



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.53
30 October 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 30 October 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

President:	Mr. DE PINIÉS	(Spain)
later:	Mr. ARCILLA (Vice-President)	(Philippines)
later:	Mr. HEPBURN (Vice-President)	(Bahamas)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: third report of the General Committee [8] (continued)
- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [35] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
 - (b) Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports
 - (c) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (d) Report of the Special Political Committee

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/40/250/Add.2)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In paragraphs 2 (a) and (b) of its report (A/40/250/Add.2) the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Draft declaration on social and legal principles relating to the protection and welfare of children, with special reference to foster placement and adoption, nationally and internationally," and its allocation to the Sixth Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to approve that recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Chairman of the Sixth Committee will be informed of this decision.

In paragraph 3 of the report the General Committee recommends that, in view of the great number of speakers expected to address the Assembly in the plenary meetings to be designated the United Nations World Conference for International Youth Year, starting on 13 November 1985, in connection with agenda item 89, entitled "International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace", morning meetings should start at 10 o'clock instead of 10.30.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have thus concluded our consideration of the third report of the General Committee.

AGENDA ITEM 35 (continued)POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/40/22 and Add.1-4)
- (b) REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE DRAFTING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/40/36)
- (c) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/780)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/40/805)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday afternoon by the Assembly, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed this afternoon at 5 p.m. I therefore request representatives wishing to participate in the debate to put their names on the list as soon as possible.

In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 20 September 1985, I call upon the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MAKATINI (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): On behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa and the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, I wish to convey the warmest greetings to all the participants in this important session.

I am particularly pleased to join preceding speakers in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to take the helm at this session of the Assembly on the occasion of the Organization's fortieth anniversary. We are convinced that your diplomatic skills, experience and commitment to the anti-apartheid cause will further reinforce the world campaign for a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, on the exemplary manner in which he led the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

Our thanks also go to the Secretary-General for the relentless efforts he continues to make towards the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the total isolation of the Pretoria régime.

World public opinion has reached a consensus in its characterization of the situation prevailing in South Africa today. The same goes for the recognition by both friend and foe that apartheid is doomed. Except for the major trading partners of racist South Africa, the rest of the world is committed to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime in order to help avert the type of racial blood-bath that could poison race relations in southern Africa and the world for decades to come.

In describing the situation prevailing in South Africa today most observers talk of a deepening crisis. Bishop Desmond Tutu says it is five minutes before midnight for this embattled country, which is sitting on a powder-keg with a short fuse. Dr. Beyers Naude, a former member of the Broederbond - a clandestine organization notorious for its role as the architect and custodian of the doctrine of apartheid - who has become one of the foremost white opponents of apartheid and has succeeded Bishop Desmond Tutu as Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, says the same thing in different words. Last Sunday's New York Times quotes him as saying that South Africa is in a state of civil war and that he agrees with those who say that South Africa is moving into a state of revolution. In a typically perverse way the Botha régime's so-called Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange, admitted as much when threatening total war on the ANC which he blames for the revolutionary upheaval which is sweeping through the country today.

At the beginning of last year our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, urged our people to make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. He also instructed the underground structures of ANC to take appropriate measures in order to translate this call into concrete mass-united actions. The people responded

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

enthusiastically. By the time our President repeated that call on 8 January this year the people had already undertaken action which, inter alia, led to their refusal to pay rent for their slave cabins. Through heightened mass-united action inspired by our President's call, the people proceeded to dismantle apartheid's administrative extensions into the black communities and to replace them with popular administrative structures. They also proceeded to weed out the régime's informers and collaborators from their midst and declared their communities no-go zones for the régime's police.

Unable to enforce its repressive laws through traditional means, the régime then decided to declare war on the people; thus it declared its state of emergency, under the cloak of which the régime's soldiers plunder, pillage, rape and murder our people in the townships. But the control which the régime hoped to regain through this reign of ⁱterror has instead become more and more elusive.

In the past three months several Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals have strongly condemned the Pretoria régime for the imposition of the state of emergency - an act calculated to place South Africa under martial law and to give unbridled licence to individual members of the régime's bloodthirsty police and army. The régime's notorious "security forces" have predictably used those powers to effect the arbitrary mass arrests, detention, torture and murder of opponents of the system.

Those murdered in cold blood include infants. Those since arrested include hundreds of children below the age of 13. In all, the state of emergency has already claimed more than a thousand lives of unarmed people, many of whom were popular trade unionist, student and community leaders, who have been assassinated by the Pretoria régime's death squads and their collaborators.

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

Already outraged by the régime's so-called new constitutional dispensation, the people's determination to be free was further bolstered rather than deterred by the imposition of the state of emergency. Through mass united action to make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable they raised the level of the struggle to unprecedented heights. Specifically, they forced the overwhelming majority of apartheid's black councillors to resign. They have instituted a consumer boycott which has already forced a rift between the régime and the white business community. The Black Workers' Strike Movement continues to grow and to spread throughout the country. The major unions, which have discovered their political power, are seeking ways and means effectively to deploy that power in the service of liberation. To that end they are all geared towards the creation of a nation-wide labour federation which would significantly strengthen the united democratic front of the people in struggle. Within the framework of this nation-wide revolutionary upsurge, the armed struggle continues to escalate, its pace fuelled by the violence of apartheid.

Even in the face of the intensified apartheid State terrorism, the ANC has not abandoned its strategy of inflicting as much damage as possible on the enemy personnel, its security and its economic and other installations, at the least possible cost in terms of human lives lost.

Countless men and women of conscience around the world, outraged by the régime's barbarism and moved by the resilience and determination of the South African people to rid themselves of racist minority rule and to win their freedom, have responded with appropriate action. With one powerful voice they have demanded the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. They have embarked on campaigns for increased all-round support and assistance to the African National Congress in its role as the vanguard of the

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

broad-based national liberation movement. A growing number of Governments, academic institutions, labour organizations and other non-governmental organizations, as well as intergovernmental organizations, are unilaterally imposing various packages of sanctions against Pretoria.

It is encouraging to note that the Nordic countries, which have for some time adopted voluntary sanctions as a step towards total isolation of the Pretoria régime, have happily been joined by New Zealand, Australia and Canada. The growing unity of purpose between the anti-apartheid forces and Governments in the direction of stronger and comprehensive sanctions is warmly welcomed.

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

Conspicuously out of step with this growing world-wide momentum in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. In pursuance of the universally condemned policy of so-called constructive engagement, which has emboldened the Pretoria régime to engage in even more brazen acts of repression and aggression, the Reagan Administration has abused its veto power to shield racist South Africa.

The challenge posed to those millions of people in the United States who cherish freedom has recently led to the growth of the anti-apartheid movement, as is evidenced by the emergence of the Free South Africa Movement following the self-sought arrest of Congressman Walter Fontroy, United States Human Rights Commissioner Mary Berry and TransAfrica's executive director, Randal Robinson.

The gaolings of hundreds of civil rights leaders at the South African embassy in Washington DC has sparked a new situation in the anti-apartheid movement in the United States. Public opinion has been aroused and activated to bring pressure on the Reagan Administration to abandon constructive engagement. The Administration has responded by making tactical concessions while preserving the essentials of its policy of alliance with the apartheid régime. Despite this, pressure continues to build around the issues of divestment, the prohibition of bank loans and the call for a breaking off of diplomatic and economic relations and the stoppage of air links with racist South Africa.

Some of the leading universities in the United States have been forced by their students to divest. The list includes Columbia University here in New York, Yale, Princeton, Rutgers, the State University of New York, and so on. Those to be commended include the Governor of New Jersey, who has recently signed legislation passed by both houses of the state legislature to disinvest approximately \$2 billion in state funds from corporations doing business in South Africa. The

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

anti-apartheid movement has scored a similar victory in California, where legislation calling for divestment of approximately \$4 billion has been passed and today awaits the Governor's signature.

This renewed upsurge, the direct result of relentless efforts by grass-roots anti-apartheid campaigners, civil rights leaders, legislators and community leaders of conscience, was introduced into the public debate during the presidential campaign last year for the first time in American history owing to the successful campaign by Reverend Jesse Jackson.

The irreversible momentum in favour of sanctions against the Pretoria régime recently resulted in the adoption of the Commonwealth Accord, which, in addition to a compromise package of sanctions, also calls on the apartheid régime unconditionally to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, lift the ban on the ANC and other political organizations and lift the state of emergency, or face comprehensive sanctions in the next six months.

As the United States Administration and its allies have continued to resist moves towards the total isolation of apartheid, the same Administration has repealed the Clark Amendment, thus giving itself free reign to support UNITA, a gang of bandits maintained, directed and used by the Pretoria régime as one of its instruments of its war against the People's Republic of Angola. This juxtaposition points to what we have always asserted, that the collaboration with the Pretoria régime is the outward manifestation of the alliance between the racist régime and its Western collaborators against the people of South Africa and Namibia, and that it is the alliance that underwrites the Pretoria régime's programme of destabilization of front-line States and Lesotho through acts of military aggression, political subversion and economic sabotage and blackmail. It is an insidious alliance against all the people of southern Africa.

(Mr. Makatini, ANC)

The campaign against sanctions, including the abuse of the veto power by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, is an integral part of this unholy alliance and must be universally condemned.

We commend the neighbouring States, particularly the front-line States and Lesotho, for their resolute resistance to the racist régime and its allies. We commend them doubly for their clear-sighted and principled support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions despite the short-term hardships they might suffer.

It is 40 years since the defeat of Hitlerite nazism. It is 40 years since the United Nations was created, inter alia to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war by preventing the recurrence of fascism and eliminating colonialism, racism and the oppression and exploitation of man by man, as well as all other causes of conflict and war. Yet, through devices such as constructive engagement, fascism in its apartheid reincarnation continues to be tolerated and defended even as it ravages our continent without let.

Yesterday's London Financial Times reported that the racist régime intends to increase its police force by 11,000 and to build more police stations in black townships. The régime's military budget, which has never stopped growing, today constitutes more than 30 per cent of its total national budget. Apartheid is militarizing its police State even as it converts that police State into a concentration camp.

Beleaguered though apartheid is, it is more intransigent than ever. Instead of heeding the voice of reason, it is preparing to stage a last-ditch stand, which cannot be anything but catastrophic in its consequences. Apartheid remains unrepentent. It cannot be reformed. It must be completely dismantled and replaced by a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The imperative task of the international community is to impose with urgency comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): It is a sad fact that in the era of the emancipation of peoples and nations, and in the era of the affirmation of human rights, the people of South Africa is still living under the yoke of apartheid and racial discrimination. This is a lamentable fact, and it would have been a lamentable fact in other ages. It is particularly lamentable at the end of the 20th century and in the fortieth year of the United Nations.

The racist régime in Pretoria continues its policy of repression, exploitation and terror against the majority black population. Oppression has reached the point where the enslaved population has been compelled to rise in unison against tyranny. Mass-scale actions of workers, peasants, youth, students, clergy, women and children evince their determination to achieve human dignity and the inalienable right to self-determination regardless of the price they have to pay for them.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

The courageous struggle of the people of South Africa is undermining the very foundations of apartheid. It will not be long before the system and the policy, built on abhorrent foundations, are brought to an end.

