work. The resistance is indeed internal. Support for the African National Congress (ANC) is strengthening, and everyone follows the example of Nelson Mandela. Never has this resistance achieved such a degree of assertion, organization and determination. Schoolchildren, students, trade unionists and clergymen are joining the patriotic forces determined to put an end to the apartheid tyranny. It is incumbent on the entire international community to pay a heartfelt tribute to the just struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, and to supply them with the specific, effective material assistance and political support required at the present crucial stage in their valiant struggle.

The countries neighbouring on South Africa have not been exempt during the past year from acts of aggression and destabilization by the racists of Pretoria. Thus, more than five countries have repeatedly been the victims of acts of aggression against their territorial integrity committed by the racist régime. Apart from the loss of human life, for peoples just emerging from a long liberation struggle, as in the cases of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe in particular, the material damage caused by the direct attacks of the South African army or sabotage

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

carried out by agents in the pay of South Africa represents considerable sums. For Mozambique alone, that poor country, that damage amounts to \$4 billion. For the community of States members of SADCC, the damage amounts to \$10 billion.

In this connection it is important to stress the role and function of SADCC in helping its member countries to emerge from dependence upon South Africa. Since that function to a large extent can be performed thanks only to the Mozambican ports and communications networks, it is clear why the whole strategy of South Africa and the means it has mobilized are aimed particularly against that country.

These acts of aggression are unjustifiable infringements of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of sovereign African countries. This is the forum in which once again to denounce and condemn these criminal acts and pay homage to the heroic resistance of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho to the subversive actions of South Africa. This is the forum in which to reaffirm to those countries, and to the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the legitimate representatives of the South African and Namibian peoples, in their struggle, the full solidarity of my country with them in their just fight.

It is an established fact that the South African régime persists in this aggressive policy and its refusal to comply with the resolutions of our Organization, and remains deaf to the injunctions of the international community, only because of the collaboration between Pretoria and certain countries and multinationals motivated by the colossal profits derived from exploitation of the human and material resources of South Africa and Namibia.

The co-operation of many kinds that exists between Pretoria and Tel Aviv is also important in this respect. The report on the co-operation between the two régimes submitted by the Special Committee against Apartheid provides a complete picture of the multiplicity of those links.

The arguments that the supporters of dialogue with the Pretoria régime continue to invoke to justify their opposition to the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa are in reality designed only to preserve the privileged trade, military and scientific relations that they maintain with Pretoria. Far from pushing the South African régime to return to international legality, these trade, economic and military exchanges only increase the pauperization of the indigenous masses and the plunder of the natural resources of the country, and encourage the South African leaders to pursue their policies of apartheid and aggression.

That is the crux of the message that the authentic leaders of the oppressed black populations entrusted to the Eminent Persons Group delegated by the meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the Commonwealth to convey to their principals and to the international community as a whole. It is also the message that has been faithfully echoed during the past six months by the Conference of Heads of State of the front-line countries, the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries during the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa. Finally, it is the message that was conveyed with clarity by the failure of the consultative mission sent by the European Economic Community to southern Africa last August and by the massive support of the Western public in particular for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa.

While the development of the situation has led to the isolation of South Africa, that is not enough. If we wish to avert the dangers that apartheid represents we must provide ourselves with the means of eliminating it. To that end the appeal for concerted international action in imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be heeded. The Security Council must ensure that that appeal is followed by action, so that an end may be put to the crime of apartheid in South Africa and the situation of breach of the peace created by Pretoria.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Positive though they may be, selective sanctions have demonstrated the limits of their effectiveness. The gravity of the events experienced in southern Africa and the dangers they represent for regional and international peace and security require that the countries still collaborating with the apartheid régime and those that have the right of veto in the Security Council make their contribution to bringing about an end to the sufferings of the peoples of that region of the African continent and the immediate disappearance of the hateful system of apartheid.

The same appeal underlies the recommendations and draft resolutions that the Special Committee against Apartheid has submitted to the General Assembly. Therefore from this rostrum we appeal to this important body to rise to its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter and render justice to the peoples of southern Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid and to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, for their tireless activities in disseminating the message from the South African people and informing the world public about the misdeeds of the South African régime and the conditions necessary for eradication of the apartheid system.

Mr. MUDENGE (Zimbabwe): I wish at the outset to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its preparation of the report contained in document A/41/22. I should like to assure the Special Committee of my delegation's full support for the conclusions and recommendations offered therein. My delegation is also in total agreement with the very lucid and informative review of the developments in South Africa and in the southern African region as a whole presented in part III of the report before us today.

The apartheid monster is on the loose, and southern Africa is a dangerous place to live in these days. The monster must be caged and destroyed before it

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

lays everything to waste. That is the urgent message I bring to this Assembly today.

Last year in an address to the Security Council I appealed to the international community to come to our assistance then, as later it would be too late. Alas, little did I know then that those prophetic words would be proved true so tragically in the case of the heroic leader of Mozambique, a valiant comrade in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, a revolutionary son of Africa and a leading statesman of the last quarter of the 20th century, President Samora Moises Machel. For him international help, when, or rather if, it comes, will have come too late. He is another of the victims of apartheid in South Africa.

Last year too, the world community decided that all the situation in South Africa called for was to send what were termed signals to the apartheid régime. Sadly, these signals were either so faint that they never reached their intended destination or so confused and contradictory that Pretoria could not read, decipher or decode them. The result is that since then the agents of apartheid have killed thousands, not only in South Africa but also in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

What was Pretoria to make of signals that included invitations to its bandit puppet Jonas Savimbi to visit Paris and Washington, where he was wined, dined and received by some of the leaders of those countries? How was Botha to understand the donation of the lethal gift of Stinger missiles to his surrogate army in southern Angola?

Let those who wish to send signals to South Africa send clear, unequivocal messages. Vetoing Congressional sanctions against South Africa, forcing the European Economic Community to adopt a paltry package, of measures by blocking the inclusion of coal, agricultural products and overflying rights for South African Airways in the Community's package or straining the unity of the Commonwealth and

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

nearly threatening a constitutional crisis with the monarch by opposing the imposition of the agreed Commonwealth measures against South Africa, as well as the exercise of the veto by the United Kingdom and the United States to block the Security Council from taking meaningful measures against South Africa - these cannot be described as actions calculated to send powerful signals to the apartheid régime to abandon its obnoxious policy.

When Hitachi replaces International Business Machines in South Africa or when Olivetti tries to move in to exploit a vacuum created by its competitors, what message is South Africa to read in these signals? Should we be surprised if the practitioners of apartheid feel this is not the time for panic or major changes but for steady nerves, cool heads and cold assessment of the meaning of this international witches' dance? Surely in so doing South Africa would only be acting rationally. In the past year the international community failed to send a clear message to Botha and his followers.

The Pretoria régime's actions in the past 12 months are ample evidence of its contempt for what it has rightly seen as hesitation, prevarication and equivocation by the world community. After realizing that the bark of the world community is more fearsome than its bite, Botha abandoned all thought of genuine reform and resorted to all manner of verbal dissimulation, now a characteristic of the infamous Botha-speak. Hence we find in one place the artful dodger telling us that apartheid is outdated and that his Government is "committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise." To the unsuspecting, this might sound like the death knell for apartheid. But, having raised our hopes thus, the dodger dashes them to the ground again when he states that he is opposed to "integration of all in one open community" and "one-man-one-vote within a unitary system" because, he claims, this would lead to "the dictatorship of the strongest black group." This is Botha-speak at its best,



(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

when the democratic principle of majority rule is here equated with dictatorship. Again he tries to lead us along the garden path when he declares that "discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic character and origin is rejected" but argues for maintaining segregation in education, residential areas, social welfare and local government.

All these contradictory statements are churned out because Pretoria has no respect for world opinion and suspects that some key players on the world stage are not serious about their opposition to apartheid and are prepared to accept the opaqueness of this language as an excuse for inaction.

It was in part to expose the fraudulent nature of Botha-speak that the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, at their eighth summit Conference, held in Harare two months ago, urged all Governments and non-governmental organizations:

"to participate actively in the information campaign to sensitize international public opinion on the realities of apartheid" (A/41/697, annex, p. 149)

and also endorsed the resolution of the twenty-second Assembly of the Organization of African Unity, which in part reads,

"recommends to all Governments and educational institutions to devote the first lesson of the 1986/87 academic year to apartheid, and to write on this occasion on the blackboards and comment on the theme, "Apartheid is a crime against humanity" (pp. 149-150),

in order to sensitize the youth on the question of apartheid.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

We earnestly commend these actions to all Member States. In this regard, we welcome with gratitude the important initiative of the Secretary-General, in co-operation with Member States whose transmitters can be heard in southern Africa, to broadcast regular radio programmes directed to South Africa in the main languages spoken in that country. We urge the intensification of these vitally important programmes, the present financial constraints within the United Nations notwithstanding.

The Pretoria régime has scorned and snubbed efforts by the United Nations and other international bodies to facilitate a peaceful end to apartheid and has consistently and deliberately engaged in activities clearly designed to undermine any chance of a political dialogue which could lead to the peaceful abolition of that evil system. For example, we have witnessed how, over the past year, it carried out its acts of State terrorism beyond its borders into the neighbouring independent States of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotha and Zimbabwe on a greater scale than ever before. We also saw how it spurned the efforts of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, the mission of Sir Geoffrey Howe on behalf of the European Economic Community and many other unsung initiatives. The régime has become more obdurate and violent.

It was in the light of this that the front-line States leaders met in Maputo on 12 October and issued a declaration in which they drew the attention of the world to the South African threats to provoke a generalized war in southern Africa and appealed to the peoples and Governments of the world to take all necessary measures against the racist régime in order to safeguard peace in the region. The declaration also disclosed, inter alia, that:

"Over the last few days Pretoria has unleashed an incessant campaign of accusations and threats against the People's Republic of Mozambique. South

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

African forces are concentrated along the borders with the People's Republic of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and commando units have been infiltrated to carry out acts of terrorism in Mozambique." (A/41/737, para. 6)

On 19 October, five days after that meeting, a morning edition of The Sunday Mail, a leading newspaper in Zimbabwe, carried a report of growing tensions between Mozambique and South Africa caused by the apartheid régime's continuing support for the MNR terrorists. The paper also talked of reports of a South African plot to assassinate President Samora Machel. A few hours after that revelation, on the same day, a twin-engine Tupolev 134 A jet carrying President Machel from a meeting in Zambia crashed inside South Africa under what were called "mysterious circumstances". President Machel and 33 others on board perished. South Africa was quick to disclaim any responsibility. A torrent of denials started pouring out of Pretoria. Listening to the out-pourings and protestations of innocence from Botha, methinks he doth protest too much. Botha is the only possible beneficiary from President Machel's death. His fervent dream was that President Machel's death would result in chaos in Mozambique so that he could move into place his RENAMO puppets in control of the Mozambique ports he so desperately needs for his sanction-busting activities. If so, then Botha has miscalculated badly. The people of Mozambique will never allow it.

The racists in Pretoria have proved themselves to be systematic and shameless liars. The international community has been deceived by them on countless occasions. They have made promises on Namibia, then hedged. In Mozambique, Botha has sworn upon apartheid that his régime never organized, trained, financed or deployed the MNR terrorists, only later to admit sheepishly that "some elements" in the racist army are doing just that. In 1982 the South Africans denied the existence of special units made up of ex-Rhodesian soldiers and Muzorewa's personal army called "Pfumo revanhu". But the racist Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, was

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

forced to admit that something of the sort did exist after four of them were shot and killed 30 kilometres inside Zimbabwe. In May last year, Malan was again forced, after initial denial, to admit that the men who clashed with the Angolan forces in the Cabinda enclave were South African soldiers. He lamely claimed that they were on an intelligence mission, as if that were a legitimate justification.

Today the Pretoria régime is again swearing upon apartheid that it never played any role in the tragic air crash of 19 October. But how can we now believe South Africa when history teaches us otherwise? Incidentally, if Botha is so anxious to prove his innocence, why is he refusing to release the black box recorder so many days after the crash?

We are confronting an intransigent racist régime that indulges in acts of State terrorism to defend the evil system of apartheid and to undermine the economic infrastructure of its neighbours; a régime that is bent on drawing the whole region into a generalized war; a régime whose policies and practices the international community has declared to be a crime against humanity; a régime which, because of its continued illegal colonial occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, has been declared an international outlaw; a régime that remains undeterred by the reprimands of the world community, and which has scorned all the peaceful means so far offered to bring apartheid to an end, to terminate its colonial occupation of Namibia and to halt its acts of terrorism against its neighbours.

On 19 June last year, the Security Council, the custodian of international peace and security, adopted resolution 566 (1985) by which it demanded that "South Africa co-operate fully with the Security Council and the Secretary-General" in the implementation of that resolution and went on to state that "failure to do so would compel the Security Council to meet forthwith to consider the adoption of

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

appropriate measures under the United Nations Charter, including Chapter VII, as additional pressure to ensure South Africa's compliance" with the relevant resolutions.

The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and convened in Paris last June, demonstrated the existence of the ever-growing consensus that comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the only remaining effective peaceful means left to compel the racists in Pretoria to abandon apartheid, to halt their acts of terrorism against neighbouring States and to get out of Namibia. Representatives of 132 Governments attended that Conference. The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare last September also revealed the wide agreement existing on the urgent need to apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. The Conference condemned the Pretoria régime "for conducting State terrorism against the front-line and other neighbouring independent States" (A/41/697, p. 43) and further stated that:

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

"... the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations remains the only peaceful option to compel the racist Pretoria régime to abandon apartheid. Consequently, we endorse the call of the Organization of African Unity for the early convening of the United Nations Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations". (A/41/697, annex, pp. 147 and 148)

Given that view of the international community and the unequivocal message of the South African masses and the neighbouring States that they demand the imposition of sanctions, we find the reason cited by some of the apologists of apartheid - namely, that they oppose the imposition of sanctions because blacks and surrounding States would get hurt - to be patronizing and objectionable. We fully endorse the view of the eminent persons at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Vienna last July that:

"Those who refuse to impose [comprehensive economic sanctions against racist South Africa] become parties to South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, to the suppression and repression in Namibia, and to the utter disregard of basic human rights". (A/CONF.138/11, para. 169)

That is an important statement, carefully considered, with words well chosen by leading world statesmen to express their sense of urgency to all of us. We disregard them at our own peril.

The time for sending faint or contradictory messages to Pretoria is over. We must now send a clear, unambiguous, concerted and co-ordinated message to Pretoria that the game is up. Our message must be united, powerful and peaceful in character. Earlier this year the United States Congress, the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community and many groups and individual countries sent signals

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

to Pretoria. That was a useful beginning which we all welcomed. But now we must go beyond faint smoke-signals. We must send a powerful message from the Security Council of the United Nations, a message of mandatory sanctions, a message that will be heard in the boardrooms of Hitachi and Olivetti as well as in the conclaves of the Afrikaner Broederbond, a message strong enough and clear enough to be heard and understood from the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town through the flatland to Soweto. This is no time for equivocation, hesitation or prevarication. It is no time for such dishonest arguments as "sanctions will hurt neighbouring States and black South Africans". How can we fear the bitterness of the sanctions pill when the apartheid disease is killing us? Why, the apartheid epidemic has already killed President Machel and thousand of others in our region.

I say we need the medicine, and in strong doses too. If the anti-toxin is applied sparingly, in small and ineffective doses, then the virus may develop immunity against the anti-toxin. Since 1980 apartheid has killed over 100,000 people, made over 1 million persons homeless and cost the surrounding independent States over 100 billion pounds sterling. Those are horrendous costs both in human and in material terms, and they are continuing to escalate, without any hope of coming to an end. That is why the victims of apartheid in the region are prepared to suffer a little more now so that apartheid may come to an end, rather than continuing the present suffering without the prospect of bringing apartheid to an end. And just as too little medicine may make the virus resistant to the anti-toxin, so too will ineffectual and half-hearted sanctions help to discredit the sanctions weapon and strengthen apartheid. For that reason we call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

Finally, we wish to appeal to the international community to render concrete material assistance, in addition to moral and diplomatic support, to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. It may be true that man cannot live by bread alone. But there can be no shadow of a doubt that without bread man cannot live at all. Resolutions and ringing solidarity messages may encourage and inspire, but concrete material assistance is necessary to destroy the apartheid system.

Our message is that we are running out of time. The situation brooks no delay. There is no time to linger, tinker or tarry. Bold action is called for. Apartheid must go - and go now. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions: that is our message. Let this body request the Security Council to impose such sanctions.

Mr. SAEMALA (Solomon Islands): My delegation wishes to record here the consistent policy of Solomon Islands on the crime against humanity. Since Solomon Islands became a Member of the United Nations, in 1978, its strong condemnation of apartheid has been voiced in this Assembly in the general debates, and it has shown its desire to see the total eradication of this atrocious, evil system of government from the face of this earth. Today we are speaking for the very first time - and briefly - specifically on item 33. But today will not be the last time that Solomon Islands will speak out with candour and genuine concern about the political disease of apartheid until it has been wiped out.

Speaking on behalf of my small and least-developed country today, I am obliged to state that our fundamental position regarding this debate is the following. We approach this important debate not with diplomacy as defined by the former, illegal, Prime Minister of what was then Rhodesia - Ian Smith - who said that "diplomacy is a polite word for deception". Our approach is straightforward decency, which has no room for sugar diplomacy.



(Mr. Saemala, Solomon Islands)

Solomon Islands has no vested interest in South Africa except the total eradication of apartheid. Solomon Islands has no trade or diplomatic relations with South Africa, except our link in humanity with the oppressed people there. And Solomon Islands has nothing to gain or lose economically, militarily or politically, but we have much at stake in the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa, the majority of whom are the indigenous owners of the land of South Africa. Their struggle for freedom and justice is our struggle, for we know only too well that the policies of the racist régime of Pretoria, singly or collectively, are a real threat and danger to international peace and security.

(Mr. Saemala, Solomon Islands)

I congratulate the Special Committee Against Apartheid on its reports (A/41/22 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1). I also thank the Secretary-General for his reports (A/41/638 and A/41/690). The Special Committee's comprehensive report is a manifestation of the dedication of its Chairman and members to the important task of eliminating apartheid. Many individuals as well as organizations have also devoted time, money and energy to this cause. Their efforts are all praiseworthy.

With this clear international effort and the many resolutions adopted by the Assembly condemning the South African Government, ~~why~~ does apartheid still survive today? The answer lies in one simple fact: like a house plant that needs watering regularly for its survival in an unnatural setting, apartheid is being nourished and nurtured by some States that have vested interests in the white minority Government in South Africa. Those States are the source of life for the perpetuation of apartheid and racism in that country. Their Governments, as is well known, are collaborating with racist Pretoria for historical, economic and military reasons. We earnestly urge those States to renounce their immoral activities with the South African Government and put to use their resources for the betterment of mankind globally.

The Solomon Islands regards draft resolution A/41/L.25 as pivotal to meeting the urgent need to change the course of South Africa's apartheid policies. If the international community were unanimous on this and if those States that bind themselves to the continuation of apartheid respected the growing international condemnation of the system, it would be bound to collapse. In my delegation's view, only concerted international action can contribute to the achievement of that noble goal. In this context, we see no harm in singling out those States that are determined to maintain the status quo in South Africa.

(Mr. Saemala, Solomon Islands)

The time must come very soon for the world community to witness the burial of the coffin of apartheid and thereby the end of the matter of deaths of many victims in South Africa, whose only crime has been their fight for freedom and justice. The time must come for the world to see, for a change, tears of joy in the faces of millions of South Africans, reflecting their achievement of freedom and genuine, meaningful independence, instead of tears of sorrow in mourning the innocent victims of apartheid.

For this reason, the Solomon Islands delegation supports the draft resolutions submitted on this item. This support is based on my Government's commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter and its high respect for human rights.

Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): It is said that, when the Boer Republic of the Orange Free State was founded in 1854, some of the Boer settlers agitated for the incorporation of the original law of Moses into its new constitution. In the introduction to a heart-rending book on the extraordinary and venerable political life of Mrs. Mandela there is the apt observation that:

"If one tries to find out what it is that makes the Afrikaners cling so determinedly and desperately to the fiction that South Africa is a 'white' country, several reasons crop up again and again; the religious motive is at the forefront, yet closely connected with this are very profane motives indeed: greed, fear and the desire for power".

The religious motive as the bedrock underlying the rationale for the espousal and perpetuation of the sadistic ideology of apartheid has become mere quicksand. Last month, in a belated and desperate attempt to catch up with the twentieth century, the Dutch Reformed Church declared apartheid a sinful ideology, as indefensible as any other sinful ideology, including nazism and fascism.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

And yet apartheid is alive and well and flourishing in South Africa, in Afrikaner churches and outside, even when totally stripped of its religious camouflage. It is alive and well and flourishing because its authors have become hopelessly enslaved to its triple profanity of "greed, fear and the desire for power". Only through the perpetuation of apartheid can the white minority continue to enjoy the fraudulent privilege of white domination in an overwhelmingly black South Africa. The abolition of apartheid is inimical to the continuation of this privilege.

So, to white South Africa, racist or not, apartheid is insurance for the future. It is insurance against majority rule. It guarantees for the white South Africans, so they think, and for future generations a better life. They are as dangerously naive as that. This is no joke. It is their belief that history is on their side, that in the end its inevitable verdict will be in their favour.

Hence, in spite of so-called reforms, South Africa remains a rabidly racist country. It is this rabid racism which fuels and buttresses apartheid, stimulates the greed, intensifies fear, and fanaticizes the desire for power. What Piet Retief's niece said during the so-called Great Trek of the mid-nineteenth century is still valid today. She said:

"it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such lengths, as their [the black people] being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and colour. So that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke, wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity."\*

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\* Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

The rulers of the white minority have never stopped reaffirming their determination never to bow beneath the yoke of racial equality and democratic majority rule. The President of South Africa has often declared that he will never lead his people, the white people, to abdication. He is determined to preserve the purity of his forebears' racial doctrines because white supremacy and domination depend on these doctrines for survival in an overwhelmingly black country. And there is no option for a twentieth century Great Trek.

Therefore, the struggle for freedom in contemporary South Africa is different from that which took place between a settler Boer and a colonial, occupationist Briton in the mid-nineteenth century. Today's struggle is a struggle between a free Boer, an offspring of an accident of history and an enslaved African determined to be free in his own land. Neither the Boer, nor the African has the option of a Great Trek available to him to enable him to escape the reality of his roots in an indivisible South Africa. The idea of Boer republics or Bantu reserves carved out of the totality of this South Africa is a relic of the past and cannot and must not be allowed to regain currency. If South Africa is to be truly free, liberated from the clutches of apartheid, racism, greed, fear and the desire for power the creation of tribal enclaves and racial sanctuaries in South Africa cannot be countenanced.

That is why the international community has rightly rejected the creation of the so-called Bantu homelands and the granting of so-called independence to some of them. The creation of ethnocentric republics, be they Bantu homelands or Boer republics, is not the solution we seek for South Africa.

That the situation in that tormented country has deteriorated considerably since the 40th session is beyond contention. More innocent lives have been lost in and around South Africa during the past year. Pretoria is at war not only with its own people but also with innocent neighbouring States. With impunity it has

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

escalated the war of destabilization particularly in Angola and Mozambique where proxies in the form of criminal bandits are causing untold havoc on the economic infrastructure of those countries not to mention the unspeakable suffering and misery the common folks in rural villages are subjected to every day of their lives.

And repeatedly, South African commandos have crossed borders on missions of murder and destruction. The southern part of Angola is in permanent occupation by South African troops and has been transformed into a veritable wasteland. In May this year the capitals of the three front-line States of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe were attacked. The brutal assault on the celebrated Nkomati Accord has intensified so that the Accord has literally ceased to exist. To South Africa, so it seems, the Accord was from the very outset to be used as ploy to strengthen the hand of the RENAMO bandits.

Who then can deny the fact that the continued existence of apartheid and the wrath it wreaks against its victims within and without South Africa poses a serious and dangerous threat to the peace and stability of southern Africa and even of the world at large? Our region has long been in turmoil as a result of the violence that must be employed to deter resistance to this evil policy. The violence has taken far too great a toll in the lives of children, men and women of southern Africa. Inexorably, the region is drifting towards a conflagration of catastrophic proportions.

Only a callous world can for so long tolerate the continued existence of so murderous a political system as that which apartheid represents. And this is the same world that has never ceased to swear and vow that never again will it allow the scourge of nazism and fascism to be visited upon mankind. Yet daily the scourge of apartheid, the South African version of nazism and fascism, is destroying the lives of innocent black children, men and women on the streets of

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

South Africa's black townships and in the rural hamlets of the countries of southern Africa. Daily we witness the unfolding of a tragedy whose consequences one shudders to contemplate. And the so-called civilized world is feigning helplessness and impotence while continuing to enrich itself with the slave labour of the oppressed in South Africa.

The world must accept that so far all the agitation for change in South Africa has either fallen on deaf ears or has elicited intransigent and arrogant responses from South Africa's rulers. Peaceful initiatives such as that of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group in which we had invested so much hope were responded to with the brutal invasion of three Commonwealth countries in the course of the visit to South Africa by the Group in search of peace.

The policy of constructive engagement by which Pretoria was to be charmed into a co-operative state of mind has proved to be nothing more than an exercise in futility. The policy has only served to give the regime a new but fraudulent lease on life as well as to create in its mind the wrong impression that apartheid can still be repackaged and resold to its victims. It has served to stiffen Pretoria's resolve to defy the will of the international community. It has emboldened it to bully its neighbours.

"Constructive engagement has made life worse for the neighbouring States, and is not a solution to the problems of southern Africa"

So observes Joseph Hanlon in a book entitled, "Apartheid's Second Front".

South Africa's friends have often assured us that only by treating Pretoria with tender loving care can they be able to induce the white minority régime in that country to negotiate seriously the future of South Africa with the black majority. But all we have been treated to so far are pious statements, empty posturings encumbered with all manner of preconditions by which the white minority

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

has consistently betrayed its unwillingness to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

We are told that for the negotiations to begin one party to the conflict, the African National Conference (ANC) must abandon violence. In other words, the ANC should allow the régime to enjoy a monopoly on violence; the violence perpetrated by its troops against innocent and unarmed demonstrators and funeral marchers; the violence inflicted by the enforcement of the inhuman policies of apartheid.

Negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa will bear no fruit if they are to be held in an environment in which the ruling minority is to be allowed unilaterally to continue the violence of apartheid. Political prisoners cannot negotiate the political future of their country with their captors. Only free men can negotiate their future.

So if the régime in Pretoria is sincerely keen to negotiate a new political order in South Africa it must demonstrate its sincerity: first by releasing, as the first order of business, all political prisoners; secondly, allowing all black political and civic organizations free reign in their articulation of the political aspirations of their people; thirdly, in particular, by unbanning the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC); fourthly, allowing the return in freedom of all exiles, and fifthly, removing the occupation troops from the townships.

This is not asking too much of Pretoria. If violence is to be suspended to allow negotiations to begin, it should be suspended on both sides. This was the main objective of the Commonwealth initiative rejected by Pretoria in so brutal a fashion. The rejection of the initiative confirmed our suspicion that the white minority wants change on its own terms, not the type of change designed to save South Africa for all its people, but the type of change contrived to leave power in the hands of the white minority, that is, change through cosmetic reforms, reforms that are clearly aimed at:



(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

First, consolidating apartheid by preserving in a modernistic form the ethnocentric balkanization of South Africa; secondly, perpetuating the racial dominance of the white minority by ensuring that the principle of majority rule, as we know it, does not find its way into the Constitution of a new South Africa; thirdly, recruiting Indian and coloured South Africans to join the white man's laager in a conspiracy of resistance to majority rule.

But South Africa cannot be saved by such a conspiracy. South Africa is not "a country of white minorities", as Pretoria would have us believe. There is a white minority and a black majority in conflict in South Africa. There is a problem in that country not because a group of minority races or tribes are at war with one another, but because a white minority has arrogated to itself the exclusive right to self-determination and to rule the majority against its will - to subject it to all manner of humiliations, indignities and brutalities. That is the problem. That is the root cause of the conflict in South Africa.

Thus, the solution to this conflict can be found only in the abolition of minority rule in South Africa and its replacement with a democratic majority government - a non-racial majority government. We insist on this - on the abolition of minority rule and the creation of a democratic, non-racial majority government - because we want genuine peace and true freedom in South Africa. We want all the races which inhabit that country to recognize that they share a common destiny because they are bound together by a common humanity, as by a shared history. No amount of violence by one against the other can hide this fact, this reality.

Hence, we urge South Africa's Western friends, in particular, not to continue to labour under the dangerous delusion that even at this very late hour South Africa can still be saved for the security and prosperity of Western economic

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

interests. South Africa must be saved for all its people, and it is the Western friends of the Pretoria régime who must say "enough is enough" to their protégé. All we are calling for is peace and justice in South Africa, not racial tyranny in reverse, or the enslavement of the people of South Africa to a "communist imperialism".

We know how afraid the West is of sanctions, and yet we say, to avoid agitation for the imposition of punitive economic sanctions against an intransigent and increasingly desperate and violent South Africa, that the West must act with great dispatch: to compel South Africa to stop the bloody carnage on the streets of its black townships; to compel South Africa to end its war of aggression against its neighbours; to compel South Africa to hasten to invite Nelson Mandela, Zephaniah Mothopeng and their compatriots in and outside apartheid's dungeons to a conference table to negotiate the future of South Africa.

That is the road we would prefer. Because all of us in southern Africa know what violence caused by the continuation of the status quo in South Africa can do to our countries and peoples, it is our earnest hope that South Africa can still be persuaded - persuaded mainly by its Western friends - to abandon violence and negotiate peace.

Otherwise, the struggle must continue, and continue in earnest, with all the ghastly consequences it implies.

Mr. ABISINITO (Papua New Guinea): The Pretoria régime's legalized system of racism and denial of basic human rights to the majority of the people in South Africa because of the colour of their skin has no place among civilized societies of the world. The apartheid system in South Africa is much older than the United Nations itself. Yet the expressions of abhorrence by the world community of legalized racial segregation in South Africa were no less harsh at its inception than they are today.

(Mr. Abisinio, Papua New Guinea)

Over the years, so much has been said about the situation in South Africa. The international community has repeatedly denounced the policies of the South African Government and adopted numerous resolutions which strongly condemn South Africa's apartheid system as a form of institutionalized crime against humanity. South Africa has not only ignored the universal demand that it change its system of government but has ventured to take aggressive hostile actions against neighbouring front-line States.

South Africa is a fine image of a society where greed and race have built up its repressive pillars. As long as the legalized system of racial discrimination and dispossession remains, South Africa will continue to suppress the legitimate struggle of the people, and as long as the oppressed, discriminated-against and dispossessed majority continues to wage its just struggle against the long-discredited existence of apartheid in South Africa, we, the members of this Assembly, will never run dry of harsh words. For the long and bitter, but just struggle of the freedom fighters of South Africa is deep in the hearts of many of us here today.

South Africa is able to maintain its policies because some Members of this Organization maintain co-operative relations with it. Those countries which actively trade, invest and maintain close working relations with South Africa are, in fact, helping to ensure the continuity and survival of that racist system. It is one thing to make colourful rhetorical statements from the rostrum of this Hall condemning South Africa's apartheid policies and quite another to translate those words of condemnation into practical action.

The Government and people of Papua New Guinea have always considered that apartheid is abhorrent and intolerable, and therefore must be stamped out once and for all. It is indeed saddening even to imagine that today some of us in this Hall

(Mr. Abisinio, Papua New Guinea)

can continue to talk about dialogue and "constructive engagement" at a time when this weird system is manifesting its very nature in the mounting cost of human dignity, life and property. We in Papua New Guinea fail to see how some people continue to associate themselves with a sick régime which does not allow the people of South Africa even to bury their dead in peace.

Papua New Guinea, for its part, has openly demonstrated its strong opposition to apartheid through numerous public denunciations of South Africa in various international forums, especially at United Nations and Commonwealth meetings. More important, Papua New Guinea has always taken practical action against South Africa. Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have always viewed the apartheid system of South Africa as an evil practice which must be stamped out completely. At independence, in 1975, Papua New Guinea banned all forms of contact with South Africa. That policy, which terminated all political, economic, trade, investment, sports and cultural exchanges, as well as other ties with South Africa, is still in force to this day. For its part, Papua New Guinea has taken these concrete measures not only in response to numerous United Nations resolutions and international appeals for such action, but also to demonstrate our firm moral commitment to the just struggle of the people of South Africa.