Afraid of collapse, the South African racist authorities have become even more ruthless. They are resorting increasingly to arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and detention of all those who oppose the apartheid régime. The imposition of the so-called state of emergency has brought about a tragic increase in the already barbaric murders and massacres of defenceless people, including children.

The racist authorities stop at nothing to break the resistance of the people. Unarmed demonstrators and strikers are being shot at and killed. Force is used to resettle the black population. The policy of bantustanization splits families, and the people are being deprived of their national and ethnic identity. Members of the United Democratic Front are being arraigned on trumped-up treason charges. Freedom fighters are being executed by firing squads behind prison walls.

All the while the racist régime is trying to create an illusion of internal changes and reforms. The so-called new constitution has been proclaimed and the so-called parliamentary elections held. Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned popular leaders have been offered freedom under the condition that they renounce violence as a means of opposing apartheid. The real purpose of these steps is to drive a wedge in the ranks of the people and to protect and strengthen the system based on racial discrimination. The best reply to these manoeuvres has been given by the so-called coloured people themselves, who boycotted such elections and rejected such constitutional changes. Nelson Mandela gave his own decisive and forceful answer: he refused freedom in such circumstances and conditions.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

The intensification of popular resistance is the proof of the unbreakable unity of the enslaved people of South Africa in its struggle for the elimination of apartheid and for the establishment of a society based on equal rights for all, irrespective of race, origin and colour.

The South African Government persists in its policy of aggression and occupation in the region. It continues to hold Namibia and the heroic Namibian people in bondage, ruthlessly exploits Namibia's human and natural resources and denies the people of Namibia its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

The apartheid régime is committing aggression against the neighbouring front-line States. Angola, Botswana and Lesotho have been victims of its brutal aggression. Military incursions into, and occupation of parts of the territory of Angola are a clear manifestation of the real nature of that régime.

South Africa is developing enormous military potential, including nuclear technology for military purposes, and all this is being done at an accelerated pace. It is trying to turn southern Africa into a region of bloc confrontation and struggle of the great Powers for spheres of influence and domination.

All this provides ample evidence that the policy of apartheid is tantamount to internal oppression and foreign aggression. This is more than enough for us to understand that the policy of the Pretoria régime poses the most serious threat to peace and security in the region, in Africa as a whole and beyond. It is more than enough for us to understand that apartheid cannot be reformed and that it must be dismantled and eliminated. It should also be more than enough to prompt the international community to launch a united action in order to eliminate apartheid once and for all.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

Apartheid stands in direct contravention of the principles of the Charter and decisions of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the basic norms of international law. Apartheid, we may recall, has been explicitly banned by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid declared apartheid a crime against humanity.

In the course of this year alone the policy of the Government of South Africa was the subject of extensive debates in the Security Council, where it was discussed on seven occasions. However, because of the behaviour of the Pretoria régime, the Security Council's resolutions have remained mere dead letters.

Non-aligned countries have consistently underlined the urgent need for the eradication of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa. In the special communiqué on South Africa adopted at the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Luanda, Angola, at the beginning of September this year, it was pointed out:

"Peace in the region can only be guaranteed by the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. To this end the Foreign Ministers dedicated themselves and call upon the international community to join actively in the campaign for that objective."

The growing anti-apartheid movement the world over, particularly in North America and Western Europe, has stepped up the campaign and action against apartheid. However, it is evident that the actions of the international community thus far have not been sufficient. In order to achieve the goal of eliminating the

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

apartheid system and establishing a non-racial democratic society it is necessary to undertake concrete measures. It is incumbent upon the Security Council, as a matter of urgency, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In the meantime all Member States should step up pressure on the racist régime in Pretoria and should refrain from all contacts and activities - political, economic, cultural or in the field of sports - with South Africa.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

The existing contacts - and they are many - in these fields represent support for the régime in Pretoria in its pursuit of the policy of apartheid, and they are helping it to break out of international isolation. The countries that maintain close relations with South Africa, particularly economic relations, and co-operate in the field of military and nuclear technology bear the moral and political responsibility for enabling, directly or indirectly, the racist régime to continue its policy of apartheid. It is high time that those countries relinquished these policies and joined the majority of the community of nations in words and in deeds. The national and international financial institutions should discontinue their assistance to South Africa, since the granting of such assistance certainly strengthens the apartheid régime.

Unanimous support by the General Assembly would be a concrete political contribution to the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa; such support should include the adoption and speedy ratification of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

But we feel that all Member States should go beyond expressions of solidarity with and support for the oppressed people of South Africa. It is necessary - indeed, indispensable - to render effective assistance to the legitimate liberation struggle of the people of South Africa to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination, to freedom and to justice - and this means, particularly, assistance to their liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, namely, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

We in Yugoslavia will continue to render full moral, material and political support to the persistent and courageous struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against apartheid, racism, colonialism and discrimination, and for freedom, equality and human dignity.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

Finally I should like to express our full support for the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which has, under the chairmanship of the dynamic and imaginative Ambassador of Nigeria, Joseph Garba, shown that it is up to its important task in our common efforts to eradicate apartheid from international life.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): Addressing this Assembly for the first time at its fortieth session, Sir, I would begin by expressing again my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you in the office of President of the fortieth session. Your wisdom and long experience in diplomacy assure us of the successful outcome of our deliberations.

Nearly six months ago, people all over the world gathered to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the defeat of fascism and nazism. People of different colours and races, beliefs and ideologies, but inspired by their common aspiration to peace and liberty and their deep sense of horror of war, reaffirmed their resolve to promote peace and security and do away with tensions and conflicts.

The United Nations did not let that occasion slip by. In its capacity as the guardian of world peace, it once again renewed its determination and commitment to the accomplishment of the task it has set itself since its inception - namely, to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain peace and security, as well as to promote international economic co-operation. There is indeed great merit in keeping fresh in our minds the memories of those who perished to ensure that the succeeding generations would inherit a better and safer world.

We had the privilege and honour of addressing the session of the Economic and Social Council commemorating the end of the Second World War. That session was organized by the Council at its first regular session in 1985. As we stated on that occasion, the defeat of nazi-fascism, which marked the end of the Second World War, was the best testimony to what men and women, regardless of the colour of their skin, their religion and their beliefs, can accomplish if they pool together

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

their sacrifices, determination and resources to defend and preserve what they have in common.

Nazism and fascism represented, first and foremost, a threat to peace and security in Europe. Nevertheless, because the aspiration to peace and liberty transcends all differences existing among peoples and individuals, peoples from all continents participated in the liberation of Europe. It was with this deep sense of history that the beloved sons of Africa made their valuable and selfless contribution to the restoration of freedom in Europe.

The world is once again confronted with nazism in the form of apartheid - this time in Africa, particularly in the southern region. This is a challenge the international community has been faced with since 1948, three years after the end of the Second World War. One wonders whether nazism ever really died.

Like those of nazism, the sinister acts of the apartheid régime are not confined to South Africa. The whole southern African region has been transformed into a zone of terror and war. Neighbouring countries have for long had to bear the consequences of South African aggression and acts of destabilization. These acts perpetrated by the régime are aimed at subjugating the peoples of the region and destroying the economic infrastructures of the countries of the region so as to render them vulnerable to South African pressure and blackmail. The apartheid régime hopes thereby to be able to bring the countries of the region under its domination and dependence, both politically and economically.

This year has witnessed an ever-growing escalation of violence and terror in South Africa. The apartheid régime has stepped up its criminal policies - namely, arbitrary arrest, torture and wanton killing of members of the majority of the population. Peaceful and defenceless citizens are daily being shot at by the police and the army. These inhuman practices found their highest expression in the imposition of the state of emergency. As one would have expected, this has

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

resulted in mass arrests of thousands of innocent people, including children under 10 years of age. And what is their crime? Their crime is the boycott of schools. Since mothers are not informed of the whereabouts of their children, they have to go from prison to prison looking for them. Children are locked up in the same cells with adults accused of common crimes.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

In 1985 alone, South Africa invaded Botswana and killed indiscriminately. It has attempted to sabotage the Cabinda oil installations in Angola. It has launched two major attacks against Angola, destroying the economic and social infrastructures and killing innocent civilians.

The acts of aggressions against our countries by armed bandits have further escalated in intensity.

The United Nations has condemned these barbaric acts perpetrated by the South African régime as have the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity. They have also demanded the cessation of all hostile acts against the countries of the region, an end to the massacres of the defenceless population inside the country, and that South Africa should enter into negotiations with the authentic representatives of the South African majority about the future of their country.

However, as in the past, the racist régime has ignored these demands. Instead, it has declared that it will never abide by any decision of the United Nations. This constitutes a challenge to the authority of our Organization.

Apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The membership of South Africa in the United Nations has been suspended on account of its abominable policy. Indeed, the entire international community is unanimous in its opposition to apartheid.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that all those who abhor it will display imagination, agree to sacrifices and wage an implacable war against the apartheid régime, so that the spirit of human solidarity and co-operation that was a shining example 40 years ago will prevail. This is not yet the case. The common detestation of the apartheid system, professed by all, has not yet been translated into concrete action.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Indeed, dissenting voices arise when forceful measures are proposed as the sole alternative available in order to dismantle the apartheid system, given its intransigence. As we have said in the past, one might at first lend an attentive ear, only to learn that peaceful measures were also to be discouraged. We are told to be patient!

Yesterday when freedom was threatened in Europe, the words "peace" and "patience" suddenly disappeared from our vocabulary. Violence was not countered with peaceful measures and patience. Fascist and Nazi brutality were quickly met with violent retaliation to the extent that, in the early stages of the war, at least in some instances, ill-equipped and poorly-trained men were quickly deployed in Northern Europe in the middle of winter without skis, only to be captured in their thousands by Nazi troops. These soldiers were sent out in those conditions not because they were unloved by their people and leaders, but because the tide of tyranny had to be stemmed quickly.

From the end of the Second World War to our day there have been innumerable instances when much less threatening circumstances, to say the least, were met with prompt, forceful measures. Some people do not practise what they preach.

It is ironic to note that many of those who are opposed to violence as a means of eradicating apartheid are among those who greatly contributed, with men and valuable resources, to the struggle against fascism and nazism. Does the fact that it is the freedom of Africa which is now threatened, and not that of Europe, explain this shift of attitude in the face of a similar situation? We should like to believe that that is not the case.

There are also those who argue that, because of its level of development, South Africa has become immune to any measures that the international community might consider adopting. That cannot be true. South Africa is a giant with feet of clay.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Others try to inculcate in our minds the idea that, were we to adopt adequate, effective, and forceful measures against South Africa, they would prove to be harmful to the black population. So, according to the advocates of this philosophy, time should be given to the apartheid régime to kill itself or die a natural death. They pretend they believe that it is undergoing a metamorphosis and that eventually a day will come when the world will wake up to find that apartheid has destroyed itself.

We invite those who propagate these untruths and those who may unwittingly fall victim to them to listen to the cry of the oppressed people of South Africa. If they listen carefully, they will hear them say that the time has come for the adoption of strong measures to bring the apartheid system to an end. They will also hear them say that apartheid cannot be reformed, that it must be dismantled, and that they are prepared to die for their freedom. This is the cry that comes from those who, day after day, experience racial discrimination, massacres, and the denial of their human rights. This is the cry we all have to listen to, and no other.

The cruel and criminal policies of the apartheid régime have not deterred the countries of the region from exploring all possible avenues that may lead to a peaceful settlement of the problems of the region. It is within this context that peace initiatives have been taken by the countries of the region. The Nkomati Accord and the Lusaka understanding represent the culmination of our efforts aimed at peace and stability in southern Africa. Nevertheless, those initiatives have failed to generate a climate of peace and security in the region because of South Africa's non-compliance with the provisions of those instruments.

The apartheid régime has not ceased to provide sanctuary for armed bandits in its territory. Our countries are still victims of acts of aggression and destabilization on the part of South Africa through the armed bandits which it recruits, trains, finances, equips and sends out into our countries. This is done

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

despite the fact that South Africa has committed itself to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of our countries.

By breaking the letter and the spirit of those instruments South Africa has entered into, by persisting in its acts of aggression against our countries, and by asserting publicly that its aggressive forces are likely to continue to carry out their barbaric acts and eventually occupy any neighbouring State, South Africa has now, more than ever before, given evidence of the fact that there can be no peace in southern Africa unless apartheid is completely eradicated.

It has become clear that the apartheid régime can no longer manage the critical situation prevailing inside the country. The struggle of the South African people is irreversible. The adoption by the régime of more and more repressive measures is just a desperate attempt to control the uncontrollable. South Africa has become ungovernable. The more the régime represses the people, the more it helps strengthen the people's detestation of apartheid. When unarmed South Africans of all colours and races confront the police and the army, it is an event of major significance.

No force under the sun can overcome the resolve of the people of South Africa to free themselves from brutalization, exploitation and oppression.

This, we believe, is a golden opportunity for the international community to exert more pressure on the régime to abandon its apartheid policy.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

As far as it is concerned, the People's Republic of Mozambique will continue to lend its moral, political and diplomatic support to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) in the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

In conclusion, allow me to add my voice to that of the international community in commending those countries which have taken positive steps against the racist régime. Though limited in scope, those measures have given sufficient evidence of the vulnerability of the régime. Their example is highly appreciated by the oppressed people of South Africa and those of the region as well. It is our hope that this action will inspire other countries to act accordingly.

Mr. BERRAIES (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): Once again the General Assembly is taking up the question of the policy of apartheid. Once again speakers from countries with very different systems will come to this rostrum one after the other to curse, castigate and condemn in the strongest and harshest terms an amoral and anachronistic system that troubles our conscience. Once again the United Nations will be asked to shoulder fully its responsibilities under the Charter and to take effective and practical measures that could lead Pretoria to change its policy in a fundamental manner. Yet we greatly fear that once again, as in the past, our appeals will have little effect.

The methods and misdeeds of apartheid are sufficiently well known. The United Nations has been dealing with them since 1948 and since that time, at successive sessions, has regularly condemned them.

Thirty-seven years of appeals to reason, of warnings, of pressure and of condemnation have not led white power in South Africa to reconsider its political, social or economic options. Pretoria is today still one of the two countries where racial discrimination is the fundamental principle underlying State

(Mr. Berraies, Tunisia)

policy. It is the only country where violations of human rights are included in the Constitution.

Despite the many resolutions of the United Nations, including Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 558 (1984), which imposed limited mandatory sanctions, apartheid is still alive, still as arrogant and still as domineering, both within its frontiers, where it oppresses and humiliates 24 million black, Coloured and Indian people, and beyond its borders, where, through a strategy of tension, threat and aggression, it seeks to impose its diktat on all its neighbours.

Consideration of this item at this session, the slogan of which is "United Nations for a better future", could make some hopes possible. But, it was this solemn moment, as the community of nations commemorates the fortieth anniversary of the founding of this Organization, that the Botha Government chose to try once again to destroy hope by executing the militant Benjamin Molloise. That act of legalized murder, as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) described it, carried out despite appeals for clemency from all over the world, confirms that, contrary to the optimistic forecasts of some, Pretoria does not intend to abandon its intransigence or, a fortiori, to change. Rather, over the past few months, faced with a resistance that is growing stronger day by day, it has increased its demands and strengthened its repression.

In the past year more than 700 persons, including many children, have been killed. Hundreds more have been wounded and thousands persecuted and imprisoned. There are now innumerable political trials on the trumped-up charge of high treason and the state of emergency proclaimed on 20 July 1985 is still in force.

Despite the régime of terror and brutal repression, the black population is taking up the challenge valiantly and courageously. The movement against apartheid is gaining ground throughout the country. Demonstrations, strikes and acts of

(Mr. Berraies, Tunisia)

resistance are making their mark. Faced by trigger-happy police, militants with nothing but their bare hands no longer hesitate even to make the supreme sacrifice.

What is happening today in this tormented part of our continent must make us all reflect and shoulder our responsibilities before it is too late.

Admittedly, some of South Africa's partners, at the urging of public opinion have recently increased pressure on that country. But, as we see it, this is still a matter of half-measures. It is essential that those that are able do more.

We must realize that if Pretoria persists in this intransigent flouting of the the United Nations, if it does not hesitate openly to pursue a system of government inspired by the Nazis, it is because it believes that its protectors will guarantee that it does so with impunity. Moreover, could it have persisted in apartheid without their unconditional support?

Those who advocated persuasion should now face the facts. Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be destroyed, and as soon as possible. Their responsibility for what is happening today and, above all, for what will happen tomorrow is enormous. How many more crimes must be committed, how many more innocent victims must be sacrificed, how much blood must still be shed, before their conscience tells them that they must act effectively to put an end to apartheid, that crime against humanity.

(Mr. Berraies, Tunisia)

And yet do they not try to pass as champions defending human rights? Can we accept a situation in which some are defended less than others because of the colour of their skin, or because they belong to a civilization or a culture different from that of the Western world and Western values. Is it moral to protest at violations of human rights only when convenient or in order to point an accusing finger at an adversary Power?

The victims of oppression in South Africa are tired of speeches and promises, tired of the gulf between words and deeds. There can be no solution to the problems we face if we say one thing when we think the opposite.

Tunisia appeals solemnly to the Security Council, and in particular to its permanent members, to realize their historic responsibilities. Tunisia appeals solemnly to them to adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It appeals to them to agree to forgo short-term economic advantages for the sake of the general interest, for it goes without saying that the general interest cannot but coincide with their own permanent, long-term interests.

The nationalist leaders of South Africa, including the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for which Tunisia reaffirms its support, and the Heads of State and peoples of southern Africa are willing to endure the consequences of comprehensive economic sanctions. President Abdou Diouf, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), who has just visited the region, brought their message to us here when he spoke in the Assembly a few days ago. No further attempts should be made, therefore, to explain why comprehensive mandatory sanctions have not been imposed by the specious argument that such sanctions would affect the black population, whose situation is already so precarious.

(Mr. Berraies, Tunisia)

Those defenceless people, who have faced the bullets of Botha's policeman without flinching, will be able to cope with further privations. They have at last understood that apartheid is not an inevitable fate that must be accepted with resignation; they have at last understood that it is with their own hands that they must fashion the free and democratic society of tomorrow's South Africa.

Change is inevitable and nothing can halt the inevitable progress of history - certainly not the unconditional support of the other racist régime in Tel Aviv. The collaboration between the two Powers, which Israel attempts to play down for political reasons related to its efforts to ingratiate itself with Africa, covers the most diverse areas: nuclear and military, economic and trade, cultural and sports. Israel also maintains similar relations with the bantustans.

The report of the Special Committee of 14 October 1985 exposes the scope of the alliance between Pretoria and Tel Aviv and the threats it poses to peace. The Tunisian delegation extends its most sincere congratulations to Mr. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, on the work accomplished. I would like to quote from a message in that report from Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. He said:

"This evil crime [apartheid] is not, of course, confined to the African continent. Indeed, the doctrine of Zionism is as dangerous and racist in concept as apartheid and is as much the real cause of conflict within the Middle East as apartheid itself is the central cause of conflict and tension within South Africa and in the entire region itself.

"Nothing demonstrates, or more clearly proves, the affinity between Zionism and apartheid than the undeniable, ever-growing level of political, military and economic co-operation between the Boers and the Zionists - a truly unholy alliance indeed." (A/40/22/Add.2, para. 5)

(Mr. Berraies, Tunisia)

The peoples' aspiration to freedom and equality, democracy and justice, cannot be for ever stifled. This is why the non-white people of South Africa will regain their dignity. It is our hope that they will regain it without further bloodshed and without traumatic upheaval. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude taken by those that have the means of exerting influence on Botha. If they decide to act in keeping with the movement of history, Botha may be led to lift the state of emergency, abrogate the repressive laws and release Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners. Botha should then enter into frank negotiations in good faith with the various components of South African society, abolish the system of apartheid and promulgate decisive reforms.

If, however, the wise solution is not adopted, the peoples of South Africa, determined to stand up for themselves, will not be able to continue to allow themselves simply to be mowed down by racist bullets. They will be forced to resist and to defend themselves. It would be both ironic and iniquitous if, as the situation evolved, those people who today are being martyred and murdered in cold blood were in some not-too-distant future to come to be treated as terrorists by those who today pity, simply because they had decided to defend themselves and to strike back.

A wise solution must be found. Such a solution would contribute greatly to restoring the standing of this Organization which, it is true, has been the victim of what is basically a lack of will on the part of certain of its Members. Such a solution would enable the Organization on its fortieth anniversary, in line with the hope expressed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to make a new beginning.

Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): My delegation fully associates itself with the sentiments expressed yesterday in this Assembly by the representative of Luxembourg when he spoke on behalf of the ten member States of the European Communities, and of Spain and Portugal, in condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. My purpose is to underline certain aspects of our approach to apartheid which have been voiced by successive Irish representatives in this debate since Ireland joined the United Nations at the end of 1955.

We have in this forum consistently emphasized the deep repugnance of the Irish Government and people at the policies of institutionalized racial discrimination practised by white South Africa. We have consistently condemned those policies as morally wrong, politically dangerous and directly contradictory to the fundamental values which we hold, as well as to the aspirations and purposes of this Organization and its Charter. For years the delegation of my country has voiced our fears that the combined effect of South Africa's repressive measures could only prove explosive. Tragically, those fears are now seen to have been fully justified.