(Mr. Abisinito, Papua New Guinea)

Papua New Guinea's policy towards South Africa will be maintained until the situation there changes. We look forward to the day when we will establish diplomatic relations with a South Africa founded on truly democratic principles, equal participation by all sectors of society irrespective of race, and where opportunity exists for all individuals to realize their fullest capacity.

Papua New Guinea condemns the Pretoria régime's repeated unprovoked and flagrant armed attacks on neighbouring States. We also condemn its illegal occupation of Namibia some two decades after it was declared the responsibility of the United Nations.

Papua New Guinea once again reaffirms its conviction that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolution, is the most appropriate, effective and peaceful means by which the international community can assist in the dismantling of the system of apartheid. We urge all Governments with a capacity to influence events in Pretoria to work for that forthwith and unsparingly.

We endorse the report and welcome the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

We also note with satisfaction the declarations of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the progress reports of the Secretary-General.

We feel that if all Members of this Organization which on many occasions have actively joined in the collective renunciation of the apartheid system would now cease from paying lip service and take practical measures, however minimal they may be, to demonstrate our position on South Africa's racist policy there is a chance that South Africa may begin to take us more seriously. Most importantly, certain countries which are in a position to hurt South Africa most, especially by imposing

(Mr. Abisinito, Papua New Guinea)

comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, have done little or nothing. Those countries should begin to exercise some flexibility in accommodating the international demand for an end to collaboration with the racist régime.

Finally, Papua New Guinea's total opposition to the evil régime in Pretoria is a matter of public record. The decision of the Government of Papua New Guinea to boycott the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh earlier this year over the policy of appeasement by the United Kingdom Government was but one of the many ways in which we have expressed our solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. It is a tribute to the good sense and conscience of the people of Papua New Guinea.

The people and Government of Papua New Guinea will continue to act in any way it can in support of the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa till the very hour when a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa takes its rightful place in this Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the voting stage on all the draft resolution relating to this item. In this connection, eight draft resolutions have been circulated in documents A/41/L.24 to A/41/L.31. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to introduce the draft resolutions.

Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): I have the honour, on behalf of their sponsors, to introduce draft resolutions A/41/L.24, entitled "Situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements"; A/41/L.25, entitled "Comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa"; and A/41/L.27, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid". The draft resolutions are based on the conclusions of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid contained in document A/41/22 and take into account the points emphasized in the course of the current session.

Draft resolution A/41/L.24 deals with the situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements. Its salient points are as follows.

(Mr. Garba, Nigeria)

Due to the continuing escalation of the racist régime's reign of repression and State terror, particularly under the state of emergency, the oppressed people in South Africa are undergoing unprecedented suffering and victimization. Opponents of the régime, including women and children, are subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, killing and other atrocities by the racist police and security forces who now enjoy limitless powers.

The draft resolution notes with grave concern that the policy of bantustanization continues to be pursued for the purpose of uprooting the oppressed people of South Africa, dispossessing them of their inalienable rights, depriving them of citizenship and fragmenting their country. The apartheid régime's internal repression is accomplished by its calculated policy of aggression, State terrorism, destabilization and blackmail against independent African States.

The draft resolution, in its operative paragraphs, reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle, including armed struggle, for the total eradication of apartheid and the General Assembly's full support of that struggle.

The draft resolution demands the abrogation of existing death sentences against freedom fighters, the treatment of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war, as well as the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees. It vehemently condemns the racist régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, escalation of aggression, State terrorism and destabilization through political subversion and economic blackmail against independent African States. It urges the international community to exert maximum pressure, including comprehensive mandatory sanctions, for the elimination of apartheid.

The draft resolution also focuses attention on the continued collaboration with the apartheid régime by the Governments of certain Western and other countries, as well as transnational corporations, banks and other financial

(Mr. Garba, Nigeria)

institutions. It reaffirms the view that policies emanating from "constructive engagement" and "linkage" encourage the racist régime's obduracy.

The draft resolution appeals to the international community to strengthen its support and assistance to the oppressed people in South Africa and their national liberation movements, as well as to those front-line and other States' members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) which are suffering because of their support of the cause of freedom in South Africa.

I turn now to draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1 in which we focus on the imperative and urgent need to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in order to compel it to dismantle apartheid.

The majority of States and world opinion in general are fully convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is the most appropriate and effective peaceful means by which the international community can assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and by which the United Nations will discharge its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

As many delegations have pointed out during the debate, save for a few cosmetic changes the evil system of apartheid remains unaltered. It denies the majority of South Africans their basic political, economic and social rights. There is no indication that without external pressure a negotiated settlement can be reached for the elimination of apartheid.

The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June, concluded that the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid was to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime. It recommended a comprehensive programme of action the central element of which was mandatory sanctions to be adopted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.



(Mr. Garba, Nigeria)

The present draft resolution, in its first operative paragraph, endorses the Declaration of the World Conference and, in operative paragraph 5, calls upon the Security Council urgently to take action with a view to applying comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and urges those Governments opposing the application of such sanctions to reassess their position.

Pending action by the Security Council, the draft resolution requests the adoption of legislative and other comparable measures by Member States to ensure the total isolation of South Africa. The same call to isolate South Africa is made to all organizations within the United Nations system, by excluding the racist South African régime from their respective memberships and terminating credit and other assistance to the apartheid régime.

The draft resolution expresses satisfaction with action taken by legislative bodies, municipalities, universities, student groups and other organizations to promote divestment from corporations and financial institutions that are collaborating with South Africa.

Draft resolution A/41/L.27 deals with the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. This draft resolution endorses the recommendations pertaining to the programme of work and activities to promote the international campaign against apartheid contained in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. It supports the efforts of the Special Committee to give effect to the relevant recommendations of the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa.

The draft resolution authorizes the Special Committee to organize, co-sponsor or participate in conferences, seminars, hearings and other activities that will

(Mr. Garba, Nigeria)

deepen knowledge of various aspects of apartheid with a view to fostering an active and action-oriented political commitment in the discharge of its responsibilities. By the same token, it authorizes the Special Committee to hold consultations with and to send missions to Governments, parliaments and other institutions and organizations as appropriate in order to strengthen co-ordinated and effective action against apartheid. For carrying out these activities, it would make a special allocation of \$375,000 to the Special Committee for the year 1987.

In this context I should like to recall that in response to an appeal by the Secretary-General in February this year the Special Committee effected economies in its programme of work and voluntarily made substantial savings out of the current year's special allocation of \$500,000. In asking for a smaller amount this year, the Committee is once again motivated by the need to assist the United Nations as a whole in meeting the serious financial problems which it is facing at this juncture. I should like to make it clear however that our Committee will in no way diminish its support of the struggle against Apartheid or deviate from the responsibilities and mandate give to it by the General Assembly.

Last but not least, this draft resolution requests Governments and organizations to make voluntary contributions or provide other assistance for the special projects of the Special Committee and to make generous contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid. It is the hope of the sponsors that the General Assembly will adopt draft resolutions unanimously.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Sudan, who will introduce draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1.

Mr. HAMRA (Sudan): Sudan is honoured to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, on relations between Israel and

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

South Africa. The sponsors of this draft resolution are: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierre Leone, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The collaboration between Israel and the apartheid régime has been a cause of serious concern to the international community, a concern which has been expressed in several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the past few years.

While the international community has been witnessing a scaling down of collaboration with South Africa on the part of other countries, Israel has been building up its collaboration with the racist régime in almost all fields, including the strategic, military and nuclear fields. The implications of this increasing collaboration are, of course, a further consolidation of the repressive and racist policies and more suffering for the oppressed people in both countries. It is a mutual co-operation and mutual benefit formula, despite the abhorrent policies of apartheid, and at a time when the imposition of sanctions against South Africa is gaining momentum and receiving world-wide support. The apartheid régime in particular has benefited from this collaboration by consolidating and institutionalizing its racist policies, and compensating for the isolation and the boycott imposed upon it by other countries, especially in the strategic areas of co-operation.

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

The Special Committee against Apartheid has given us a very comprehensive and informative report on the extent of collaboration between Israel and the apartheid régime, including the most recent developments of collaboration in the economic, military and nuclear fields, including Israel's co-operation with the bantustans. In its report (A/41/22/Add.1) the Special Committee quotes Israeli and South African sources in evidence of that collaboration, including statements by Israeli leaders and senior officials. Facts have been established about South African attacks against the neighbouring African States using Israeli-made missiles and military hardware. This indeed is a hostile act on the part of Israel, not only against the oppressed people of South Africa but also against the entire African continent.

If we really care about this serious situation in South Africa resulting from the oppressive and racist policies of that régime, we must do everything we can to isolate that régime and help speed international action for the eradication of apartheid. That is why the international community has expressed concern about the continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has addressed itself to this issue, among others, and emphasized the grave consequences for international peace and security of, especially, the collaboration between the two countries in the development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The draft resolution before us is in accordance with what I have just stated. In the preambular part, reference is made to the report of the Special Committee on this subject, and the General Assembly reaffirms its previous resolutions, takes note of the relevant provisions of the Declarations of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and reiterates that the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa is a serious hindrance to international action for the eradication of apartheid.

In the operative part, the General Assembly strongly condemns this continuing and increasing collaboration; demands that Israel terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the economic, military and nuclear fields, and abide scrupulously by the relevant resolutions of the United Nations; calls for the exertion of influence to persuade Israel to desist from such collaboration; commends the Special Committee for publicizing the growing relations between Israel and South Africa; requests the Special Committee to continue to publicize information on these relations; and requests the Secretary-General to render all possible assistance to the Special Committee in disseminating information relating to the collaboration between Israel and South Africa.

As I said earlier, this draft resolution reflects the mounting concern of the international community over the issue of collaboration with South Africa, by means of which the apartheid régime will be able to continue and consolidate its repressive and racist policies. We invite all those who call for the total eradication of apartheid and for the establishment of a non-racial democratic

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

society in South Africa to lend their support by voting in favour of this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Niger, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/41/L.28.

Mr. DIATTA (Niger) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/41/L.28, entitled "Status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports", under agenda item 33, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

The sponsors of this draft resolution are the following: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, and my own country, Niger.

It will be recalled that the General Assembly, in resolution 32/105 M, of 14 December 1977, adopted the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports and asked the Special Committee to draft an international convention against apartheid in sports, so as to strengthen the campaign against apartheid in sports and completely isolate the South African racist régime in international sports. After eight years of intensive efforts the Special Committee has provided a draft convention made up of a preamble and 22 articles.

In resolution 40/64 G, of 10 December 1985, the General Assembly adopted this draft convention in the deep conviction that it would make possible more effective measures at the international and national levels for the elimination of apartheid in sports. Indeed, there cannot be the slightest doubt that participation in

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

sporting events with teams selected on the basis of apartheid can only promote and directly encourage the continuance of the crime of apartheid and that in this regard energetic measures are necessary for the abolition of apartheid from sports and the promotion of international sporting contacts on the basis of the Olympic principle, which bans any discrimination based on race, religion or political conviction.

Therefore the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, adopted by the General Assembly last year, condemns apartheid and asks all States parties to take the necessary steps to eliminate the practice of apartheid in all its forms. The obligations of the States parties consist especially in discouraging or preventing sporting contacts with apartheid athletes and the adoption of measures to isolate apartheid in sports and, finally, to envisage collective measures in cases where proponents of apartheid in sports try to hinder the objectives of the Convention.

Apartheid, as has been emphasized by all the speakers in the debate on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - and I thank them for this - is a crime against humanity in that it represents the total denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Everything that can be said has been said about that repressive machine which resorts to detentions, mass arrests, assassination and harassment in order to ensure the supremacy of one race over others.

This Organization, aware of its special responsibility to the oppressed people of South Africa, has, by adopting the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, helped to promote the struggle waged by the people of South Africa for liberation and for the building of a democratic non-racial State; in which all the inhabitants of South Africa, whatever their race or colour, will be able to enjoy in full equality all their civil, political and economic rights. This Convention

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

is indeed an effective means of isolating the South African racist régime, and we hope this isolation will become total as a result particularly of the adoption of measures such as comprehensive mandatory sanctions, so that this oppressive régime will be brought to reason. It is in this spirit that are formulated the preamble and the operative part of the draft resolution on which this Assembly is called upon to vote.

The International Convention against Apartheid in Sports was opened for signature by States Members of our Organization on 16 May 1986. Since that day it has been signed by almost 70 States Members but ratified by only approximately 10 of them, according to our latest information. If the General Assembly can feel some satisfaction at the significant number of States that have signed this Convention since 16 May 1986 - and this is the objective of operative paragraph 2 - the fact remains that it would be highly desirable for all countries that have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Convention without delay, so as to enable it to enter into force. That is the objective of paragraph 3 of the draft resolution. Only in this way can we further demonstrate our commitment to the oppressed people of South Africa, which is waging with courage and determination a relentless struggle against the apartheid régime in spite of the ferocious State terrorism that reigns throughout the country.

On behalf of all the sponsors, my delegation submits this draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly, in the hope that it will receive the favourable votes of almost all Member States.

The PRESIDENT: I wish to correct an error in the documents. It refers to the sponsorship of some of the draft resolutions. The name of Cameroon should not be included in the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/41/L.24 but it should be included in draft resolutions A/41/L.30 and L.31.



(The President)

I now call on the representative of Norway to introduce draft resolution A/41/L.29.

Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): I have the honour to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/41/L.29, entitled "oil embargo against South Africa". The implementation of the oil embargo - or comparable policies to ensure the cessation of the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa - has been before the United Nations for a long time. At its thirty-third session the Assembly adopted for the first time a separate resolution on an oil embargo against South Africa.

Recent developments inside South Africa and, in particular, the escalation of violence by the South African authorities against the black majority, its intransigent and obstructive policy which hinders the independence of Namibia and its continued aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States, require a combination of increasing internal and international pressure to force the régime to abandon these policies. The oil embargo against South Africa constitutes a major component of the ongoing international efforts to bring about the elimination of apartheid.

South Africans are fighting over basic issues of human rights and dignity affecting the very fabric of society. The black majority, who will one day shape the future of their country, are looking for tangible action by the international community against apartheid. By imposing an effective oil embargo we would send a message that we are committed, by deed as well as by word, to the elimination of apartheid. Moreover, we believe that an effective oil embargo will contribute to the solution of one of the great moral issues of our time by international pressure instead of by violence.

An effective oil embargo is complementary to the arms embargo against South Africa. Therefore, the Security Council has been urged on several occasions to

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. Since the Council has not yet taken such action, and since most oil-exporting States have proclaimed embargoes or similar policies, efforts have been made within and outside the United Nations to ensure the effective implementation of these embargoes against South Africa.

In 1982 and 1983 attempts were made to convene an international conference on an oil embargo against South Africa. More preparations were needed to achieve that goal. Ultimately this year the Special Committee, in co-operation with the Norway Government, organized the United Nations Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa in Oslo from 4 to 6 June. Participants in the seminar, which represented oil-exporting and shipping States and members of the Security Council, agreed on the need to impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The seminar also urged oil-exporting States and shipping States to adopt legislative and other measures to ensure the effective implementation of the oil embargo. I am confident that these measures, if implemented by all oil-exporting and shipping States, will make it very difficult for South Africa to circumvent the oil embargo. The Oslo seminar also agreed on the establishment of a mechanism to monitor the implementation of an oil embargo. An intergovernmental monitoring mechanism is urgently needed to ensure the implementation of the oil embargo.

The World Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa held in Paris in June this year devoted particular attention to the question of an oil embargo. The Declaration of the Conference emphasized three components of required international action to ensure strict implementation of the embargo: first, the adoption of mandatory measures by the Security Council; secondly, the enactment of legislative and other regulations by oil-exporting States and by shipping States to enforce the embargo; thirdly, the establishment of an international mechanism to monitor the embargo.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft resolution take note of the Declaration of the Oslo seminar and the relevant provisions of the Declaration of the World Conference on sanctions. As stated in paragraph 3, the Assembly urges the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. Since most oil-exporting States have announced the imposition of oil embargoes or similar policies, and the Assembly has repeatedly called upon the Council to adopt a mandatory oil embargo, we earnestly hope that the Council will respond positively to these demands and take effective action to impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa.

Operative paragraph 4 specifies detailed measures to be taken by all States to ensure the complete cessation of the supply and shipping of oil to South Africa.

Operative paragraphs 5 to 8 deal with the establishment of an intergovernmental group which will be called the Committee on monitoring the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa. The establishment of this group is essential to monitor the supply and shipping of oil to South Africa.

It is our hope that all oil-exporting and shipping States will contribute to the work of this Committee. The establishment of this Committee does not mean expanding the bureaucracy. The Centre against Apartheid, which rendered excellent services for the Seminar on Oil Embargo and which has been actively involved in the efforts to ensure the implementation of the oil embargo, will provide services for the Committee. Co-operation of all States, whether oil exporting, shipping or acting as a centre for refinery and transport of oil is needed to ensure that the mechanism achieves the expected results.

Finally, I hope that this draft resolution will meet with the approval of all Member States and that the Committee on the monitoring of supply and shipping of oil to South Africa will start its work early next year. I call upon the Secretary-General to render all possible assistance to the Committee.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Sweden to introduce draft resolution A/41/L.30.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/41/L.30 concerning the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, sponsored this year by 49 Member States.

The Trust Fund was set up 21 years ago. Its purpose is humanitarian: to provide legal assistance, relief and other assistance to persons persecuted for their opposition to apartheid. Over the years the Fund has played an increasingly important role. The Trust Fund has, moreover, been concrete testimony that the United Nations and its Members are supporting the struggle against apartheid not only in word but also in deed. Since 1965 the Fund has contributed about \$25 million in all to several thousand persons persecuted under the discriminatory apartheid legislation in South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

The debate during the past week in the General Assembly has shown that we are all gravely concerned at the unprecedented repression in South Africa and Namibia of several thousands of opponents of apartheid, including leaders of democratic and non-racial political mass organizations, trade unionists, community and church leaders and students. In the Secretary-General's report on the Fund we find ample indications of the extent and depth of the repression. Detentions without charge or trial have increased immensely, to about 25,000 persons so far this year.

Despite the severe limitations imposed on the courts, lawyers have been able to render significant relief to political detainees in South Africa and Namibia. In many hundreds of cases this year detainees have been released, sentences reduced, dependents allowed access, and so forth, with legal assistance provided through the United Nations Trust Fund. In one important case, filed by the trade union MAWU, for instance, the provisions which denied legal counsel to detainees were ruled invalid. This judgement facilitated also the exposure of the occurrence of torture. In another judgement with potentially great importance, the unfettered discretion delegated to members of the security forces was ruled to be improper and invalid and a number of detainees were subsequently released. However, the apartheid State's appeal against the judgement was later upheld by the highest appellate court in South Africa.

During the past few months the Trust Fund has received alarming reports of the desperate need for more funds. The agencies involved in this work cannot, to the extent necessary, meet the soaring cost of supporting the drastically increasing number of cases. Despite their dedicated voluntary work, the agencies are now forced to turn down a number of cases simply because they lack financial resources. Therefore, we appeal strongly for generous and increased contributions to the Trust Fund and to the voluntary agencies. We express our appreciation to

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

the Governments and organizations which have contributed to these ends. As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees, I appreciate the fact that a large number of Governments do contribute to the Fund and I appeal to those that have not contributed so far to join. And I hope that Governments will increase their contributions at the next pledging conference, in March next year. I cannot fail to note that four Governments contribute more than 75 per cent of the Fund's budget. It is indeed my hope that in particular the industrialized countries concerned, and not least the large ones, will find it possible to contribute or increase their contributions to the Fund. The many words against apartheid and of solidarity with the detained and imprisoned victims of apartheid that have been spoken during the debate on apartheid that has concluded today should - as we hope - be reflected in increased contributions to the Trust Fund.

In conclusion, I wish on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/41/L.30 to express the hope that the General Assembly will again this year adopt the draft resolution unanimously.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Finland to introduce the last of the draft resolutions on this item, draft resolution A/41/L.31.

Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): On behalf of all the sponsors, I have the honour to introduce for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution in document A/41/L.31, on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid.

A similar draft resolution was submitted in the past two years as the result of a joint effort by Western - including the five Nordic - and African countries, with the aim of rallying the broadest possible support of the international community, without which the endeavours of this Organization to eliminate apartheid will not succeed. Once again we have had constructive and wide-ranging

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

co-operation among the sponsors, for which I wish to express my heartfelt thanks on this occasion.

This year's draft resolution has been brought up to date in the light both of developments within South Africa and of the rapidly increasing number of national, regional, intergovernmental and other measures that have been introduced against the apartheid policy of South Africa.

The aggravation of the situation in South Africa caused by the policy of apartheid, and lately in particular by the reimposition and the extension nationwide of the state of emergency, is noted in the draft resolution with alarm. The resort by the South African authorities to killing, arbitrary mass arrests and detention of members of mass organizations as well as individuals who oppose the inhuman system of apartheid cannot be accepted. Furthermore, the fact that the authorities of South Africa, through a combination of military and economic pressures, have increasingly resorted to economic reprisals against, and destabilization of, the neighbouring countries causes us deep concern. These actions, whether overt or covert, are clearly condemned in the draft resolution.

The draft resolution demands that the authorities of South Africa release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; lift immediately the state of emergency as well as restrictions on and censorship of news media; initiate without pre-conditions a political dialogue with genuine leaders of the majority population; and withdraw all their troops from southern Angola and end the destabilization of front-line and other States.

The draft resolution emphasizes the responsibility of the United Nations and the international community to take urgent and concerted action for the eradication of apartheid and, in particular, the need for increased and effective pressure on the South African authorities as a peaceful means of achieving the abolition of

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

apartheid. Thus, it urges the Security Council to consider without delay the adoption of effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Similarly, the draft resolution recognizes the pressing need of the States neighbouring South Africa for economic assistance, and appeals to all States, organizations and institutions to expand assistance to the front-line States and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference in order to increase their economic strength and their independence from South Africa.

While continuing to favour effective mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, the draft resolution, pending such action, appeals for an increase in the pressure on the apartheid régime of South Africa by the implementation of a large number of voluntary measures. Those have been carefully selected, taking into account not merely what has already been decided by various countries and groups of countries.

At the same time, the sponsors have been guided by the desire to ensure the broadest possible consensus in the international community on ways and means finally to persuade South Africa of the need to dismantle apartheid without delay.

It is in the spirit of a concerted approach with a view to a peaceful solution, and in the light of the urgent need for joint international action, that we recommend this draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on any or all of the eight draft resolutions that have just been introduced. Representatives will also have an opportunity to explain their votes after all the voting has been concluded.



(The President)

I should like to remind the Assembly that, under rule 88 of the rules of procedure,

"The President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment".

May I also remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand): My delegation did not speak in the general debate on apartheid. A hundred other delegations did, and we agree with much of what they said. But adding our voice to the swelling chorus yet again would not have affected the situation on the ground in South Africa, and would certainly not have helped lift the daily burden of oppression which is the lot of the black majority in South Africa, the victims of apartheid.

What is needed is not more debate; what is needed, as the title of the resolution my delegation is glad to co-sponsor puts it, is concerted international action against apartheid.

I would emphasize two words there - concerted and action. Exhortative or simply declaratory resolutions, let alone ones which, like that on relations between Israel and South Africa, tend to have a divisive or diversionary effect, have not succeeded in moving Pretoria.

On the other hand, the régime itself has failed to convince either the international community or its own black citizens of its commitment to change. What is needed now is a clear message, sent by the international community acting together and backed up by concerted action.

The events of the past year have illustrated vividly that the South African régime does not recognize a lifeline when one is thrown to it. The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group threw such a lifeline to Pretoria. After sensitively handled consultations with all the interested parties, inside and outside South Africa, the Group submitted what it called a possible negotiating concept to the South African Government, aimed at replacing apartheid by a non-racial representative form of government. The response to this serious endeavour to provide that Government with a way out of the blind alley in which it has entrapped itself - a way to ensure a long-term future in a free South Africa for the grandchildren of the white minority - was contemptuous. With the Commonwealth Group still in South Africa

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

seeking to advance their proposals, the South African authorities launched armed attacks on neighbouring Commonwealth countries.

Recoiling, as does my country, from the prospect that the momentum of events will lead inevitably to the destruction of apartheid by the violence which it has bred, and given the absence of a will to negotiate on the part of Pretoria, the Eminent Persons Group concluded that the international community must apply concerted action of an effective kind. In the Group's assessment, the absence of such measures and the belief of the South African authorities that they need not be feared constitute obstacles to change.

The Group's conclusion that firmer action by the international community is needed to facilitate negotiation between the parties in South Africa is shared by the New Zealand Government. Like the members of the Eminent Persons Group, my Government does not consider such measures to be punitive. They should not be seen as an alternative to the path of negotiation. Rather, they should be designed to ensure that negotiation is the chosen path. We do not go along with endorsement of armed struggle or the implication that there is no alternative to that course.

The measures applied by the international community should be carefully selected and targeted. Their purpose is not to destroy South Africa's economy; it is to persuade the South African régime that other countries will no longer shield its economy from damage while it carries out its present policies, and that its own interests, as much as those of the oppressed majority, dictate that it end apartheid.

The numerous practical measures that New Zealand has already taken reflect this approach. We do not need to spell them out here. They may be found in the relevant United Nations documents. They have been carefully selected and targeted. And since the failure of the mission of the Commonwealth Group the New Zealand Government has taken steps to give effect to further measures as

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

recommended by Commonwealth Heads of Government. We invite all Governments of Member States of the United Nations to consider implementing a range of similar measures in a concerted manner.

It follows that we do not at this stage see the case for comprehensive sanctions made in one draft resolution before us. We will therefore abstain in a vote on that text. In the interests of endeavouring to maintain to the degree possible a united international front, we also oppose the singling out of individual countries in such texts. We shall also abstain on draft resolution A/41/L.28, because my Government has reservations about the appropriateness of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. Nevertheless, New Zealand has taken a number of steps, with some success, actively to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa, and it will continue by such means to seek this end.

The tone of the report of the Commonwealth Group is one of sadness rather than anger. Their consultations led them to believe that the ground existed on the basis of which a negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems could be attempted if there was the necessary political will among all concerned. The South African Government chose not to display that political will. It chose to reject the lifeline. It must now be brought to recognize the error of its ways through effective measures by a united international community. New Zealand is prepared to play its part. Our co-sponsorship of the text on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid and our supporting votes for the resolutions on the oil embargo against South Africa, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the very useful programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid reflect that stance.

Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The Twelve Member States of the European Community have made clear during this debate their utter revulsion at apartheid. We have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned it many times, both here at the United Nations and in many other forums. There should be no doubt about our objective which is, quite simply, the eradication of this pernicious system. We therefore regret some of the wording of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/41/22). There should be no doubt of our determination to contribute to the abolition of apartheid. The United Nations has a primary role to play in this endeavour.

All the speakers in this debate have condemned the practice and principles of apartheid. This is something on which we can all agree. It seems to us that an effort should have been made to reflect this unanimity of view more faithfully in the draft resolutions before us. Some of the draft resolutions also contain elements which have no bearing on the subject at hand.

The Twelve believe that the division of competence between the General Assembly and the Security Council laid down in the Charter must be respected. Only the Security Council is empowered to adopt decisions binding on Member States.

On this occasion we reaffirm once again our commitment to the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. We cannot accept that it should be called into question, even in the case of South Africa. The universal character of the specialized agencies and the provisions of their rules of procedure must also be respected. Similarly, we cannot support calls for the total isolation of South Africa, since this would not in our view further the goal we all share - the abolition of apartheid. Channels of communication with South Africa must remain open in order to enable the outside world to maintain and increase its pressure on the South African Government for the establishment of a free and democratic society without racial oppression.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

As we said in our statement in the debate, the last 12 months have seen a deepening of the cycle of violence and repression in South Africa. We, the Twelve, remain convinced, however, that a process of peaceful change is still possible and that the United Nations has the obligation to promote change by peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter. Although we share the frustration felt by the majority of the people of South Africa over their predicament, we cannot agree that resolutions adopted by the General Assembly should endorse the use of force.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

The Twelve reject all forms of apartheid in sports. Sports activities are, however, organized in our respective countries at private initiative. Sports organizations within our countries are aware of the opposition of their Governments to sports competitions that violate the Olympic ideal of non-discrimination. We continue firmly to discourage all sporting contacts that have any implications of racial discrimination as an indication of our respect for the fundamental rights of the people of South Africa.

The Twelve reject once again all arbitrary, selective and unjustified attacks, whether by name or implicitly, on Member States or groups of countries.

As to the financial implications of the draft resolutions, we believe that in view of the current financial crisis of the United Nations new proposals should be subjected to the most careful scrutiny.

We regret that, for the reasons I have just stated, we will not be able to vote in favour of all the draft resolutions before us today. I should like, however, to repeat our commitment to act both collectively and individually to impress on the South African Government the inescapable need for fundamental reform. The South African Government must be brought to see that the only way forward lies in the abolition of apartheid and the introduction of the basic changes demanded by the international community.

Mr. JACOBVITS de SZEGED (Netherlands): The Assembly has just heard the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the Twelve, setting forth in his statement on the draft resolutions certain principles to which the Twelve commonly adhere. It goes without saying that we fully endorse that statement. The system of apartheid is politically and morally unacceptable because it is at variance with the basic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. In its place should be established without delay a truly democratic and pluriform

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

society, in which white and black as well as the other sections of the population can live in harmony with each other. The Netherlands Government will continue to do everything in its power to realize these goals through peaceful means, nationally and internationally, and particularly in the framework of the European Community. The Netherlands Government follows a two-track policy. On the one hand, it supports South African non-governmental organizations and groups working towards the abolition of apartheid along peaceful lines, thus encouraging peaceful change in South Africa from within.

On the other hand, the Netherlands Government is, with the Twelve, steadily increasing its political and economic pressure on the Government of South Africa. In this respect it has preference for selective mandatory sanctions, decided upon by the Security Council. Pending worldwide sanctions the Twelve have agreed on a substantial package of political and economic measures against South Africa, whilst a ban on coal remains under consideration.

Both tracks the Netherlands Government is pursuing should lead to change through a genuine national dialogue, that being the only way the future political configuration of South Africa can be developed without a further deepening of the cycle of violence and bloodshed.

One would have expected that the draft resolutions before us would have been drafted with a view to reflecting the existing broad consensus in this Hall on the issue of apartheid. Unfortunately this is not always the case. Some of the draft resolutions before us contain elements that are more likely to stir up controversy and mutual recrimination than to contribute to our common cause. This is the more regrettable since a statement of principle and a programme for concrete action, to which all Members of the United Nations would subscribe, would without any doubt optimize the effectiveness of our endeavours to bring about peaceful change in South Africa.



(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

As already stated many times, the Netherlands rejects name-calling and arbitrary criticism against certain States or groups of countries. This will not advance our common aim and it diverts attention from the subject at stake. My delegation finds itself also in disagreement with some other elements found in various draft resolutions. The Netherlands objects to expressions of support for the concept of armed struggle, which is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the situation in South Africa is in our opinion not a colonial one. The consequence of this is that the Netherlands regards the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as anti-apartheid movements. We do not recognize them as liberation movements. In this context we continue to have reservations about the applicability of the prisoner-of-war status under the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional Protocol of 1977. These general considerations lead us to an abstention on the draft resolution on the situation in South Africa and assistance to the liberation movements (A/41/L.24), although the Netherlands has expressed on numerous occasions its strong support for a number of concrete demands listed in the draft resolution such as the unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the immediate lifting of the new nationwide state of emergency.

The above general considerations apply to the draft resolution on comprehensive mandatory sanctions (A/41/L.25 and Corr.1) as well. But there are other elements in this draft resolution with which we disagree. We deplore the spirit of hostility to one particular group of States displayed in this text. By doing so it totally ignores the extensive and substantial packages of political and economic measures taken by these countries in the recent past, thus effectively increasing their pressure on the South African Government to change its policy.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

The Netherlands Government fears that the total isolation of South Africa and the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against that country will gravely increase existing tensions, will ruin the country economically and therefore inflict intolerable suffering on the people of South Africa and of neighbouring States and will once and for all eliminate the chances for peaceful change through a genuine dialogue. Finally, we cannot accept any infringement on the principle of universality, not even in the case of South Africa. For these reasons my delegation will vote against this draft resolution.