It has become abundantly clear from the rapidly deteriorating situation in South Africa that there is now no easy way to achieve change there. The declaration by the South African Government of a state of emergency - a term that is shorthand for the application of a range of repressive and brutal measures - in certain areas can only add to the turmoil which the régime seeks to calm and inevitably tend to transform what is a largely moderate black opposition into a violent force. In effect, the leadership of the black people is being driven underground. Society is being polarized. Above all, black youth is being steadily alienated and encouraged by the violence of the régime to resort to violent resistance.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

The victims and opponents of apartheid within South Africa have in our view shown great patience in the face of extraordinary provocation. They have been consistently prevented from working for constructive changes in the system by peaceful means. Efforts to reason and to persuade have been met by brutal repression. If now they turn towards violent means they do so from a sense of growing hopelessness. My Government cannot condone such violence, but we can understand the sense of bitter frustration from which it springs. We have deep sympathy for those in South Africa who are victims of repression because of their colour or their stated political beliefs. The political prisoners in South African jails bear living witness to ideals of democracy and justice which are incompatible with the policies of the South African Government.

With each week that passes, opportunities are lost for a peaceful transition to a just and equitable society in South Africa, based on the equality of all its people. As at other times in history, those in power do not seem to have the wisdom to initiate the changes necessary to cope with unfolding events. They seem to imagine that entrenchment in long-established positions will see them through the gathering storm.

The guiding myth of a people shaped by their history and by their own interpretation of it is, of course, not something that is easily shaken. We have no illusions that change will come easily to such a deeply entrenched system as apartheid, established by a community with a strong historical sense of its own identity and a deeply-rooted myth of historical claim - a people who are themselves native to South Africa and who cannot look to any other homeland. However, the Afrikaners, proud as they are of their history and their achievements, cannot be allowed to argue from that past that they and the rest of white South Africa have a God-given right to dominance over the majority with whom they share a country.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

In South Africa today there can be only one answer to those who argue for the right of one racial group to maintain permanent dominance over the others: that while distinct cultural traditions should of course find expression in any plural society, South Africa, its wealth, its resources and its great potential belong to all who live there. If one group - and a minority at that - denies this and continues to monopolize power and to impose its racial theories on a rapidly growing majority it will ultimately find itself paying the price of its own folly. All of South Africa's people will suffer; all will lose; and the disastrous effects may spread far beyond South Africa itself.

There have been suggestions of reform but there is certainly no clear evidence of substantial change. The much-vaunted new constitutional arrangements, which extended the franchise to Coloureds and Indians, were a sham. We are convinced that the new constitution was no more than an attempt to encourage the compliance of Coloureds and Indians with the exclusion of the black majority from the political process and therefore an effort further to entrench the apartheid system. It is an example, in our view, of how South Africa has twisted and turned its policies over the years in an attempt to counter and appease the mounting indignation of the world community. It is yet further evidence that South Africa has never favoured justice: it has only been buying time - time to adapt and ensure the survival of the old policies in new circumstances.

Recent movement within the South African system, so far as can be seen, would appear to be no more than the result of compromise between extreme hardliners and those who are somewhat less extreme, between those who wish to lend a semblance of rationality to the intricate network of laws and regulations which constitute the structure of the apartheid system and those who still wish to retain that system in its full and unrepentant irrationality. Nowhere has there been a clear and

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

unequivocal commitment by the South African Government to abandon apartheid and to enter into serious political dialogue with leaders of the black community.

Today, South Africa under apartheid is still a society where human rights are systematically violated; where minority rule is ruthlessly imposed; where freedom of political expression is relentlessly stifled; where basic political rights are persistently denied; where the dignity of man is affronted on a daily basis; and where, for the majority of the population, inequality and disadvantage are not incidental but central to every aspect of their lives.

Perhaps the most glaring example of the inequities imposed by the apartheid system is the bantustan policy or the establishment of so-called homelands. Ireland has consistently joined the world community in condemning the bantustan policy and in refusing to accord the so-called homelands any legitimacy or recognition.

In the economic field the great discrepancy between the treatment of black and white workers continues to be an everyday example of discrimination and a clear indication of the indifference of the South African Government to the economic and social well-being of the majority. It is abhorrent that the black workers of South Africa - the key to the prosperity of the country - should be the victims of wholesale discrimination as a result of a range of policies instituted by the Government which has reaped such benefits from their toil.

There are in this tense and troubled world far too many political and social systems which are unjust and oppressive. South Africa under apartheid, however, is unique. It is more than a society where human rights are systematically violated. It is a conceptual challenge to the very basis for such rights. It is a polity based formally and explicitly on race and thus is a racist society in the strict sense of the word. It is this central aspect of the apartheid system - the

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

adoption of race and racist theory as a fundamental political principle for a whole society - which distinguishes it from human rights violations elsewhere.

To build a whole society, as white South Africa has done, on the fundamental principle that rights depend on race is to controvert the very essence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. McDongagh, Ireland)

To provide by law and decree that the political, economic, social and civil rights of an individual in his own country are decided by the colour of his skin is to challenge a fundamental premise which the international community has worked for almost 40 years to establish and whose roots go far back into human civilization. This challenge is all the greater because the apartheid system has grown and developed in parallel with international efforts to work out human rights principles and ensure that they are universally accepted and observed.

While the world community as a whole has, however imperfectly, laboured towards better definition and wider acceptance of human-rights principles based on equality, white South Africa has over the same period worked to develop and elaborate the labyrinthine details of the apartheid system as if to affront and challenge those principles which the world community as a whole was gradually coming to accept and uphold. It is this which justifies the insistent and sustained concern of the world community with regard to apartheid, however ineffective its efforts at upholding human rights everywhere may be. It is this which explains the strength of feelings against apartheid in countries such as mine.

As a matter of policy Ireland does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. There are no cultural agreements between Ireland and South Africa. There is no Irish public investment in South Africa. The Government does not encourage trade or other economic relations with South Africa. In this connection the Minister for Health, in September 1984, issued a directive to ensure that no Irish health agencies purchased items of South African origin or engaged in commercial or other dealings with South African agencies. There are no Irish companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, and thus none reporting under the European Community's code of conduct.

Ireland supports the principle of non-discrimination in sport. The Government therefore does everything possible to prevent international sporting contacts

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

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.

Ireland also believes that it is of the utmost importance to promote humanitarian and legal assistance to those who suffer under South Africa's discriminatory legislation and to give assistance to their families and to refugees from South Africa.

In 1985 our assistance to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa will amount to 50,000 Irish pounds.

Our bilateral aid programme has been expanded so that non-governmental organizations in South Africa working for the benefit of those discriminated against by apartheid can qualify for assistance from our programme of co-financing for non-governmental organizations. The first grant under this heading has already been approved for payment. Other projects are currently under examination.

Ireland also contributes to funds which help provide legal defence in political trials in South Africa. In this regard we have this year made a grant of 10,000 Irish pounds to the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), whose objectives are to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures in South Africa, to support their families and defendants and to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake. We have also contributed 4,000 Irish pounds to the Asingeni Fund of the South African Council of Churches, the aims of which are similar to those of the IDAF.

Some of the victims of apartheid, however, now reside outside South Africa as refugees. Ireland has over the years received a number of these for training in

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

economic and social development under the auspices of programmes run by international organizations, particularly the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The expansion of our co-operation with the ILO is currently being examined with a view to participating in that organization's programme against apartheid.

Many South African refugees are of course settled in Tanzania, Zambia and Lesotho, which are target countries for Irish bilateral aid. In the development of our programmes of assistance to those countries we will of course be investigating the possibilities of including projects specifically designed to assist some of these refugees.

In order to help maintain international pressure for the abolition of apartheid, Ireland contributes to the United Nations Fund for Publicity against Apartheid. In addition, in order that the Irish people should be as fully informed as possible of the reality of apartheid, it has been decided to feature apartheid as a subject in the programme of development education run jointly with Irish non-governmental organizations by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

It is, however, the firm belief of my Government that protests by individual States and unilateral actions by them are unlikely to be effective in persuading those who hold power in South Africa to face reality. Already, with the aim of increasing pressure to change on the South African Government we have, in concert with our European partners, agreed to implement a series of measures elaborated in Luxembourg on 10 September last. Beyond this, however, my Government is among those who favour action undertaken in an organized way, and by the international community as a whole, to bring steady pressure to bear on white South Africa to change its disastrous policies. Together with like-minded delegations, Ireland therefore co-sponsored the draft resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, which was adopted by the overwhelming majority of this Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

However gloomy the outlook may now seem, we believe that it is of the utmost importance for the entire international community to continue to try to find ways to bring white South Africa to face the dangers of its present course before it is too late. This means a determination on the part of the international community not to rely on exhortation alone but also to increase significantly the pressure from outside on South Africa to promote change. Ireland has frequently indicated in this Assembly and elsewhere that it favours the imposition by the Security Council of carefully chosen, graduated and mandatory sanctions against South Africa - to be fully implemented by all. Specifically, we feel that the existing arms embargo should be strengthened and more carefully monitored, that a mandatory oil embargo should be formally imposed, and that loans to and new investments in South Africa should be banned.

When we look at the current situation in South Africa it is not easy to be optimistic about that country's future. A political system which has kept Nelson Mandela in prison for more than 20 years, which has done so much to stifle and therefore radicalize those who have sought change by peaceful means, which imposes death sentences so freely and ignores the clemency appeals of virtually the whole world community, which is responsible for the shooting of children and the use of whips on human beings, may eventually have to face the inevitable consequences of its own folly.

There are those who would prefer violence to bring about change. There are many, however, who still hope, as we do, that black South Africans will achieve major change by other means. Change will come, that is certain. The only issue is whether it will come now, in time, through an admittedly difficult and major process of adjustment, or whether it will come only as a result of a long drawn out, dangerous and possibly bloody process which will cause immense suffering for

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

all involved and create wider dangers extending beyond South Africa itself. The choice lies with white South Africa.

Speaking of South Africa before his death, Stephen Biko said,

"In this country we have a situation peculiar to all Africa: black and white must live together. At the end there can only be a non-racial Government". He was not even 30 years old when he died, but if his message can penetrate even now to white South Africa before it is too late, he will not have died in vain.

Mrs. RAUL (India): I would like to begin by extending from this forum, greetings to the valiant people of South Africa, who are engaged in an epic struggle for liberation from racist oppression and for human dignity.

Our feelings today are of anguish as well as of pride. Our anguish, frustration and indignation flow from the unrelenting travail of the oppressed masses of South Africa, which have for so many decades suffered inhuman degradation, humiliation and repression at the hands of their racist masters. That the scourge of apartheid - long declared a crime against humanity - should still persist 40 years after the establishment of the United Nations is in itself a sad reflection on this Organization, which, in the preamble to its Charter, reaffirmed the faith of mankind in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

As an Indian, I address the Assembly today with special pride. My country was privileged to be the first to draw international attention to the problem of racism in South Africa, by bringing a complaint to the United Nations General Assembly in 1946. That very year we voluntarily imposed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa - long before such action was recommended by the United Nations. Indeed, our association with the freedom movement in South Africa goes back much further, to the days when Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, forged the political weapon of non-violent satyagraha in the Indian settlements of Durban.