The Netherlands has always been in favour of an oil embargo against South Africa to be imposed by the Security Council. In the absence of that the Netherlands Government has actively endorsed measures in this respect in the framework of the European Community. The member States of the European Community have agreed to the cessation of the export of crude oil in free circulation in the Community. The draft resolution (A/41/L.29) now before us goes beyond an oil embargo and the measures now taken by the European Community. For that reason my delegation will abstain on this draft resolution.

My delegation will also abstain on the draft resolution concerning the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, (A/41/L.27) because of the unbalanced character of parts of the report of the Special Committee and its unwarranted criticism directed at a particular group of countries. I may furthermore point out that the Netherlands took part in the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa only as an observer and that we cannot support all the recommendations in the Declaration of this Conference, particularly not, as stated before, the recommendation concerning comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

Some provisions in the draft resolution on the Status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports (A/41/L.28) infringe upon certain constitutionally guaranteed freedoms in my country. Rather than placing the Convention against Apartheid in Sports on the same level as the Human Rights Covenants, we regard it as contradicting them in some respects. Therefore, we will abstain on the draft resolution on this subject. However, the Netherlands Government is of the opinion that a sports boycott is an effective instrument in international efforts to eradicate apartheid. Accordingly, the Netherlands has brought South African participation in sporting events in my country to a virtual stop by introducing strict visa requirements for South Africans.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged, Netherlands)

As we did in the case of the draft resolution last year, we will vote in favour of the draft resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. In our opinion, it is a constructive draft resolution that avoids unnecessarily controversial elements and provides us with a broad platform for concrete action in order to reach our common goal, that is, the immediate total abolition of the abhorrent system of racial segregation and repression.

Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, has already commented on the draft resolutions on which we are about to vote, recalling essential political principles shared by those countries, including my own.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, as is well known and as was reaffirmed by the Federal Foreign Minister in his statement before the General Assembly, strongly rejects the apartheid policy of South Africa as an unacceptable institutionalized system of racial discrimination. The Federal Government condemns and repudiates the apartheid system because it violates human rights and disregards human dignity.

It is, therefore, with much regret that, in view of certain formulations in the draft resolutions, my Government is not in a position to support all of them. My Government has made it clear all along that it deems mandatory sanctions, as well as armed struggle, not to be the appropriate means of resolving the apartheid problem.

As we share the basic goal of the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, namely that apartheid must be abolished, we agree with the main thrust of draft resolution A/41/L.27. However, we have strong reservations concerning its operative paragraph 3 and will therefore abstain.

(Mr. Lautenschlager, Federal  
Republic of Germany)

Furthermore, my delegation has regularly voiced its opposition to singling out individual Member States as has been done in some of the draft resolutions before us.

Finally, let me express the firm hope of my delegation that the General Assembly will be able at its forty-second session to deal with draft resolutions which will eventually make possible support by all members of the Assembly.

Mr. BROCHAND (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation reiterated in its statement during the debate its unreserved condemnation of the policy of apartheid. The French Government has embarked on a policy of exerting pressure on the South African authorities to persuade them to begin a genuine dialogue with all the political forces in the country with a view to the speedy dismantling of apartheid.

It is in that spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.31, on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. While supporting that draft resolution, we wish to make known our reservations, in particular on operative paragraph 5, regarding which we would recall the authority entrusted under the Charter to the Security Council alone, as well as France's well-known position on mandatory sanctions. Furthermore, the voluntary measures recommended in operative paragraph 7 do not necessarily cover the national measures which France might choose to exert pressure on South Africa. For the French Government, the measures taken against Pretoria must meet the dual criteria of effectiveness and respect for existing commitments.

While it is totally opposed to the practice of apartheid in sports, my delegation will have to abstain on draft resolution A/41/L.28, on the status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. My country cannot approve a Convention which is incompatible with its Constitution and legislation.

(Mr. Brochand, France)

France supports the work done in connection with information and public awareness by the Special Committee against Apartheid. However, my delegation deplores once again the arbitrary, unjustified criticism in the Committee's report of certain countries and of the European Community. For that reason my delegation will abstain on draft resolution A/41/L.27, on the programme of work of the Committee.

The French Government is in favour of measures in connection with oil, as demonstrated by those it applies and which were adopted by the 12 countries of the European Community. In accordance with its usual position, my delegation wishes, however, to state its reservations of an institutional nature regarding operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/41/L.29, entitled "Oil embargo against South Africa". Furthermore, we cannot agree to what is envisaged in operative paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the text concerning a monitoring mechanism which would make the recommendations set forth in the draft resolution mandatory and therefore go beyond the area of competence assigned to the General Assembly under the Charter. My delegation will therefore vote against draft resolution A/41/L.29. It might have been able to abstain if the draft resolution had not provided for the establishment of such a mechanism.

Generally speaking, France would have liked to be able to support without reservation all the draft resolutions on the question of apartheid submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly. As in previous years, the inclusion of extreme wording makes it impossible for all the draft resolutions to be adopted by all members of the Assembly.

(Mr. Brochand, France)

A unanimous vote, expressing our unanimous condemnation of apartheid, would today more than ever before have constituted a warning to the South African Government of paramount importance. My delegation regrets that the opportunity was not taken to achieve that extremely desirable objective. We sincerely hope that this will be possible in the near future.

Mr. AL-AMIN (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Iraq believes that it is a matter of principle to oppose the policy of apartheid of the South African régime. That position has not changed for years now. We have always adopted the same attitude against that régime and others that are similarly anachronistic. This is a historical responsibility that must be shouldered by the international community. It must make every effort to ensure the elimination of the apartheid régime, which not only persecutes the people of South Africa but is occupying the Territory of Namibia and seeking to destabilize neighbouring independent African States by political and economic sabotage.

It is also necessary to ensure implementation of all General Assembly resolutions on this subject and to bring about the total isolation of South Africa by ceasing relations of any kind with that régime. At the same time, we must continue to support and assist the people of South Africa in their struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and be able to build a democratic, just society in South Africa.

Iraq is totally committed to the imposition of a total embargo, including an oil embargo, on South Africa and believes that no relation of any kind should be maintained with that country, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and based on our policy of principle against apartheid policies of any kind.

(Mr. Al-Amin, Iraq)

My delegation believes that all relevant United Nations resolutions must be implemented unconditionally. That is why Iraq will vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.29 on the oil embargo, which has been submitted to the General Assembly. Iraq will also vote in favour of all the other draft resolutions submitted on the item under consideration.

Mr. PEREZ (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): As I begin this explanation of vote I should like once again, most unequivocally, to voice our total condemnation of the system of apartheid. I believe that the debate we have had in the Assembly on this question will provide the South African authorities with food for thought about the views and attitude of the international community concerning apartheid and the unanimous moral and political condemnation that we have expressed of this reprehensible practice which we are convinced will end sooner rather than later. This is a commitment which we should all assume.

We have considered with the keenest attention each of the draft resolutions submitted and will be voted upon in a few minutes by the General Assembly. We believe that, by and large, they reflect the views of all nations Members of this Organization. But we have also pointed out that the struggle against apartheid is everyone's struggle, in which all of us must play our part if we truly want to end this reprehensible system as quickly as possible. Hence, we believe that, if we are really to assume this commitment we should not - for political or other reasons which, particularly in this case, are of completely secondary importance - create any obstacles likely to hamper the achievement of the consensus that is required to realize our aspirations of ending apartheid.

We have listened with the greatest interest to the statements of the majority of delegations. We have not heard a single dissenting voice. All, without exception, have condemned apartheid. For that reason we believe it is regrettable



(Mr. Perez, Chile)

that the draft resolutions which will be adopted in a few minutes contain certain terms and references that we deem inappropriate because they prevent the achievement of the consensus that has been expressed here.

That is a serious matter, because we are not reflecting the consensus that prevailed in this Hall in the vote on the principal issue, namely, the condemnation of apartheid and the attempt to end that reprehensible practice forthwith. It would therefore have been preferable, as we pointed out earlier in this forum and others, to refrain from selective references to countries which we all know are totally unfair and to questions that are within the competence of each State.

Miss DEVER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the European Economic Community (EEC), has just made a statement on the draft resolutions dealing with the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Since those comments reflect my delegation's views on this question I shall not repeat them.

My delegation continues to believe that explicit support for armed combat is inappropriate in our Organization's resolutions. Nor can we join in the appeal in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions or associate ourselves with references to individual States. It considers, as it did in previous years, that they do not take into account the division of authority between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

We also have serious reservations about the criticism directed at the Western countries, the improper demands addressed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the specialized agencies, and the recommendations for South Africa's total isolation.

My delegation must also dissociate itself from references to documents adopted by international conferences and meetings in which we did not participate.

(Miss Dever, Belgium)

For the reasons just mentioned my delegation will vote against draft resolutions A/41/L.24, entitled "Situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements"; A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, entitled "Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa"; and A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, entitled "Relations between Israel and South Africa".

We shall also abstain from the vote on draft resolution A/41/L.27, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid".

We shall also abstain from the vote on draft resolution A/41/L.28 on the status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. For constitutional reasons, some clauses of that Convention create obstacles to its future ratification by our country's Parliament. However, that will not prevent the Belgian authorities from continuing to discourage sporting exchanges with South Africa and to deny access to our country to South African sportsmen who wish to take part in sports competitions in Belgium.

Our delegation regrets that it cannot support draft resolution A/41/L.29 on the oil embargo. We believe that the imposition of that sort of embargo is up to the Security Council. By abstaining from the vote on that draft resolution my country is not abstaining in practice, since a year ago we, together with our European partners, introduced an embargo system in respect of supplies of crude oil to South Africa and are scrupulously applying it.

Belgium's commitment to the action taken by this Organization to abolish apartheid will lead us to vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.31 on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, despite the reservations that we still have on some of its paragraphs.

Belgium reiterates its unequivocal condemnation of apartheid and its determination to take part in any action unanimously decided upon by the international community.

Mr. MAKEKA (Lesotho): My country's stand against and abhorrence of racial discrimination in its worst form called apartheid as practised in South Africa is a matter of record. We cannot keep silent, therefore, so long as apartheid exists in South Africa, because apartheid is not only a crime against humanity; it also debases and dehumanizes both its perpetrators and its victims. Its existence has claimed thousands of lives in both South Africa and the neighbouring countries; most of those victims are blacks. While South Africa's gaols are teeming with thousands of apartheid victims, the majority of them not even given the benefit of a trial.

Over 3 million blacks have been subjected to the so-called Group Areas Act, the result being that they have been forced to move from their homes to areas given highfalutin names such as "Success Town", "Happy Villa", "Happy" and so on. The fact is they are barren lands devoid of any means of sustenance. I can go on and on to tell of what apartheid means to us.

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

However, since this is the opportunity for me to explain my delegation's vote, I wish to point out that as a matter of principle and as human beings we fully support the general thrust of the draft resolutions now before us, particularly as they are designed to hasten the peaceful eradication of apartheid; but as a political animal my delegation is forced to face the reality of the geo-political situation. As some would like to put it, it is as if we were literally inside the belly of the monster called apartheid. My country is completely surrounded by South Africa and depends on South Africa not only for imports and exports but also for employment, to mention but a few items. It is therefore practically and physically impossible for my country to carry out some of the obligations contained in some of the draft resolutions now before us, and when we come to vote on them my delegation will abstain.

Let me conclude by repeating what the head of my delegation said to the Assembly in the general debate - that it is our sincere hope that members of the international community will take the necessary steps to ameliorate the adverse consequences that my country may suffer as a result of punitive measures that may be taken against apartheid South Africa.

Lastly, my delegation has always had difficulty with the so-called name-calling and the singling out of certain countries by name. If such texts are put to the vote my delegation will abstain.

Mr. STACKHOUSE (Canada): On behalf of the Canadian delegation I shall explain Canada's voting intentions on the various draft resolutions under this agenda item. In most cases our votes will speak for themselves and I shall therefore principally focus on our primary concerns.

On draft resolution A/41/L.24, dealing with the situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements, Canada can support much that is in this draft text. We have consistently voiced our condemnation of the current state of

(Mr. Stackhouse, Canada)

emergency, and have joined with other Member States in taking concrete action to press the South African Government to dismantle apartheid, release political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela and lift the ban on political parties. Canada has been in the forefront of nations calling on the Government of South Africa to enter into a dialogue with authentic black leaders. In conformity with the United Nations Charter we have consistently called for and encouraged peaceful change and reconciliation in South Africa. To that end we have in particular condemned the cycle of violence that has existed in southern Africa in recent years. However, it is also for those very reasons that we have difficulty in voting in favour of a draft resolution which includes language in favour of an armed struggle.

With respect to draft resolutions A/41/L.24 and A/41/L.25, we have difficulty with the name-calling in operative paragraphs 12 and 5 respectively of those draft resolutions. We have consistently voted against the inclusion of what we see to be gratuitous citations of individual countries in the context of resolutions such as these. We further question the validity of the continued and generalized accusations against Western countries with regard to their support for South Africa. My country, along with virtually all other Western countries, has already adopted strong measures against the Government of South Africa. Our actions surely invalidate these stale accusations.

Our intended negative vote on draft resolution A/41/L.25 stems also from our position of principle on universality, on name-calling, on mandatory sanctions, on the independence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and so on.

As we did last year on a similar draft resolution, my delegation will abstain in the voting in draft resolution A/41/L.28, concerning the status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. Canada has already applied

(Mr. Stackhouse, Canada)

sporting boycotts against South Africa and the Government has published rigorous guidelines on sporting contacts with South Africa. There are, however, as we noted last year, legal and policy impediments which preclude Canada from ratifying such a convention at this time.

Canada notes with interest the new draft resolution A/41/L.29, on the imposition of an oil embargo against South Africa, on which we shall abstain. Canada has already imposed an effective voluntary embargo on the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. We have two overriding difficulties which prevent us from voting in favour of this draft resolution. We do not yet consider that the time for mandatory sanctions has come. Since we have frequently spoken out against the proliferation of small, single-purpose, multilateral bodies we also have difficulty with the call for the creation of a new United Nations body, even an intergovernmental group. This objection is particularly valid at a time when the United Nations is facing a financial crisis, but it should be noted that Canada has not shied away from taking strong measures to encourage South Africa to dismantle apartheid. In that light, this proposal will be examined closely should further measures against South Africa need to be considered.

Canada will vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.31, on concerted action for the elimination of apartheid. I have already referred to Canada's strong opposition to apartheid. It should also be noted, for the record, that Canada has already implemented all the measures in paragraph 7 of the draft resolution. As I have said, however, Canada does not consider that the time is ripe for mandatory sanctions, which would in any case be a question for careful review by the Security Council.

My delegation will also vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.27, concerning the programme of the Special Committee against Apartheid, but we do have

(Mr. Starkhouse, Canada)

serious reservations about the financial irregularity of securing funding for projects which do not yet exist.

In 1986 South Africa has, for very unfortunate reasons, again remained high on the agenda of international issues. We must all play our part to encourage and promote peaceful change in South Africa. The draft resolutions before us today are a clear message to the Government of South Africa that the time for concrete action is at hand. Canada, for its part, intends to work in concert with others to maintain unrelenting pressure on Pretoria to dismantle apartheid.

Mr. RAMALHO ORTIGAO (Portugal): The permanent representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the 12 Member States of the European Community, has already commented on the draft resolutions on which we are about to vote, recalling the basic principles shared by all those countries. My delegation would just like to add some considerations to that statement.

Portugal's utter rejection of apartheid has been repeatedly voiced here, as in other forums. We have clearly condemned the total lack of moral principles that characterizes the apartheid system, which sows the seeds of serious internal strife with which we are all familiar. We have strongly denounced the policy of bantustanization, which deprives the majority of the people of their citizenship.