The leaders of our freedom movement told us that our own freedom would be incomplete without freedom for all peoples under the colonial yoke. They were passionate, in particular, in their espousal of the cause of freedom in Africa. Mahatma Gandhi spoke in 1946 of the moral bond between Asia and Africa. At the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March 1947, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, stated:

(Mrs. Kaul, India)

"We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisaged is not to be confined to this nation or that or to a particular people but must spread out over the whole human race."

The United Nations, from its very inception, has played a significant role in the world-wide struggle against the abhorrent system of apartheid. Indeed it has been an important factor in ensuring that the balance of forces has steadily turned against the racist régime and in favour of the movement for freedom as well as in enabling the latter to secure the widest international support from Governments and organizations. Even if it has not so far been able to bring about the eradication of apartheid, the United Nations has succeeded in sensitizing world opinion to that evil and in building up pressure against its proponents. The United Nations has helped achieve unanimity on three aspects: condemnation of apartheid, the arms embargo against South Africa and humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid. Overwhelming support has been given to the principle of sanctions against the apartheid régime and assistance to liberation movements. The legitimacy of armed struggle has been widely recognized. These are no mean achievements.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has played a crucial role in the formulation of United Nations policy in this regard. We pay a tribute to the Committee for its devotion and to its Chairman for his active leadership. India, as a member of the Special Committee, has contributed its mite to the cause.

Our meeting today takes place at a crucial moment in the history of southern Africa. The people of South Africa are astir. The rising tide of mass resistance against apartheid is now inexorable and relentless. Apartheid stands with its back to the wall. The indiscriminate killings, maimings, torture and detentions without trial which have followed the imposition of a state of emergency by the racist régime are the paroxysms of a system struggling to escape inevitable

(Mrs. Kaul, India)

extinction. As the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries recently declared at Luanda, "the count-down to the collapse of apartheid has started in earnest".

The position of my country and of the Non-Aligned Movement on the question of apartheid and its attendant evils is well known and scarcely needs reiteration. Apartheid is the very antithesis of civilized humanity. It is demeaning and abhorrent. It is a system nourished on violence, which can only breed further violence. It helps a tyrannical minority régime to maintain its stranglehold on the oppressed majority. It is the root cause of all the instability and tension that afflicts southern Africa, whether it be the deliberate degradation of the people of South Africa by the racist régime, or Pretoria's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, or its aggression against and subversion of independent African States of the region. Pretoria deceives no one by its professions of reform or of a desire for peaceful coexistence with its neighbours. Its aim is clearly to further entrench racist minority rule and to establish hegemony over southern Africa. It will not succeed. At Durban last August Mr. Botha spoke of the unwillingness of the ruling clique to commit suicide by opening its doors. Little does Mr. Botha realize that, by persisting in his shortsighted course, he and the system he represents are committing precisely that.

South Africa's arrogant defiance of the universal will has drawn sustenance from the multifaceted support and assistance it has received from its powerful friends and allies. Some of them look upon Pretoria as a strategic ally. Several of them are reluctant to relinquish their significant economic interests in South Africa and Namibia, nurtured as these are on the sweat of slave labour. Policies such as those of constructive engagement have clearly failed; if anything, as stated by Bishop Tutu, such policies have been destructive in their impact, accentuating South Africa's intransigence. Many a time Pretoria has been shielded from effective censure by the vetoes cast in the Security Council.

(Mrs. Kaul, India)

How long can we refuse to see the writing on the wall? How long can we go against the current of international opinion and attempt to stem the tide of history? For those who argue that sanctions would hurt the majority community in South Africa, may I recall the following words of the black churchworker in Johannesburg: "When a ladder falls, the man on the highest rung is hurt most. The people on the bottom escape with only a few bruises". He went on to say: "The Western Powers will always uphold and support this régime because of their investment. They have more to lose than we in this country. We have nothing to lose but our chains".

At the same time, the efforts of many Governments, including many in the Western world, are a cause for encouragement and satisfaction. Beginning with the Nordic States in 1966, several Western countries have veered round to supporting sanctions in principle. Many of them have taken specific measures towards that end. At the Commonwealth Summit in Nassau last week an accord was reached on a package of specific measures binding all its members. Arrangements for monitoring implementation were also agreed upon.

Equally noteworthy is the impressive upsurge in recent months of public outrage in certain Western countries against apartheid. This concerted campaign now enjoys the support of parliamentarians, other public figures, trade unionists, prominent civil rights and religious leaders, actors and entertainers, students and professors and concerned citizens at large. The divestment campaign has picked up steam. The pressure on Pretoria is steadily mounting.

We welcome those developments. We urge that every pressure be applied. India and the other non-aligned countries are convinced that only comprehensive mandatory sanctions will work, and have for long years pressed for them at the United Nations.

(Mrs. Kaul, India)

On this the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we must pay a tribute to the heroic freedom fighters of South Africa. We pay a tribute to their great leaders - to the late Chief Albert Luthuli, to Nelson and Winnie Mandela and to others who have led the way. We render homage to the martyrs of South Africa - men, women and children - who have made the supreme sacrifice and whose blood shall consecrate the freedom that shall inevitably dawn on succeeding generations of South Africans.

Receiving the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding in 1979, Nelson Mandela, speaking through his wife, said:

"I am mindful that I am the mere medium for an honour that rightly belongs to our people and to our country".

More recently, in refusing Pretoria's conditional offer of freedom, he said:

"I cannot sell my birthright. Nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am imprisoned as the representative of the people. Only free men can negotiate ... I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

Nelson Mandela personifies the spirit of the South African masses. That spirit is indomitable. The flame of freedom blazing in the hearts of the people of South Africa cannot be extinguished. The end of their ordeal is now close at hand. As the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, declared last week here at the United Nations: "Their victory will be our victory".

Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): That apartheid discriminates and dehumanizes is beyond dispute. It needs no further elaboration after nearly 40 years of debate on its evil nature. That apartheid maims and kills needs no further evidence either. One has only to look back to Soweto, Sharpeville, Crossroads and Uitenhage. Witness, too, the almost daily violent occurrences in South Africa.

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

That apartheid must be dismantled forthwith is also clear. But will it be? From all indications, the Pretoria régime is prepared to shed more of the blood of the South African majority to stay in power.

Before it is too late, let me share with the Assembly and, in particular, the racists in Pretoria what the respected Bishop Desmond Tutu had to say at lunch yesterday - something which some of us may have missed, something which the racist régime may have failed to reckon with so far. Bishop Tutu said: "The mothers of the oppressed are getting angry, really angry".

The significance of Bishop Tutu's statement is all too obvious. It is frightening. It must be remembered that these are mothers who, by virtue of their natural instincts, should be restraining their sons and husbands from engaging in violence, for fear that they could get hurt or, worse, get killed. For it is they, these loving mothers, who must suffer the unbearable pain of losing a loved one. Heaven forbid that they should decide one of these days that enough is enough. It does not take much to imagine the power that their anger would unleash. Carnage would surely follow. And, this time, the white man's blood would also be spilt.

As we all must agree, that is a situation to be avoided at all costs. The international community must therefore act now, especially those countries that are in the best position to influence the racists in Pretoria. Time is not on our side. Nor is it on the side of those who will inevitably die for their just struggle. We in the international community will not only share the grief of those they will leave behind: we shall also be partly responsible for their loss.

Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The General Assembly is taking up its consideration of the question of the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa at a time when the racist régime in Pretoria is increasing its repression, multiplying its assassinations of the oppressed people of South Africa and increasing its acts of aggression against the front-line States.

Last July the racist régime, endeavouring in vain to repress growing resistance to apartheid, imposed a state of emergency in 36 administrative districts in the country, a state of emergency which enables the army and the police to have unlimited rights to attack any who call for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and free society.

In the past few days we have seen the state of emergency extended to Cape Town and to certain other districts in that same area. As a result of a number of measures, thousands of persons have been killed and mutilated.

According to the report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, last year in the course of confrontations approximately 700 persons were killed and many others wounded. Thousands of people were arrested or detained. In the first six weeks following the establishment of the state of emergency - that is to say, from 21 July to 31 August - more than 140 people were killed and close on 2,500 imprisoned or detained. No two days have gone by without massive repressions against the freedom fighters, against students, against trade union members, religious leaders and other enemies of apartheid.

World opinion as a whole has been indeed outraged by the recent bloodshed and the events in Langa, comparable to the inhuman actions of the Pretoria régime in Sharpeville and in Soweto in 1960 and 1976 respectively, and also the execution of the South African poet, Benjamin Moloise, who was fighting for civil rights.

(Mr. Nyandoo, Mongolia)

No manoeuvres, including the so-called reforms of apartheid, by the racist régime of South Africa can change the present situation, but this régime has not changed the system of apartheid by a single iota, and basically for the Africans they have involved even harsher repression. There is no doubt but that they were intended only to defuse the liberation movement and to weaken international action against the Pretoria régime's policies.

Apartheid within the country means segregation and repression of the indigenous population; outside the country it means aggressive raids against sovereign neighbouring States, and so South Africa today remains one of the most dangerous focal points of international tension. Just over the last few months, the United Nations Security Council has been focusing frequently on the acts of aggression committed against Angola, Botswana and other States in the region. The Security Council has strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its deliberate, continuing and constant armed raids into Angola and Botswana, and it has also condemned it in its resolutions for using the occupied Territory of Namibia as a staging ground for acts of aggression and destabilization. Moreover, we cannot but be seriously concerned over the growing military and nuclear co-operation between South Africa and Israel, which is noted in the report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid. As can be seen from the Special Committee's report, South Africa is the major buyer of weapons from Israel, and 35 per cent of Israeli arms exports in the last few years have gone to South Africa. Inter alia, Israel has sold South Africa gunboats and "Gabriel" missiles.

The comprehensive co-operation between South Africa and major Western countries, primarily the United States of America, is along the same lines.

Attempts to perpetuate this shameful régime of apartheid in South Africa under various pretexts are mainly because of the military and strategic goals of

(Mr. Nyandoo, Mongolia)

imperialism. It is no secret to anyone that South Africa, without the support and help of the Western Powers, would simply not be able to continue flouting the world community.

The people of South Africa need international support now more than ever before. The United Nations must take decisive measures to eliminate colonialism and apartheid from the southern part of Africa. In this connection, our delegation does indeed appreciate the multi-faceted work done by the United Nations and in particular by the Special Committee Against Apartheid, which is chaired by the representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Garba. The work done has involved the mobilization of international opinion in support of the just struggle of the South African people against apartheid.

The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic have consistently stood side by side with those who struggle against apartheid. We believe that the future of South Africa must be decided by its people. It is the duty of the States Members of the United Nations to assist the just struggle of that people against the apartheid régime.*

*Mr. Arcilla (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

We consider it a matter of urgency that the Security Council of the United Nations impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In our view, such a measure would force South Africa to abandon its apartheid régime, to withdraw its occupying forces from Namibia and to proceed to implement all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978) providing for the granting of independence to Namibia. We demand that the state of emergency be lifted and that all political prisoners be released, along with the freedom fighters, from the gaols of South Africa and, first of all, that the courageous son of the South African people, Nelson Mandela, be released.