The South African authorities must embark on a sincere effort to establish a dialogue with all the different communities of their country, thus creating the necessary conditions for all its inhabitants to have equal access to political rights, to freedom, to work and to social justice. Only after having met those requirements can we consider that the South Africans from any community are free and fully or fledged citizens of South Africa. Only then can the international community be satisfied that its struggle against institutionalized racism has yielded positive results.

(Mr. Ramalho Ortigao, Portugal)

We cannot but express great concern at the deterioration of the situation in South Africa. In this connection, as we stated recently by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal in this Assembly:

"It is essential that the Government put an end to the state of emergency, free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and legalize banned political parties. On the other hand, all the forces legitimately fighting the apartheid system must also contribute to the cessation of violence and to the establishment of dialogue, which is the only means towards a peaceful and lasting reconciliation of the various interests at stake."

(A/41/PV.88, p. 34-35)



(Mr. Ramalho Ortigao, Portugal)

We are convinced that maintaining international pressure can contribute to sending a clear message to the South African Government as to the need to speed up the process of change in the country. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the total isolation of South Africa can serve our common and essential purpose of bringing about the fundamental changes that we have called on that country to make.

My delegation therefore regrets that it is not able to support all the draft resolutions on this item. Although we concur with the thrust of many of their essential proposals, we have reservations about certain aspects, namely those which encourage violence and contain discriminatory, unjustified and systematic criticism, as well as arbitrary language. My delegation deplores the fact that once again the inclusion of some controversial elements did not make it possible to reach consensus on all draft resolutions.

As last year, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.31, on "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid". However, my delegation would like to stress that it has reservations on certain of its formulations in the operative part.

Mr. AOKI (Japan): Japan firmly and steadfastly opposes racial discrimination in all its guises and, in particular, apartheid, for the elimination of which it extends maximum co-operation to the efforts of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that we will support three draft resolutions before us, namely, A/C.1/41/L.27, L.30, of which we are a co-sponsor, and L.31.

As for draft resolution L.31, on "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid", my delegation will support it as a positive effort to achieve unity in the international community although we have some difficulty with some of the wording in that draft resolution.

At the same time, my delegation believes that comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be considered with utmost care. Although we also find difficulties

(Mr. Aoki, Japan)

with the wording of certain paragraphs in draft resolution L.25, yet my delegation will not oppose that draft resolution. We take this position as an expression of my country's indignation at the Government of South Africa for refusing to heed the voice of the international community and also to show our concern with the deteriorating situation in and around South Africa.

As for the remaining draft resolutions, although my delegation fully supports those elements contained in them that are common to those in draft resolution L.31, they also contain certain formulations to which we cannot subscribe, such as those commending armed struggle and those which single out for accusation a country or a group of countries, and hence my delegation will vote on them accordingly.

Mr. SIMAS MAGALHAES (Brazil): Brazil intends to support the adoption of all draft resolutions related to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa under agenda item 33. This year, a draft resolution has been presented in document A/41/L.29 aiming at strengthening international control over the supply of oil and related products to South Africa, therefore increasing restrictions which are already in force. The Brazilian Government places on record its readiness to take pertinent measures within the limits of national legislation to translate into concrete action the requests contained in the draft resolution.

We take this opportunity, however, to express our hope that the intergovernmental machinery proposed in L.29 will be entrusted with the necessary authority to fulfil its task in a complete and impartial manner. Recent reporting points, indeed, to the urgent need of reflecting properly new information on the supply of oil to South Africa, information that has so far not seen the light of day. We refer, for instance, to the data contained in the "Shipping Research Bureau" report for the period 1983/1984, which will certainly be useful in ascertaining responsibilities in the future.

(Mr. Simas Magalhaes, Brazil)

Other provisions of draft resolution L.29 on the oil embargo will have to be the object of careful examination by national authorities, since their legal implications are unclear. We would like, in this connection, to reserve at this stage the position of the Brazilian Government in relation to the provisions of operative paragraph 4 (c) and (g), as well as on other provisions that may have legal effects vis-à-vis our national legislation.

Mr. MORENO (Italy): The position of my delegation on the draft resolutions before us derives from the statements made by the Italian Foreign Minister in the general debate on 23 September and by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community in this debate.

The Italian Government strongly condemns the apartheid system, which is the negation of all the values on which Italian society is based and in which we firmly believe. Over the last year my Government has spared no effort to engage the South African authorities in a dialogue aimed at bringing about the fundamental changes which are needed for a peaceful transition of South Africa to a political system based on equality for all, pluralism and democracy.

We regret that no meaningful progress has been achieved so far in this direction. We therefore feel that the time has come to increase international pressure on the Pretoria régime. Together with our partners in the European Community, we have, on 16 September, already taken significant restrictive measures to this end. We recognize, however, that those measures can be considered only the beginning of a process if the South African Government persists in its stubborn resistance to all legitimate requests for radical and peaceful change in the country.

At the same time, we are convinced that, to be effective, restrictive measures must be based on consensus. Our common priority goal at this stage should

(Mr. Moreno, Italy)

therefore be to encourage such a consensus. Significant results have been achieved in this direction, thanks also to the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid and it is important to build on these results. Accordingly, this is no time to resort to divisive language and controversial proposals which are unacceptable to a number of us in spite of the universal rejection of the abhorrent system of apartheid.

For these reasons, while we feel that sanctions must be part of the action conducted by the international community and complement political and moral condemnation and domestic popular pressure, our purpose at this stage should be to co-operate in this endeavour rather than to indulge in recriminations and condemnations. We therefore cannot accept the singling out in resolutions or in the reports of the Special Committee of individual States or groups of States as bearing an alleged responsibility for the situation prevailing in South Africa or Namibia.

(Mr. Moreno, Italy)

We do not feel it is appropriate for the General Assembly to try to infringe on the prerogatives entrusted by the Charter to the Security Council. We do not think that the General Assembly should endorse armed struggle. We are aware that, in the course of the struggles waged by oppressed peoples, popular pressure may become violent. That is a fact of life, and it would be naive to ignore it. However, the goal of the United Nations is and must remain the search for peaceful solutions rather than the legitimization of violence.

For all those reasons, my delegation will have to cast a negative vote on draft resolutions A/41/L.24, L.25 and Corr.1 and L.26 and Corr.1. Although we are fully committed to the intensification of the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid, to the abolition of all forms of apartheid in sports and to the principle of an oil embargo - and I would remind members that a prohibition of oil exports has already been agreed upon by the European Community - we shall abstain from the vote on draft resolutions A/41/L.27, L.28 and L.29. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/41/L.31 and will join in the consensus on draft resolution A/41/L.30.

Miss KGABI (Botswana): Our lack of capacity to impose economic sanctions against South Africa has dictated that we abstain on draft resolutions A/41/L.25 and L.29 and that we reserve our position on any paragraphs in the other draft resolutions that seek to commit us to such a course of action. But our position should not be used as an excuse by those who are unwilling or who refuse to impose sanctions. We fully recognize the need to adopt effective measures against South Africa to compel it to abandon apartheid and thus avoid a bloodbath in that country.

Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): We have as usual listened most attentively to the debate on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. As always, we have been moved by the very eloquent words of abhorrence and by the very

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

strong expressions of condemnation of that evil system of institutionalized racism. Words, however, no matter how eloquent or how strong, will never end apartheid and will never free South Africa. Nowhere in the world is the old adage that actions speak louder than words more appropriate than in South Africa today. Nowhere are more words expended than here at the United Nations. Although every delegation here has joined in condemning apartheid, all of us must search the depths of our collective soul and ask whether we have taken all the action we possibly could. Is there not more that can be done, particularly by the most powerful amongst us, to help South Africa's people see the day when they and their children will enjoy the same freedoms and share the same dreams that so many of us do now and that some of us even take for granted?

All of us know that the very sad reality of South Africa is that no resolution or parliamentary decision is likely to be the final determining factor in ending apartheid. However, it seems to us that we must at the very least send a sign of encouragement to those opposing the Pretoria régime in body as well as in spirit. We must send a sign of encouragement to those like Nelson Mandela, who refuse to waver or bend no matter how seductive the personal inducements.

We must also send a signal to those who govern South Africa with reckless disregard for every standard of common decency. With unmatched arrogance they have even had the audacity recently to accuse the Governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique of conspiring to overthrow the Government of a neighbouring State when it is none but South Africa itself that has plotted and conspired against neighbouring States in the region. Once again, the criminal attempts to make the victims appear to be the criminals.

For those reasons, on instructions from the Government of Vanuatu, my delegation will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions under agenda item 33.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

We do so in affirmation of what has brought us here to reason together as responsible members of the world community. We do so without malice towards any other Government except the illegally constituted and forcibly maintained apartheid régime in South Africa. We know that others will not support all the draft resolutions and we understand why. We trust that they will similarly understand why we must support these draft resolutions.

Some elements of some of the draft resolutions contain language that we candidly agree could be improved. However, we ask what language would be acceptable. What further compromise would move the most reluctant amongst us to join energetically in the international campaign against apartheid? Furthermore, as we have had occasion to state before, the imperfection of a few words pales in significance next to the more serious imperfection and injustice of the situation in South Africa. How can we possibly look at the faces of the children of South Africa, read the names of their martyrs and then tell them and their parents that we could not support a draft resolution on apartheid simply because a few words were either too strong or otherwise imperfect or inappropriate. I confess that for us that would be not only difficult, but also unacceptable.

Mr. MANGWAZU (Malawi): I want to add my voice to the voices of all others who have eloquently and clearly condemned the régime in South Africa and its legalized form of discrimination. Like all others, we condemn apartheid because of the evils it generates. We call, therefore, for the replacement of apartheid forthwith by a democratic form of government and for the creation of a society which is blind to race or religion: a harmonious society. We believe that if apartheid is uprooted there will be much less tension in southern Africa than there is today.

(Mr. Mangwazu, Malawi)

Having said those few words, I should like to comment on specific draft resolutions and indicate the way we are likely to vote on them. I want to indicate from the outset that, unlike in previous years, we have shifted somewhat in our way of voting. If that means anything at all, it must mean that we would like to raise our voice a little more to let South Africa know where we stand.

We do not believe we can vote in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.24 without first saying that we do not agree with the inclusion of paragraph 13. With regard to A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, we would have wished to see a form of words better than the present one, particularly on specific paragraphs such as paragraphs 7 and 8. However, we have decided that we can lend our support to that draft resolution.



(Mr. Mangwazu, Malawi)

With regard to draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, we find it a very strange draft resolution in that, if we are to speak of collaborators with South Africa we could speak of many more and doing much more serious things. As it is, we would have difficulty in supporting this draft resolution.

With regard to draft resolution A/41/L.27, we feel that paragraphs 222 to 226, mentioned in paragraph 2, are not going to be helpful with regard to our own stand.

In draft resolution A/41/L.28, again there is a question of the form of words, but we see no reason why we should not support it.

We feel that we cannot support draft resolution A/41/L.29, for very many reasons.

Draft resolution A/41/L.30, we feel, is innocuous, but we have great difficulty with paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of draft resolution A/41/L.31, therefore we would have difficulty in supporting it.

These are the explanations of our votes. I should like to say to all delegations that the position of Malawi with regard to the principle of a peaceful, negotiated settlement remains unchanged.

The PRESIDENT: We have now heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the voting. I have to announce that several countries have signified their desire to appear as co-sponsors of some of the draft resolutions before the Assembly, as follows: draft resolution A/41/L.24, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam; draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, Gambia, Ghana, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Sudan and Viet Nam; draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, Gambia, Ghana, Mongolia, Pakistan, Sudan and Viet Nam; draft resolution A/41/L.27, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Gambia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, India, Kuwait,

(The President)

Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam; draft resolution A/41/L.28, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, India, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam; draft resolution A/41/L.29, Angola, Democratic Yemen, Gambia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Viet Nam; A/41/L.30, Cameroon, Congo, Gambia, Ghana, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Senegal and Sudan; and finally, draft resolution A/41/L.31, Cameroon, Congo, Gambia, India, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Senegal and Sudan.

We shall now begin the voting process.

I call on the representative of the United States of America who has asked to speak on a point of order.

Miss BYRNE (United States of America): Our point of order concerning the conduct of the voting.

As this Assembly has decided in the past, most recently in 1984, by a vote of 81 to 33, the question of apartheid is an important question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter. The entire history of the rightful emphasis which the United Nations puts on the importance of bringing about the end of the heinous policy and practices of apartheid would support no other conclusion. Draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1 underlines the rationale for this, with its call for action under Chapter VII of the Charter, action which requires a finding of, at the least, a threat to the peace.

The other draft resolutions contain similar language emphasizing the peace and security aspects of the question before us.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

For these reasons, we request, Mr. President, that you confirm that it is your intention to proceed in accordance with the precedent to which I have referred, establishing the applicability of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

The PRESIDENT: Of course, the vote required has to be determined before the voting starts. The confirmation I can give is that at the thirty-ninth session the Assembly decided that the question of apartheid was an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter and that the draft resolutions required a two-thirds majority for adoption.

I also recall that the last time this question was formally raised was indeed at the thirty-ninth session, when the proposal to determine that the question of apartheid was an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter and that therefore all draft resolutions relating thereto were to be decided by a two-thirds majority of representatives present and voting, was carried by 81 votes to 33, with 18 abstentions.

On the other hand, I must also clarify that that was one decision taken in 1984 on this item on apartheid. It is not in the same category as the decision taken by the General Assembly on the question of Namibia a few years ago. But the last decision that the General Assembly took on the voting procedure, in 1984, was that a two-thirds majority was required.

If I hear no objection, I shall assume that the General Assembly is prepared to act on the same basis this year.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): As Chairman of the African Group for this month, I have the obligation to speak on behalf of the Group and to express an African opinion which, I am afraid, is contrary to what has been proposed.

We need not be lured into a side issue - whether the situation in South Africa and the question of assistance for the liberation movement are important to Africans. The issue is not that.

Apartheid is a despicable racist value which categorizes its proponents and practitioners as being among those visited by the animal instincts of trying to subdue the weak and which also, as has been said very often here, embraces retrogression of thought and action at its most characteristic and worst.

This is not the issue. We have among us here States that have consistently told us that they are against apartheid, that the situation in South Africa is a bad one. But if we look at how each State looks on the situation in southern Africa in terms of action, we find that most of those important States do not look at the grave issue there as important enough for us to take action.

The tyranny of the truth that we are compelled to face is the response of many of these States represented here. There is but one which demonstrates an unwillingness to place the bloodshed in its proper perspective. That is why we now have to face draft resolutions.

The substance of the draft resolution must be looked into in order to determine what in fact is important and what is not. If indeed we considered it important, we should not be sitting here getting ourselves involved in unproductive and repetitive debate on the wording of paragraphs. We would be taking collective steps to stop this slur on our credibility as a generation who would do more than send tranquillizers in the form of resolutions to those valiant peoples whose values reject the subordination of any race and who ask no more than an opportunity

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

to build a viable and united inter-racial community that they can bequeath to their children.

It is clear that we must turn to the rules of procedure because if we argue as to what is important and what is not, we will end up with a long diatribe in which, given the various views, we will be wasting our time. We must go back to the rules of procedure by which this Organization operates. It is very clear from rule 83 of the rules of procedure that decisions on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. The rule goes on to define what it means by important questions:

"These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security ...".

I know that opponents on the other side, in terms of argument, would raise the issue that what is happening in South Africa is a thing that involves international peace and security. We have tried to make them realize this, and that is why we ask them to take steps. We have been told that we cannot intervene in the internal affairs of South Africa, that we must look at what is happening within that strife-torn country as an internal problem in which people are trying to regulate the form of association between different human beings. Now, having held that position, it would, I would submit, be improper for us to begin to say that in fact what is happening there is international. There are those outside who are trying to make it international and at the same time blocking its being international.

But from our point of view, as you, Sir, have quite rightly said, there is a great difference between what is happening in southern Africa - we prefer to say Azania in this case - and what is happening in Namibia. In the Namibian case, there are occupation forces holding down peoples, preventing them from exercising their right of self-determination. And that is why this institution has quite

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

rightly held the position that we should treat it as an important matter. What is happening within Azania itself, comparatively speaking, and from the point of view of juridical thought, is quite different.

I would go on with the rest of what the rule enumerates: "... the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council" - that does not apply - "the election of members of the the Economic and Social Council" - that does not apply - "the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 c of Article 86 of the Charter" - that does not apply - "the admission of new Members to the United Nations" - nor does that - "the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions".