The scope and intensity of the protest in South Africa bear clear witness to the fact that no repression or violence can halt the struggle of the South African people to establish a united and democratic society in their country.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): Developments in South Africa in recent months have once again provided ample evidence - though none was necessary - of the ill will on the part of the racist Pretoria régime. Last year, our delegation, while lending support to Security Council resolution 554 (1984) of 17 August 1984, which rejected the so-called new constitution in South Africa and declared it contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, at the same time warned that apartheid could not be reformed and that constitutional fraud was designed further to entrench white minority rule and to mislead public opinion both in South Africa and the world.

Unfortunately, our apprehensions were well founded. In the past several months, the level of violence, police repression and brutality against the black majority has escalated at a terrifying rate. The world has been shocked by the atrocities committed in South Africa, especially after a state of emergency was imposed there. We have witnessed even more detentions, more arrests, more

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

disappearances, more torture and more deaths. World opinion cries out in profound outrage over the legal murder of Benjamin Moloise, who was executed despite repeated appeals for clemency by the international community, including by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and by the Secretary-General. He was one of several hundred victims killed by the death squads recently formed by the increasingly desperate and vicious apartheid régime.

At the same time, the Pretoria régime, contemptuous of international public opinion, has continued to commit acts of aggression against independent States in the region and to invade Angola, murdering civilians and wreaking havoc upon the infrastructure of that country. The régime still refuses to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and has instead undertaken to install yet another puppet administration in Windhoek.

All the actions by the South African Government over the past year show conclusively that its only response to the domestic and international demand to dismantle apartheid is more repression. Nobody - even those who for reasons best known best to themselves presumably believed that the Botha régime could be brought around and who wanted to see in the so-called reforms a gradual and slow evolution towards the granting of political rights to the black majority - can any longer claim that the white minority rulers are moving or taking first steps in the right direction.

The belligerent actions of the apartheid régime clearly revealed the counterproductive effects of the policy of constructive engagement. It was precisely that policy which created a protective umbrella for the South African Government against the pressure of international opinion. Thanks to it, the racist régime can suppress the black majority, holding in contempt and disregarding world opinion and United Nations decisions. The policy of constructive engagement has fallen through and has found itself in the isolation it deserves.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

The black majority in South Africa has convincingly demonstrated that the time of promises and sham reform is over and the day of genuine solutions has come. The only basis for such solutions can be the dismantling of apartheid as a system.

The Pretoria régime, on the other hand, has left no doubt that it never contemplated a meaningful change or reform. The recent much heralded speeches made by Mr. Botha on 15 August and 30 September clearly demonstrated the fact that his Government had no intention of abandoning apartheid. The dismantling of the system can only be a result of strong will and struggle by the black majority as well as of pressure by the international community through the United Nations system.

That struggle has assumed quite new dimensions as far as its scope, aims, level of organization and, unfortunately, number of victims are concerned. The statement made by Bishop Desmond Tutu before the Special Political Committee on Monday, 29 October, gave vivid testimony to that effect. In the new situation in South Africa, the wrath of the people can no longer be contained and the only solution can be the granting of full political rights to the black majority. Any further delay and attempts at partial and sham solutions that do not take into account the national liberation movements can only worsen the internal conditions in South Africa and threaten peace in the region and in the world at large. We pay special tribute to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which for decades has been engaged in heroic struggle against the abhorrent system of apartheid. Some Western Powers, particularly the United States, will bear a heavy responsibility for the future development of the situation in the region if they continue their policy towards the Pretoria régime.

Poland fully supports Security Council 569 (1985) of 25 July 1985 and demands that South Africa comply with its decisions without further delay. We join in solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and call for concerted

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

international action to back up its just struggle. We also favour comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. ENDREFFY (Hungary): The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the fortieth session of the General Assembly draws the attention of the world to menacing events and facts that are posing a threat to peace and security in the southern part of Africa and call for change and for joint action by the States Members of the world Organization.

The oppression of the black population by the South African régime has increased dramatically this year. In its suppression of the nationwide resistance to apartheid the racist régime has resorted to large-scale killings and has detained thousands of people in order to destroy opposition. Last year 700 people were killed and thousands of others injured in clashes with the security forces.

The attempts to salvage the South African régime - the state of emergency, the mounting terror, arrests and executions - demand immediate action by the countries of the world. The succession of tragic events demonstrates that the intention to act is, of itself, insufficient to bring about radical changes in the substance of the régime with a view to the final elimination of apartheid. What is needed is joint action and, as a first step, an answer should be given to the complicated question of how to proceed.

In an effort to save its régime the Pretoria Government is adopting some sham measures that leave the essence of that régime unaffected. The recently introduced three-chamber system of parliament conferred no significant political right on the so-called Coloured population, representing some 10 per cent of the total population, or on the blacks, who make up 72 per cent of the country's population. Those "reforms" have nothing to do with the political power, which is firmly held by the so-called Afrikaners.

In addition to brutal force, the essence of white rule and the system of apartheid lies in the division of the oppressed. Its repertory includes such measures as restriction of movement and the establishment of more bantustans.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

South Africa's military build-up continues to be a cause of grave concern to the international community. The weapons arsenal of its approximately 84,000-strong regular army is still being modernized by deliveries of foreign arms despite prohibitions imposed by Security Council resolutions adopted in 1963, 1970 and 1977.

The economic system of the apartheid régime has devised its own specific mechanism of exploitation, namely, internal colonization. The modernized white sector created within the country requires foreign capital, so the racist white minority has granted the international monopolies interested in exploiting the natural resources of the region a share in the exploitation of cheap black labour.

It is well known that the south Atlantic region has great geostrategic importance because of the significance of the sea route around South Africa for the transport of oil and other raw materials. There is no need to prove that South African minerals are also of vital economic importance given the relationship maintained by some Western countries with South Africa on the basis of mutual economic interest.

In the absence of strong international pressure, the racist régime of South Africa will continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of armed aggression against the front-line States. The Hungarian delegation condemns those policies and supports any action by the United Nations aimed at the complete elimination of apartheid. We welcome any initiative taken by countries, either individually or collectively, that would result in mandatory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa.

My country, which is a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, considers the system of apartheid to be a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We therefore support the efforts of the Special Committee to mobilize world public opinion against that racist system. The

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

seminars, conferences and other meetings initiated, organized or sponsored by the Special Committee have, in our view, made a successful contribution towards the attainment of that goal.

The people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic support the struggle of the people of South Africa, led by their liberation movements. We express our hope that a just, non-racial, democratic society will soon emerge in that part of the African continent.

Before concluding, I should like to express my delegation's thanks and gratitude to Mr. Joseph N. Garba, Permanent Representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his dedicated leadership and his guidance of the Special Committee's work during the past year. I also express our appreciation to all members of the Centre against Apartheid, whose work was invaluable in enabling the Special Committee, to fulfil its task.

Mr. KOR BUN HENG (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): In this year commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community is more keenly concerned and deeply upset and alarmed than ever before at the explosive situation prevailing in South Africa, particularly since the proclamation of the state of emergency.

The heinous apartheid régime in South Africa has made it clear to all that it is the source of the repression, the deaths, the mourning, the ills and the untold sufferings of the majority black population, the source of acts of aggression and crimes against neighbouring States and the source of the stubborn and continuing unlawful occupation of Namibia, all in arrogant defiance of the many resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

During both the general debate and the commemorative meetings of the General Assembly the inhuman policy of apartheid has been the object of unequivocal condemnation. The international community is unanimous in saying that the system

(Mr. Kor Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

of apartheid is the complete negation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly has declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity.

In its resolution of 28 September 1984 the General Assembly reaffirmed that:
"only the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa." (resolution 39/2, para. 6)

(Mr. Kor Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

That resolution faithfully reflects world opinion but instead of responding positively to that proposal the racist South African authorities obstinately insist on implementing the so-called new constitution which has been rejected by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the international community as a whole and, above all, by the South African people itself, which sees in it merely measures aimed at perpetuating the hateful system of apartheid. Of course the South African people has no other choice than to fight against that new constitution and in order to impose that constitution on the black population the racist authorities resort, as was expected, to measures of bloody repression which have claimed countless victims.

Another component still in force in the policy of apartheid of the Pretoria régime is the bantustanization and displacement and forced eviction of black South Africans. That policy has been the object of universal condemnation. No country has recognized those so-called independent homelands. That policy was the object of concern and condemnation in the Security Council which, meeting in March this year, adopted resolution 560 (1985). In that resolution the Security Council:

"Strongly condemns the Pretoria régime for the killing of defenceless African people protesting against their forced removal from Crossroads and other places;"

and also

"Strongly condemns the arbitrary arrests by the Pretoria régime of members of the United Democratic Front and other mass organizations opposed to South Africa's policy of apartheid;" (Security Council resolution 560 (1985), paras. 1 and 2)

(Mr. Kor Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

That resolution also demands that the Pretoria régime put an end to its acts of repression.

Flouting that resolution, the racist authorities once again, 10 days later, massacred at least 20 black persons and wounded 27 others who were taking part in a funeral in Uitenhage on the day of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the massacre of Sharpeville.

The present situation in South Africa is explosive. Violence and repression are on the increase, especially since the proclamation of the state of emergency on 20 July last. Democratic Kampuchea once again expresses its strongest condemnation of the imposition of the state of emergency and the crimes committed by Pretoria and fully supports Security Council resolution 569 (1985). Since the state of emergency was proclaimed thousands of persons have been arrested, detained or imprisoned and as we all know hundreds of others have been killed.

On 18 October last, while we were commemorating the fortieth anniversary of this Organization, the racist authorities in South Africa had the African poet Benjamin Moloise executed. They did so deliberately, totally flouting the appeals and protests of the international community and especially of the Security Council in its resolution 547 (1984), as well as the appeals of its President of 20 August last and of our Secretary-General. The name of Benjamin Moloise is now added to the long list of martyrs of the South African people, victims of the inhuman policy of apartheid. My delegation expresses its profound indignation and strong condemnation at this new inhuman act, which in its view marks the beginning of the end of the apartheid régime.

My delegation also takes this opportunity to pay a profound tribute to those martyrs and renew its firm support for and brotherly solidarity with the South African people in its just struggle for the eradication of apartheid and for a

(Mr. Kor Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

united, free and democratic South Africa on the basis of universal elections, a South Africa where human rights and dignity are respected without distinction of the colour of skin.

My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly will not fail to condemn in the strongest terms that state of emergency and demand that it be lifted forthwith, unconditionally and fully. The South African authorities must put an end forthwith to such acts of repression, which cause so much bloodshed, and release without delay all the opponents of apartheid.