Into none of these does the question of apartheid fall. I think the rules of procedure are very pragmatic. They also provide in rule 85 that if you wish to add additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority you must make that a question in itself, and in putting that across you must take the decision by a majority of members present and voting.

Therefore, in spite of precedent - precedent can be wrong - I do not think one really can depend on precedent established on one occasion under special circumstances. We know that in 1984 a precedent of sorts was created, but in the particular circumstances that attended the General Assembly.

Last year, 1985, the issue did not even arise. It was not raised by anyone; therefore there was no such ruling. But today it is the feeling of the African Group that if we are going to add this, and make it a definitive decision, it is to this General Assembly that one must turn for such a decision. And we would ask that the rules be applied in their proper form, and in that way we would waste no more time in the future deciding whether or not we are voting by a two-thirds or a simple majority.

(Mr. Bongo, Cameroon)

I apologize for the length of my statement, but not for its content. And I would propose on behalf of the African Group that regarding the President's suggestion that this must follow the normal course of events, the normal course here means the rules of procedure of this Organization.

The PRESIDENT: We are, I suppose, all familiar with the definitions and the significance, both political and procedural, of this question. I think the representative of Cameroon also made the point that we should avoid a lengthy debate on this matter because the rules and the implications are clear.

The representative of Cameroon read out rule 85. I would propose that without further ado we take a vote under rule 85, which requires a simple majority to decide whether the vote we are to take tonight on the eight draft resolutions will require a two-thirds majority or a simple majority. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly decides to put to the vote the question whether the eight draft resolutions before us are to be decided on by a simple majority or a two-thirds majority.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Those who consider that this is an important question requiring a two-thirds majority should vote yes; those who favour a simple majority should vote no. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Abstaining: Bolivia, Burma, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Dominica, Ecuador, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Liberia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Somalia, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay

The proposal that a two-thirds majority be required was rejected by 113 votes to 20, with 21 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now begin the voting process and take a decision on the various draft resolutions before it.

We turn first to draft resolution A/41/L.24 and Corr.1, entitled "The situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements".



(The President)

A separate, recorded vote has been requested on the words "by the United States Administration" the second and third in lines of operative paragraph 12 of the draft resolution. If I hear no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Rwanda, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

Abstaining: Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Comoros, Cyprus, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Mali, Mexico, Nepal, Niger, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uruguay, Venezuela

The words "by the United States Administration" were retained by 60 votes to 52, with 35 abstentions.\*

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\*Subsequently, the delegation of Bahrain advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

**The PRESIDENT:** We shall now vote on draft resolution A/41/L.24 and Corr.1 as a whole.

A recorded vote has been requested.

**A recorded vote was taken.**

**In favour:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

**Against:** Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**Abstainin:** Australia, Austria, Canada, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden

**Draft resolution A/41/L.24 and Corr.1, as a whole, was adopted by 130 votes to 8, with 18 abstentions (resolution 41/35 A).**

The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, entitled "Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa". Separate votes have been requested on parts of this draft resolution. If I hear no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

A separate, recorded vote has been requested on the words "and Israel" in the third and fourth lines of the ninth preambular paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

Abstaining: Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Japan, Lesotho, Mexico, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Swaziland, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela

The words "and Israel", were retained by 83 votes to 44, with 21 abstentions.\*

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\*Subsequently, the delegation of Bhutan advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against.

The PRESIDENT: A separate, recorded vote has also been requested on the words "of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and others" in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

Abstaining: Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Jamaica, Lebanon, Lesotho, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo

The words "of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and others" were retained by 73 votes to 50, with 23 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1 as a whole.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Japan, Lesotho, New Zealand, Samoa, Swaziland, Sweden

Draft resolution A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, as a whole, was adopted by 126 votes to 16, with 13 abstentions (resolution 41/35 B).

The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, entitled "Relations between Israel and South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, 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 Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

Abstaining: Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Burma, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Dominica, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Jamaica, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Nepal, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Swaziland, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/41/L.26 and Corr.1 was adopted by 102 votes to 29, with 26 abstentions (resolution 41/35 C).

The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/41/L.27, "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Portugal

Draft resolution A/41/L.27 was adopted by 145 votes to 2, with 10 abstentions

(resolution 41/35 D).

The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/41/L.28, entitled "Status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/41/L.28 was adopted by 131 votes to none, with 24

abstentions (resolution 41/35 E).



The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/41/L.29,

"Oil embargo against South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Greece, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland

Draft resolution A/41/L.29 was adopted by 136 votes to 5, with 15 abstentions

(resolution 41/35 F).

**The PRESIDENT:** We turn now to draft resolution A/41/L.30, "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt this draft resolution?

**Draft resolution A/41/L.30 was adopted (resolution 41/35 G).**

**The PRESIDENT:** The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/41/L.31, entitled "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid". A recorded vote has been requested.

**A recorded vote was taken.**

**In favour:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, 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 Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

**Against:** United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**Abstaining:** Côte d'Ivoire, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Lesotho, Malawi

Draft resolution A/41/L.31 was adopted by 149 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions (resolution 41/35 H).\*

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

The Nordic countries have consistently condemned the apartheid policy of the South African Government as a violation of fundamental human rights and fundamental freedoms as laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the view of the Nordic countries, apartheid also constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Consequently, the Security Council should adopt as soon as possible effective sanctions against South Africa as a means of achieving the peaceful abolition of apartheid. Mandatory sanctions adopted by the Security Council are the most effective instrument to this end.

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\*Subsequently, the delegation of Lesotho advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

In accordance with the existing joint Nordic programme of action against South Africa, the Nordic countries will further strengthen their efforts to contribute to the abolition of the apartheid system by peaceful means. They will intensify their work to achieve decisions as soon as possible on effective sanctions by the Security Council. Pending such sanctions, the Nordic countries have adopted a wide range of unilateral measures against apartheid.

The Nordic countries consequently strongly agree with the main thrust of the draft resolutions that we have just voted on. However, some of them continue to raise difficulties with regard to questions of principle important to the Nordic countries. Let me briefly describe them.

First, the Nordic countries consider universality a basic principle with respect to the United Nations organizations, and we cannot, therefore, accept any formulation that puts this principle in doubt. I wish to refer, in particular, to operative paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.25 and Corr.1 that has just been adopted.

Secondly, the need for peaceful solutions to conflicts is a fundamental principle enshrined in the very Charter of the United Nations. Therefore, we cannot accept that the United Nations endorses the use of armed struggle.

Thirdly, the Nordic countries deplore the continued practice of selectively singling out individual countries and groups of countries as responsible for the policies pursued by the South African Government. This practice - most evident in the draft resolution on relations between Israel and South Africa - makes it all the more difficult to achieve concerted international action in the struggle against apartheid.

Fourthly, certain formulations would encroach upon the constitutional freedoms and rights of Nordic citizens and private organizations. This applies, in particular, to certain parts of the International Convention for the Prevention of

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

Apartheid in Sports. In view of the strict and active policy of the Nordic countries against sport contacts with South Africa, the Nordic countries regret that they cannot fully endorse the draft convention.

Fifthly, because of the strict adherence of the Nordic countries to the provisions of the Charter, we must reserve our position with regard to formulations which fail to take into account the fact that only the Security Council can adopt decisions binding on Member States.\*

The situation in southern Africa has drastically deteriorated during the past year. The responsibility for this situation rests with the South African Government and its policy of apartheid. But the world community has moral as well as legal obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. The international community should urgently increase its economic and humanitarian assistance to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and to individual countries and persons that are victims of South Africa's aggressive policy. We must all voice our strongest condemnation of apartheid, but also strive to agree on concerted international action entailing effective concrete steps to achieve rapidly the abolishment of apartheid.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Austria is on record as having consistently condemned and opposed the policies of apartheid as a particularly serious violation of human rights depriving the majority of South Africa's population of their civil and political rights. We therefore hold the view that the eradication of this system of institutionalized racial segregation remains one of the most important challenges confronting the United Nations.

For these reasons, we find ourselves in agreement with the general thrust of the texts submitted under this item. There are, however, a number of provisions in the draft resolutions which Austria cannot support.

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\*Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

In particular, Austria has always held the view that the United Nations should concentrate all its efforts on bringing about political and social change by peaceful means and therefore cannot support the concept of armed struggle, since we firmly believe in the resolution of conflicts exclusively by peaceful means. Let me also reiterate that Austria, as a matter of principle, is against singling out Member States in General Assembly resolutions, and that this practice, in our view, does not promote the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. Furthermore, we oppose any provision which runs counter to the recognized goal of universal membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Finally, Austria believes that the General Assembly should respect the prerogatives of the Security Council with regard to comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.

In the light of these considerations, Austria has co-sponsored L.30 and L.31. Furthermore, the Austrian delegation has voted in favour of L.27 and L.29. Although Austria has taken significant measures aimed at severing sports relations with South Africa, Austria, for legal reasons, felt obliged to abstain from the vote on L.28. Moreover, Austria abstained for the vote on L.24 and L.25 and Corr.1. For the reasons I have stated, Austria had to cast a negative vote on L.26 and Corr.1.

Our votes on these draft resolutions are meant as an expression of support for all the efforts deployed to bring democracy to all the people of South Africa.

Mr. ALIANOS (Greece): Before the voting we listened to the representative of the United Kingdom who, speaking on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community, commented on the draft resolutions which, in the meantime, have been adopted by the General Assembly. We do not want to repeat the political principles touched upon in the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom to which my Government subscribes.

(Mr. Alianos, Greece)

We would like only to refer to draft resolution L.28, on which my delegation abstained. However, our abstention does not imply any deviation from fundamental human rights and basic democratic principles, such as the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of race or colour. Those principles permeate the Constitution of the Hellenic Republic, as well as the whole structure and philosophy of Greek society. Besides, Greece, along with the democratic world community, has, as is widely known, repeatedly condemned the abhorrent system of apartheid, for the eradication of which we will continue to strive unwaveringly. Our abstention was due only to the fact that certain of the provisions of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, and in particular, that concerning the freedom of movement, are incompatible with our Constitution. Were those elements not included in the Convention, Greece would have voted in favour of the draft resolution and would have signed the Convention.

Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): The procedural motion that we voted upon a short while ago was couched in essentially the same terms as the procedural motion put to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Ireland abstained from the vote on that occasion. Today Ireland has again abstained for precisely the same reasons as those cited two years ago: that is, that an important issue of substance was being introduced in the General Assembly for procedural reasons and we did not consider that we could indicate our positions on the two separate issues involved, the procedural and the substantive, in one positive or one negative vote.

Ireland shares the reservations held in common by the 12 States members of the European Community, set out by the representative of the United Kingdom. The Irish Government's condemnation of the policy of apartheid was most recently expressed in our statement on Friday last, in the general debate on this question. In keeping with the views set out in that statement, Ireland supported four of the draft resolutions before us today, two of which we were pleased to sponsor.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

Unfortunately, however, we were unable to support all the draft resolutions since they contain some formulations and ideas which are not consistent with the approach of my Government to apartheid.

I turn first to the resolutions which Ireland supported. Ireland voted in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.27, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We strongly support the work of the Special Committee in publicizing the appalling situation in South Africa and in mobilizing the international community to repudiate apartheid. Of course, our attitude to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee must be understood in the context of the general policy of my Government on apartheid, outlined in this and previous statements.

Ireland voted in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.29, which deals with the question of an oil embargo against South Africa. My Government is on record as having for a number of years now favoured the imposition by the Security Council of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa.

Ireland was among the sponsors of draft resolutions A/41/L.30, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and A/41/L.31, on concerted international action against apartheid, which, inter alia, urges the Security Council to consider the adoption of effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Ireland abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/41/L.24, on the situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements. My delegation would have wished to be able to vote in favour of that draft resolution, which contains so many provisions we support. However, we cannot accept its explicit endorsement of armed struggle. My delegation has made it clear in the past that we do not wish to see this Assembly endorse violence. Even if we can understand the growing sense of hopelessness and bitter frustration from which such violence might spring, my Government cannot condone it.



(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

Ireland abstained on draft resolution A/41/L.28, on the status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. We would have wished to be able to support a resolution on that topic. Ireland supports the principle of non-discrimination in sports. The Irish Government therefore does everything possible to prevent international sporting contacts between Ireland and South Africa and refuses to give financial aid to Irish sports organizations which engage in contacts with South Africa. The Government has also prevented representative South African teams from taking part in sports competitions in Ireland. Regrettably, however, the International Convention contains a number of provisions which are incompatible with Ireland's Constitution.

Ireland voted against draft resolution A/41/L.25, on comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. As I indicated in our statement in the general debate, Ireland supports the application by the Security Council of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We continue to have doubts, however, about the wisdom of calls for comprehensive sanctions at the present juncture. We believe that the right policy for the international community is one of steady and graduated pressure for change through carefully chosen, selective, graduated sanctions, such sanctions to be mandatory, that is, properly imposed by the Security Council and fully implemented by all.

There are also other elements in that text which do not accord with the approach of my Government to apartheid. Ireland's commitment to the principle of universality of international organizations is well known. We believe also that under a policy of the total isolation of South Africa, as called for in this resolution, the outside world would have increased difficulty in continuing to monitor the situation of black South Africans. In such circumstances Ireland would have the gravest fears for their welfare. It is our firm belief that the complete

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

severing of all contacts with South Africa would only have the effect of abandoning black South Africans to the whim of the South African authorities, who, without the reprobation of the international community, would be even freer from restraints on their treatment of black South Africans.

As in previous years, Ireland voted against the draft resolution on relations between Israel and South Africa in view of its selective singling out of one State Member of this Assembly for condemnation.

Mr. TILLET (Belize): The Belize delegation supported all draft resolutions under agenda item 33, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", with the sole exception of draft resolution A/41/L.26, which deals with relations between Israel and South Africa, on which we abstained.

We do, however, have some reservations, as follows. The Belize delegation abstained on the amendment to draft resolution A/41/L.24, on the situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements, because, in our view, singling out the United States in this context attributes the status of fact to what is an opinion. While the Belize delegation does not support the policies of constructive engagement or linkage, the name-calling in paragraph 12 seems intentional and unnecessary. While we abstained on the amendment, we support the draft resolution because it addresses itself to the early abolition of apartheid.

Draft resolution A/41/L.25 deals with the question of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. In the ninth preambular paragraph the words "and Israel" do not add any import to the paragraph and are viewed by the Belize delegation as unnecessary singling out of a nation; we therefore abstained in the separate vote on those words.

(Mr. Tillet, Belize)

The Belize delegation supported the inclusion of the words "of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and others" in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/41/L.25, because, in our view, removing them would have rendered the paragraph of little or no effect. My delegation believes that the privilege of the veto in the Security Council carries with it the responsibility of reason, and that it was never the intention of the drafters of the Charter that the veto would be a tool of powerful States to paralyze the Security Council. The friendliest of relations exist between Belize and the United Kingdom and between Belize and the United States, and our position cannot and should not be interpreted as anything greater than a difference of opinion between friends.

Draft resolution A/41/L.26, on relations between Israel and South Africa, is an example of singling out a nation for name-calling. There are many nations that have relations with South Africa, yet only one is mentioned in that draft resolution. My delegation therefore abstained. Our abstention, however, should not be interpreted to mean that Belize condones such relations. Belize does not condone any kind of relations with South Africa that aid and abet apartheid, and urges all nations that maintain such relations to bring them to a speedy end.

Miss BYRNE (United States of America): We all agree that apartheid should be abolished and a non-racial, democratic and representative Government established in South Africa as rapidly as possible. That conviction unites more delegations in this Hall than perhaps any other political issue debated in the United Nations. How ironic it is, then, that the means to the common end of eradicating apartheid should so often be the subject of divisive, vituperative and futile argumentation.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

The focus of our argumentation each year is a series of draft resolutions prepared in the Special Committee against Apartheid and presented to General Assembly for its consideration. Those draft resolutions, however, do nothing to help, but rather worsen the situation within South Africa. The United States seeks a solution to South Africa's problems, not their intensification. We are for an end to apartheid, not for measures that increase racial polarization. We are for a truly representative Government in South Africa, not for anarchy or the replacement of one tyranny by another. At the outset, therefore, I must state that my Government once again finds that it could lend its support to only one of the eight resolutions before us. Six of the other seven are objectionable and inconsistent with United States principles and those of the United Nations Charter. On these the United States was compelled to vote "no"; on one draft resolution the United States abstained.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

The resolution on sanctions, for example, was unacceptable for many reasons: first, it calls on the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The United States has stated in the past its clear opposition to such a move. Governments should remain free to adopt the policies they deem most effective as we all pursue our common goal of leading South Africa towards free and democratic government. We do not accept that the Security Council's power to impose conformity is the correct or appropriate means by which to harmonize our policies with those of others in pursuit of this goal. I say this despite the fact that the United States has adopted more sweeping economic sanctions against South Africa than have many of the sponsors of this resolution.