Each year from this rostrum we repeat time and again that tension and instability in the region of southern Africa, engendered by the policy of the racist régime of Pretoria, remain very serious. Last year it was the Kingdom of Lesotho. This year the Republic of Botswana was in June the victim of an unjustified and unprovoked aggression by South Africa against its capital. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea joins the international community in condemning that aggression. My delegation wishes to reiterate that condemnation and expresses its support once again to Botswana in the defence of its independence and territorial integrity. We fully subscribe to Security Council resolutions 568 (1985) and 572 (1985) concerning that act of aggression. We also strongly condemn the acts of aggression, provocation, harassment and destabilization of the racist Pretoria régime against other neighbouring African States.

Namibia remains to this day under the illegal occupation of the racist authorities of South Africa. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of resolutions demanding that South Africa put an end forthwith to that occupation. However, the Pretoria authorities, instead of responding positively to that demand, have resorted to dilatory tactics by proclaiming, in June last, the installation of the a so-called provisional government in

Namibia. The Security Council, in its resolution 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985 condemned:

"the racist régime of South Africa for its installation of a so-called interim government in Windhoek" and declared

"that this action, taken even while the Security Council has been in session, constitutes a direct affront to it and a clear defiance of its resolutions, particular resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978);" (Security Council resolution 556 (1985))

In that resolution the Security Council declared that such action was "illegal and null and void". The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, like the international community, immediately after the announcement of the installation of the so-called provisional government, condemned and categorically rejected that new manoeuvre of Pretoria, which runs counter to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations resolutions on Namibia and above all Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains a plan for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

May I be permitted to reiterate the support of the people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the struggle of the Namibian people, under the guidance of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), until such time as Namibia has achieved full independence.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's warmest congratulations to the Special Committee against Apartheid - and above all to its President, Mr. Joseph Garba, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria - for its continued efforts to discharge its mandate.

We are gratified also to see that the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa is enjoying ever-increasing support from the international community. The system of apartheid cannot be reformed. That crime against humanity can only be

(Mr. Kox Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

eliminated through its total eradication. To achieve that objective, only the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, combined with international pressures, and in particular strong economic pressures, can bring an end to that racist régime. It is in that conviction that we have welcomed the measures taken by the Western countries to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. Those measures would gain if they were stronger and if sanctions were more comprehensive. It is also in that conviction that we heartily support the proposal made on 28 October before this Assembly on behalf of Africa by the President of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, in his capacity as President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), for the convening next year of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Kor Bun Heng, Democratic
Kampuchea)

It is the duty of us all to do everything in our power to hasten the eradication of the heinous system of apartheid. This is the condition sine qua non for the establishment in southern Africa of a zone of peace, security and stability, with an independent Namibia and a democratic and multiracial South Africa in a totally liberated African continent.

Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): Close upon the conclusion of our commemoration of the fortieth anniversary, we have resumed consideration of the question of apartheid. Once again we have heard an overwhelming condemnation of the brutal racist practice imposed upon the black majority in South Africa. We have renewed our pledge to fight racial discrimination and to observe the principles and objectives of the Charter. The occasion is thus appropriate for us to inquire into the contradictions that have prevented the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society in South Africa.

The first question that comes to mind concerns the role played by the United Nations. Many are the countries that accuse the Organization of being ineffective. When they do so, however, they fail to perceive that the United Nations can only reflect the political will vested in it by the Member States themselves. Diverging views on the importance of multilateralism and a selective preference for individual policies are frequently the cause of inaction. Many times, especially in the Security Council, the lack of energy is not to be blamed on the non-existence of appropriate mechanisms but rather on the inability to activate them.

As far as combating apartheid is concerned, there is a strong legal basis for justifying concerted action. The International Court of Justice has termed apartheid a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. The Security Council itself has agreed that apartheid is a system which seriously

(Mr. Maciel, Brazil)

disturbs international peace and security and has adopted several resolutions aiming at its elimination. No one could doubt at this stage that co-operation to fight all forms of racial discrimination is one of the basic duties of Member States. Yet, despite all the calls made upon it by the international community, South Africa has further strengthened repressive measures internally and has launched unprovoked acts of aggression against neighbouring States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, a peaceful country guilty only of the solidarity it offers its African brothers.

In 1984 we followed the evolution of negotiations in southern African with great interest. The Nkomati Treaty and the Lusaka Agreements were, according to the body of opinion prevailing at the time, supposed to improve the prospects for peace and break the cycle of violence in the region. The countries that were more directly involved in such an approach were seeking to affirm their leadership in the region and maintained that once peace had been achieved Pretoria would be free to promote substantial reforms internally. They accepted that the Government of South Africa was firmly committed to a process of change that would eventually yield a genuine sharing of political power with the black majority. The conclusion drawn was that the forces of change in South Africa should not be exposed to international isolation and economic pressure since, if that were the case, the suffering of the majority would be even greater.

The events of 1985 have disproved that theory. The rising tide of black unrest in South Africa and the struggle against apartheid have reached such a point that the white rulers have felt compelled to impose a state of emergency and have adopted new oppressive measures to ensure their illegal supremacy. The escalation of violence proves that Pretoria was never really involved in the promotion of equal rights - a truth that has been reconfirmed by the recent announcement of

(Mr. Maciel, Brazil)

cosmetic reforms that have fallen short of what was expected by the international community. It is not the elimination of petty apartheid rules that will gain international acceptance for south Africa. Only a negotiating process with the genuine leaders of the black majority can pave the way to a period of freedom and democracy.

Given the fact that South Africa intends to persist in its defiant attitude, other elements of its strategy in southern Africa should be taken into account. First, apartheid has fathered a foreign policy which seeks to destabilize the front-line States by provoking military instability, supporting insurgent mercenaries and threatening economic retaliation. Second, it is clear that South Africa considered that the agreements reached in 1984 would divert attention from internal policies and remove racism from the headlines. Pretoria probably felt that international acceptance was conditional on its good relationship with bordering States rather than on the treatment accorded the black majority within its borders. White South Africans thought that it could combine regional hegemony, racism and international acceptance. It is our task to prove this pretense impossible.

The United Nations has played an essential role in mobilizing public opinion against all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. Abhorrence of apartheid is now a permanent factor in international life, and reaction from the world community plays an important role in the struggle against the racist system today. To give a recent example, we would recall the public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South African and Namibia held last September under the auspices of the Commission on Transnational Corporations. On that occasion we were given an excellent opportunity to examine the impact of foreign investment on the well-being of black workers. We could then see rejected

(Mr. Maciel, Brazil)

by clear facts the argument that economic pressure against South Africa could disrupt the labour sector and cause greater suffering. All evidence points to the contrary.

As was properly recalled by some of the participants, only a small proportion of black South Africans benefit from equal employment practices, and even when black workers make decent wages they earn less than their white counterparts. The strategy of blocking punitive economic measures on the grounds that their effect will be counter-productive is nothing more than a deceptive attitude maintained by those that are still supporting the survival of apartheid.

Action against racial discrimination is an obligation under the Charter. The General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly called for joint and separate action conducive to the eradication of apartheid. Brazil, as was stated by President Jose Sarney in his address to the General Assembly, feels that racism is against humanity and against the future. In addition to strict compliance with all mandatory measures, Brazil, in a decree signed on 9 August 1983, reaffirmed its ban on exports of oil and its by-products, of arms and ammunition, of licences and patents to South Africa, and prohibited any kind of cultural, artistic and sports activities with the Government of Pretoria.

(Mr. Maciel, Brazil)

In the same spirit, we have developed, bilaterally or through the South Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, the channels of co-operation between Brazil and the front-line States, those countries which suffer more directly the aggressiveness of apartheid, spilling over the borders of South Africa.

Leading countries, with a record of economic co-operation with South Africa in the past that has not been negligible, have also decided to impose economic sanctions. Member States seem to have understood that international pressure can effectively contribute to the abolition of apartheid. The latest signs of financial panic in Pretoria show that the Government is now acting out of a sense of despair. No matter how strong these individual actions may be, the fact remains that their reach is limited. Further concerted measures should be adopted without delay by the Security Council and fully implemented by Member States. The bold-faced attitudes of South Africa in disregard of international law should not be a source of discouragement. As a country proud of its political and cultural identity, derived from racial mixture, Brazil intends to maintain full support for all measures in favour of the struggling South African people.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): In the opinion of Turkey, the question of the policies and practices of South Africa and that country's system of apartheid constitute a major source of concern for the United Nations at its fortieth anniversary. The General Assembly, throughout its numerous debates on this question, has made clear the extreme sensibility and condemnation of the world public and has demonstrated its determination to move beyond the stage of simple condemnation to decisive action to combat that intolerable phenomenon.

Apartheid is an affront to the conscience and the values of mankind. That deplorable practice is a blatant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In spite of

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

declarations resolutions, decisions and a broad range of measures adopted by the United Nations, South Africa has chosen to ignore the explosion of universal indignation.

Since the last session of the General Assembly we have been witnessing a constant worsening of the situation and an escalation of the tension and violence. Nelson Mandela has still not been freed, despite the urgent appeals of the international community. The consequences of this dangerous state of affairs, worsened by acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring States, constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

Violence and confrontation have resulted in more than 800 victims over the past 12 months. In spite of increasing repression, the opposition to apartheid has grown considerably this year, provoking in its turn even more severe repression. This policy is proof of the total unwillingness of the South African authorities to allow change. South Africa is stubbornly refusing to understand that the apartheid system is the fundamental cause of the events occurring in that country and that the generation of violence is inherent in that hateful system.

Last year's constitutional changes to bolster the present system of racial segregation and discrimination have undoubtedly produced a growing sense of frustration, a frustration already felt by the majority of the population. The so-called reforms we have seen recently in South Africa, far from contributing to reconciliation and social peace, have once again led to an escalation of violence and an intensification of repression, leading the black majority to protest throughout the country against the practices of apartheid. In this context, the proclamation of a state of emergency on 20 July this year contributed even more to the worsening of an already explosive situation. As long as the South African Government fails to abolish totally its apartheid policy and to engage in a true process of dialogue and change towards a system of democracy and racial equality,

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

South Africa will continue to move further away from real peace and will inevitably fall into the abyss of bloody civil war. As far as the recent events are concerned, it is not difficult to detect a qualitative change in the nature of the opposition and of the legitimate struggle waged by the majority of the population. Before it is too late, South Africa must bring about radical changes, so as to avoid the deterioration of a situation which undoubtedly represents a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa.

Turkey notes with great concern the recent aggravation of the situation and is convinced of the need for concerted international action. For that reason, like the overwhelming majority of Member countries, Turkey fully subscribes to resolutions 560 (1985) and 569 (1985), adopted by the Security Council at two meetings held earlier this year to consider this question. In conformity with its firm support for all measures designed to put an end to that policy of South Africa, my Government strictly implements all the relevant earlier resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Turkey maintains no diplomatic, economic, military or other relations with South Africa. Turkey's boycott of the South African régime is total in all areas, and the Turkish authorities have all the necessary legal instruments to put this policy into practice.