Secondly, the resolution condemns the activities of transnational corporations. It refuses to acknowledge that the South African economy, in which those corporations play a role, has significantly contributed to weakening the premises of apartheid and has improved the living standards and skills of many people otherwise disadvantaged by the apartheid system. Many of the most ardent and directly-involved opponents of the apartheid system recognize this.

Thirdly, by calling for the exclusion of South Africa from all organizations within the United Nations system, the resolution strikes directly at the principle of universality, a principle that my Government upholds. In some cases such exclusion would harm the oppressed majority of South Africa as much as the ruling group.

Lastly, the resolution criticizes my Government and its policies by name. The United States has repeatedly made clear that such language is flatly unacceptable. We will not accept name-calling directed against the United States. We shall automatically and without hesitation vote against any draft resolution in which it is retained.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

The United States delegation also did not support the resolution on the situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements, because it reaffirms the legitimacy of armed struggle. On that point, my Government completely rejects the contention that it is depriving others of the means the United States employed to achieve its own independence. Today's world, saturated with sophisticated weapons of all kinds, is a far cry from that of the eighteenth century when a man spent a minute to fire a single musket shot. The southern African region is charged with conflict in many quarters. The last thing it needs is an escalation of armed strife in South Africa, which would easily transform the entire region into a war zone. That could have devastating and lasting consequences for South Africa's neighbours. I also note that this resolution, like the one I mentioned before, contains a hostile reference to my Government.

As regards the resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, it too calls upon the Security Council to adopt mandatory sanctions. The United States rejects it for the reasons I mentioned earlier.

Elements of the resolution on the status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports run counter to United States law. It is for that reason that the United States was compelled to abstain.

Moreover, my Government could not support this year's new resolution on an oil embargo against South Africa. The same reasons mentioned earlier apply: we oppose the destruction of the businesses that serve directly the interests of oppressed South Africans.

Most of the remaining resolutions advocate policies that the United States cannot support. They single out one or another country for actions committed by many, including by a great number of countries that sit on the Special Committee against Apartheid. They also allocate funds for projects that in some cases interfere in the internal affairs of my country.

(Miss Byrne, United States)

In sum, the only one of the eight resolutions under consideration that the United States could vote in favour of was that on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, a fund to which we contribute because its goals are commendable. It is a pity that the underlying philosophy of this resolution, aimed as it is at directly assisting the victims of apartheid, is not more in evidence in the other resolutions.

Before closing, I should like to address directly the principles underlying the question of punitive sanctions. In accordance with our own constitutional processes, my Government has decided on a mix of pressure and persuasion which we believe proper for the United States but which may not be suitable for other Member States. Therefore, we believe that this Organization should not force on all Members a single formula for coping with the terrible problem of apartheid in South Africa. Each Member should feel free to adopt those policies which it believes will contribute the most to a solution of this problem.

In this connection my Government believes that the approach taken by members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is the appropriate one. They are united in categorically rejecting apartheid and in seeking to bring democratic government to South Africa. Nevertheless they have never sought, nor do they see good reason to seek now, to adopt absolutely identical measures to bring about these common goals.

Many oppressed South Africans oppose sanctions. Comprehensive sanctions could result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs in that country, most of them held by blacks. The limited sanctions recently imposed by my Government underscore the United States commitment to continue striving for a non-violent settlement of the South African problem. Unlike some other countries, when we pass a law in the United States we enforce it. President Reagan's Administration will implement in

(Miss Byrne, United States)

full all the measures contained in the new law, including the civil and criminal penalties to be imposed on those who seek to circumvent its provisions.

A policy of sanctions, however, is not an end in itself. Now is the time to shift attention to political measures by which a dialogue can be advanced for the good of all South Africans.

My Government deeply regrets that the tone and thrust of nearly all the apartheid resolutions on which we have voted fly in the face of dialogue. By their nature, these resolutions serve to erect barriers to communication in South Africa rather than to foster it. If that communication breaks down definitively, we can all foresee the terrible consequences for the peoples of the region. Therefore, it behoves this Assembly to rise to its responsibilities and foster dialogue in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I call next on the representative of Nigeria, who will speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: As the General Assembly approaches the conclusion of its consideration of agenda item 33, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, I should like to express, on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, our appreciation to the delegations which contributed to the debate. I wish also to thank those delegations which commended the work of the Special Committee over the past year, and those which very kindly addressed appreciative comments to me personally as its Chairman.

The fight against apartheid is gaining ever greater support in the international community. The debate here affirmed, without the shadow of a doubt, that the United Nations and the international community are determined to



(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special  
Committee against Apartheid)

intensify their efforts to eliminate apartheid. It also indicated a growing consensus that coercive measures must be applied against South Africa to ensure the speedy eradication of apartheid.

Let me say that the Special Committee against Apartheid is not interested in polemics. We welcome and appreciate actions by those Governments that are contributing to the struggle against apartheid. If on the other hand we criticize certain States for their collaboration with South Africa, and in particular single out Western permanent members of the Security Council to urge them not to prevent the Council from adopting effective measures, we are not motivated by ideological or political considerations, or by any animus. We do this rather because without the support of those countries, international efforts to eliminate apartheid by peaceful means are severely hampered.

I would, indeed, go further and say that on the basis of the kind of reasoning we have heard this afternoon, especially in statements in explanation of vote by certain of those countries, the South African Government might well feel it has nothing to fear from the United Nations. When those who called for a boycott of the Moscow Olympic games and who effectively boycotted them turn around and tell this Assembly that sports are privately organized in their countries, what conclusion are we supposed to draw when it comes to South Africa? Memories are not that short. Let us, in the interest of the image of this Organization, stop this idle double-talk and these multiple standards.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special  
Committee against Apartheid)

It is in the hope of eliciting their active support that the Special Committee has called on Japan and the European Economic Community to reconsider the limited measures adopted recently in order to expand their restrictions on trade and other economic relations with South Africa.

We have also commended the action of the United States Congress, and we urge that the Government of the United States, along with other Western permanent members of the Security Council, agree to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

I listened very carefully to the most persuasive argument by the representative of the United States, who spoke a few minutes ago, but I am sure that, like the majority of Members, we cannot see any other alternative to armed struggle except the implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Special Committee has devoted special attention to the question of the implementation of the oil embargo against South Africa. The seminar on an oil embargo, which was held in Oslo, and the separate draft resolution presented on this subject will provide a good basis for monitoring the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa.

I sincerely hope that the report of the Committee on monitoring the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa which is required by the draft resolution on an oil embargo - and which, by the way, will not involve the United Nations in extra expenditure - will provide a basis for the United Nations to contribute to the effective monitoring of the oil embargo against South Africa.

Let me place on record our appreciation to those delegations that have pledged to increase the assistance of their Governments to the people of South Africa, to their liberation movements and to the front-line States.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special  
Committee against Apartheid)

Assistance is needed now and must be increased in view of the escalation of repression by the apartheid régime and its aggression against independent African States in southern Africa. Sanctions should always be combined with supportive programmes to enable the Governments of independent African countries to cope with tremendous tasks, such as resisting South Africa's aggression and providing shelter for thousands of refugees and other persons displaced as a result of the acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization committed by the apartheid régime.

I urge the General Assembly to act on the resolutions against apartheid in such a united manner as will give unequivocal support to the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate apartheid and liberate Africa from the last vestiges of colonialism and racism.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. STACKHOUSE (Canada): I am speaking in exercise of the right of reply at this late hour not in this instance to respond to a particular allegation made against Canada. What I have to say is more in the nature, if you will, of a generic right of reply to sweeping anti-Western and in themselves almost generic all-inclusive remarks that were made by certain Eastern European countries earlier in this debate.

By way of pertinent example, I take issue with what was stated last Thursday by the representative of Byelorussia when he accused Western Powers of "all-round co-operation" with South Africa. The previous day, the representative of the

(Mr. Stackhouse, Canada)

Ukraine had said much the same thing. And again on Friday we heard the Soviet representative echo the refrain from his closest brethren who had preceded him.

That sort of polemical broadside adds nothing to the quality or the substance of our discussion. Promoting division on this issue also does nothing positive to help the people of South Africa. All of us are surely of common cause in our total rejection of apartheid. It flows from what we and many other Western countries have said during this debate that, together and individually, we are taking very effective measures against the Government of South Africa.

We doubt very much, in the light of Western sanctions, that South Africa would believe that Western countries are engaged in all-round co-operation with it. Neither, obviously, does Canada. Nor should any informed and objective member of this Assembly.

In the open society which exists in Canada and most Western countries, comments such as those to which we object have another unfortunate result: they lead to cynicism about the United Nations and its valued work in this area. They also detract from the public image of those who endlessly reiterate such hackneyed opprobrium at a time when they are devoting so much energy simply to the establishment of some measure of credibility.

In this broad context we were gratified to hear the relevant positive remarks, inter alia, of the representative of the African National Congress last Thursday afternoon with respect to Western actions, including those of Canada. We thank him, and we offer him as the example.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic): Since the remarks just made by the representative of Canada contained a reference to the statement of the representative of the Ukrainian SSR on the question of apartheid in the General Assembly, I should like to say the following to him.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Representative of Canada: if in our statements we say anything accusatory, we bolster it with concrete facts. In our statement before the Assembly, for example, it was said that \$15 billion was invested in the South African economy by the United States. That is a fact. We did say that. We made no wholesale accusations about co-operation between Western countries and South Africa. We spoke of co-operation between certain Western countries and South Africa. We could talk about Canada, by the way, and cite specific figures and facts about co-operation between Canada and the racist régime of South Africa.

The General Assembly has just adopted a resolution that refers to co-operation between a number of Western countries and the racist régime of South Africa. I would point out that, both in the Special Committee against Apartheid, as was just quite rightly noted by the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Garba, and in the General Assembly, we are endeavouring to establish constructive co-operation and to find mutually-acceptable decisions and solutions so that we can put an end to the shameful system of apartheid as quickly as possible. To do that, we must apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The representatives who criticized the statements of our representative in the General Assembly should address themselves to that matter. We are talking about the application of mandatory comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. As has just been emphasized by the representative of Nigeria, that is the only way of bringing about a peaceful solution of the shameful situation in South Africa, which exists only as a result of the support of a number of Western countries, including Canada. I am not afraid to say that.

Mr. STACKHOUSE (Canada): I thank the representative of the Ukrainian SSR for his contribution to this discussion. However, I wish he had elaborated on some of the facts he enumerated; for instance, he could have referred to the \$500 million that Canada has committed to humanitarian aid in southern Africa over the next five years. I wish that, in his passion for facts, he would parallel that Canadian contribution with one from the Ukraine that might equal it, come close to it, or even begin to compare with it. In addition I wish he would note - as he identified facts connected with the apartheid issue - that it was Canada and its Prime Minister and spokesman a generation ago that took the lead in the Commonwealth Conference that led initially to the withdrawal by South Africa from its Commonwealth membership. It has been under the leadership of the present Prime Minister of Canada along with the leaders of other Commonwealth members that the Commonwealth countries have taken the notable stand in initiating sanctions against the Government of South Africa and its apartheid policies. This example has been followed by countries in many other parts of the world since Canada and its Commonwealth partners took that position.

There is not the slightest shred of truth in any allegation that there is ongoing all-out co-operation between the community of Western countries and South Africa.

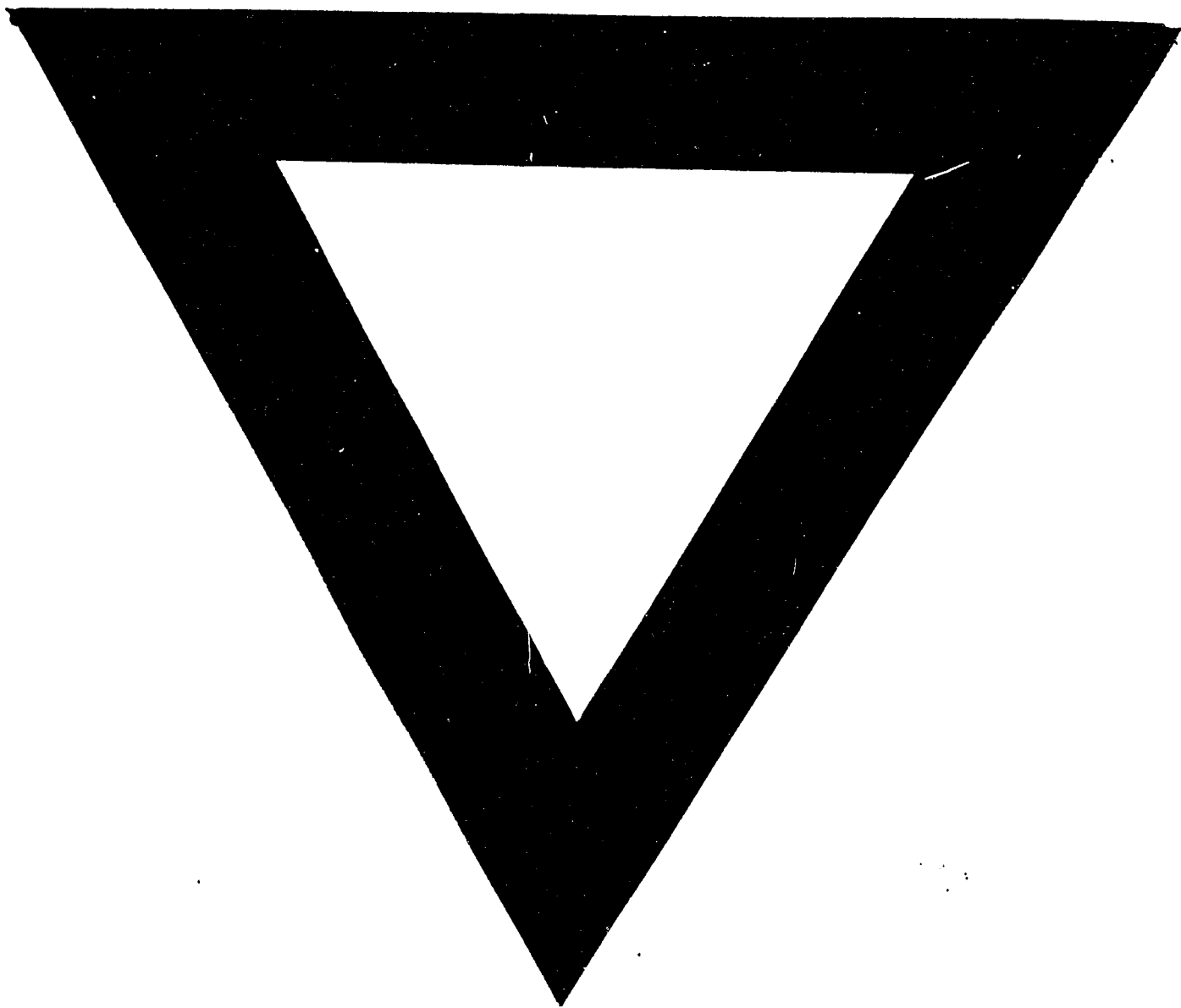
Mr. BELYAEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In connection with the fact that the Canadian representative expressed his displeasure at my delegation's statement, I would simply suggest that the representative of Canada look once again at the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia contained in document A/41/24, Part 1. In that document he will find very specific, and precise facts and figures on co-operation between Western countries and South Africa, and on which specific countries are involved.

(Mr. Belyaev, Byelorussian SSR)

It is those countries to which my delegation referred in its statement when it mentioned Western countries.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has concluded its consideration of agenda item 33.

The meeting rose at 8.55 p.m.



**01-02-2002**