This Organization must continue to be in the forefront in the efforts of the international community to apply pressure on South Africa. It seems to us that, with the combination of internal and external pressure, it can play a decisive role in bringing about the necessary conditions for real change and the total abolition of apartheid. We welcome the positive effects of the campaign launched earlier this year against the apartheid régime around the world. That campaign, which has involved legislative bodies, the press, universities, trade unions and other

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

organizations throughout the world, has made a solid contribution to the birth of the disinvestment movement and to the adoption of voluntary sanctions against South Africa. Legislative and governmental measures adopted by an increasing number of countries in recent months have created a political climate propitious for effective international action. This should cause all Member States of this Organization to bring collective pressure to bear to ensure the dismantling of apartheid through peaceful means and dialogue. Turkey pays a tribute to all Member States that have decided to apply voluntary sanctions in conformity with recent Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

If the South African Government persists in its refusal to change its policy and to implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, our Organization should envisage the adoption of the binding, mandatory sanctions provided for under the United Nations Charter. Turkey is prepared to support the application of mandatory economic sanctions.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a special tribute to the commendable work done by the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Committee's tireless information campaign continues to generate a shared awareness among Member States of the need to fight together against apartheid. In the light of recent grave events, we are more convinced than ever before that there will be no peace and stability in southern Africa until apartheid has been eliminated once and for all.

Mr. ALEXANDROV (Bulgaria): Today the situation in southern Africa is one of the main hotbeds of international tension. The atmosphere in that region of the world continues to be extremely tense and ever more explosive. The racist régime of Pretoria is desperately trying to maintain itself in power and to preserve the foundations of the shameful system of apartheid.

The question of the policies of apartheid has been under discussion for almost 40 years, and that is no accident. There are two reasons for the longevity of this issue, which has been constantly in the limelight of the world Organization. The first is the total incompatibility of the principles and purposes of the United Nations with the odious canons of a medieval system based on the ruthless oppression of one race by another. The second is that this anachronism, which constitutes a real affront to the conscience of mankind, still enjoys the support of influential political powers-to-be. There is a paradox here: this year, when mankind is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism, the abhorrent concept of racial superiority inherent in fascism has once again been elevated to the law of the land.

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

The core of the policies of apartheid is racial discrimination and segregation, as well as the denial of the human rights of the indigenous 23-million-strong population of South Africa. In its decisions relating to apartheid, and particularly in Security Council resolutions 554(1984) and 556(1984), the United Nations defined this system as a "crime" and as being in full violation of the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the Organization. United Nations documents reveal the grave danger to peace and security which this system constitutes and demand its immediate elimination.

Events in recent years have clearly demonstrated how demagogic, but none the less futile, are the efforts of Pretoria to deceive the South African people and world public opinion through various cosmetic "corrections" in the system of apartheid. We have witnessed the collapse of the so-called constitutional reform which conceded meagre rights to the Indian and the Coloured communities, while leaving, as before, 73 per cent of the South African population cut off from political life. The promises to restore South African citizenship to the black population have left untouched millions of forcibly resettled dwellers in the bantustans. No less palliative are the steps to relax the so-called pass laws, under which 200,000 to 300,000 black South Africans are arrested each year. An "agenda for racial reform" has been recently announced. It speaks of "individual rights" and "group security". But, as we read in The New York Times on 1 October 1985 there is only one meaning to this mixture of dim words and concepts - namely, to preserve the domination of whites, their way of life and economic privileges.

As a result of the resistance of the popular masses and the democratic forces against the racist dictatorship, as well as of the protests of the international community, the power of the white minority is now in a deepening crisis. In an attempt to thwart by all possible means the end of their domination that is coming,

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

the racist authorities have stepped up their repression against the population. In the last 14 months over 800 people have been killed and many thousands have been arrested. Military and police units using armoured vehicles, guns, tear gas and whips are attacking peaceful demonstrations and shooting or beating to death unarmed civilians, including women and children. The so-called death squads are ever more active in murdering opposition leaders. The violence of the régime reached a new peak in recent days, when the poet Benjamin Moloise was executed after having been detained for more than two years on a trumped-up charge.

The mounting crisis has also affected the economy. The costs of maintaining the repressive machinery and waging a colonial war in Namibia are rapidly increasing. Many sectors of the economy are cutting production. The current account deficit has reached 1 billion Rands and inflation has soared to 16 per cent. According to expert opinion, the prices of basic foodstuffs and manufacturing goods will rise by 20 per cent by the end of the year. Unemployment is estimated at 15 to 20 per cent of the urban black labour force. A number of big business leaders have been calling for internal reform. As the columnist Anthony Lewis has rightly observed, the Ackermans, Ruperts, Reillys and other local magnates are not guided in this by some idealistic motives but by considerations of financial survival. They perceive that the racist system is destroying the economy and bringing the country to imminent catastrophe.

Such a system, based on terror and violence, will logically seek relief in military expansion and aggression against other States. The neighbouring independent African States have been the target of such policies. South African forces have systematically invaded Angola and have occupied the southern part of that country. Pretoria has brazenly asserted that by assisting the bandit group UNITA it is defending the cause of the "free world" in Africa. There has been no pause in the devastating raids against the other front-line States. In defiance of

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

the categoric decisions of the United Nations and particularly of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the South African régime has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, using an occupying force of 100,000 soldiers, and has been waging a war of destruction against the Namibian people, who are struggling for their sacred right to national independence. This policy of State terrorism is yet another demonstration of the fact that apartheid and aggression are indivisible. The emerging nuclear capability of the racists has provoked considerable concern in this respect.

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid rightly points out, of particular concern to the international community is the fact that certain Western States continue to encourage the racist régime of South Africa. In Washington this policy is called "constructive engagement". A long list of familiar arguments has been advanced in its justification, in particular that the downfall of the white régime would entail the demise of democracy and that the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa would only increase Pretoria's intransigence and make the suffering of the black population even worse. The facts, however, indicate otherwise. Those in imperialist circles view South Africa as a bastion of their interests in that part of the globe, as a guarantee of the vast profits of their monopolies and the unimpeded plunder of the valuable resources and minerals of the region, as a gendarme against the indigenous national liberation movements and as a strategic base guarding the sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope.

Thus it is obvious that the policy of constructive engagement is not aimed at eliminating racism and contributing to the radical democratic transformation of South African society. On the contrary, this policy is designed to strengthen the racist régime and to use it as a tool to bring the entire region back into the orbit of imperialist and colonial exploitation. It is precisely for this reason that certain countries have stubbornly resisted the efforts to impose upon the criminal régime the comprehensive sanctions envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as called for by the vast majority of Member States.

The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria concerning the situation in southern Africa has been a principled and consistent one. This position has been repeatedly expressed by the leadership of my country. It found reflection in the Declaration of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at the recent session of its Political Consultative Committee in Sofia, which states, inter alia:

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

"The participants in the session firmly condemn the policy of apartheid of South Africa and its mass repression of the indigenous African population and demand that any support for the racist régime in Pretoria should cease. They demand that an end should be put to the acts of aggression, interference and military intervention by the imperialist forces against Angola and the other States in southern Africa."

The Bulgarian delegation has always supported the unflagging efforts of the world Organization aimed at the complete and definitive eradication of these inhuman policies. Along with these efforts we should like to commend in particular the useful work done within the United Nations by the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the able guidance of its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Garba.

It is our profound conviction that there is only one way out of the present conflict situation in southern Africa and that is through concerted practical action by the international community, including the permanent members of the Security Council, to compel Pretoria to abandon the criminal system of apartheid. It is necessary, pending the imposition by the Security Council of mandatory sanctions against the racist régime, that measures such as those set forth in Security Council resolution 569 (1985) and General Assembly resolution 39/72 G be undertaken.

In conclusion, I should like once again to emphasize that my country supports whole-heartedly and without reservation the just struggle of the South African people for national liberation and will continue to the best of its ability to provide full support to the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in their heroic fight against colonial domination in their part of the world.

Mr. SALEH (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Last week the international community commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. An assessment was made of the role of the Organization in the service of the international community, its espousal and support of the causes of national liberation and decolonization and the maintenance of world peace and security.

In spite of the great achievements of the United Nations based on the lofty principles enshrined in its Charter, there remain numerous international problems which continue to demand the support of the international community for its Organization so that the means may be found to foster peace and stability in the world.

Among those problems is that of the existence of the racist Pretoria régime, which is a blot on the honour of the international community. That system is the most heinous form of racial discrimination and exploitation of the black majority. The racist Pretoria régime is based on a privileged white minority which possesses all the wealth and power and uses instruments of repression and torture against 24 million blacks and Coloureds, who are exploited and live in the most inhuman circumstances, thus making possible exorbitant profits for capitalist monopolies.

We have heard in the Special Committee against Apartheid the testimony of numerous eye-witnesses representing various groups, including religious leaders, teachers, journalists, trade unionists and others. They have described the repression, oppression and brutal exploitation faced and suffered by the people of South Africa and meted out by the régime of apartheid, a system which can no longer be tolerated on our planet.

The struggle waged by the people of South Africa cannot be suppressed by promises of reform, because the apartheid system is based on an ideology of

(Mr. Saleh, Democratic Yemen)

segregation and racial discrimination and denial of the possibility of the coexistence on an equal footing, with equal rights, of the whites and the blacks.

In view of the stepped-up repression and terrorism, the escalation and extension of popular resistance clearly lies ahead. The national liberation struggle will gain in steadfastness until the apartheid system is completely eradicated. Such a development in our contemporary world is fully consistent with ethics, human conscience and the right of people to live in dignity and with pride.

Democratic Yemen has always supported and continues to support the just and legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid system. We also condemn the régime's acts of aggression against independent African States, especially the repeated attacks against Angola, and the continued occupation of Namibia and refusal to withdraw therefrom. We resolutely call for true independence for the Namibian people, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The attempts by the Pretoria régime to impose racial discrimination and the apartheid system in Namibia and to disrupt the peace and stability of neighbouring countries constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

It is more necessary than ever before that the international community take immediate deterrent action against the brutal actions and acts of terror carried out by the racist régime. This should be done by means of an international boycott, the imposition of sanctions in the economic, military, political and cultural spheres and the provision of all kinds of assistance to the people of South Africa in their struggle.

The position of the United States of America and its allies vis-à-vis the Pretoria régime is no longer a mystery to anyone. Their declarations are belied

(Mr. Saleh, Democratic Yemen)

by their deeds. Furthermore, the policy of constructive engagement serves the interest of the racist régime, sustains it and enables it to continue its repressive and terrorist activities. That policy impedes the efforts of the international community to put an end to the inhuman practices against the black majority and the Coloureds. Therefore apartheid must be eliminated.

(Mr. Saleh, Democratic Yemen)

Such policies as these are impractical and, indeed, conflict with the nature of things. One basic fact is underscored, and that is that capitalist monopolies place their own interests far above humanitarian and ethical considerations and above the legitimate rights of peoples.

Here we must recall that the racist and terrorist practices of the Pretoria régime are identical with those of the Zionist régime in Palestine. It is therefore no surprise that we can see close co-operation in all fields, including the military field, between those régimes. This underlines the basic and unified essence of Zionism and racism.

Israel has constructed settlements on Palestinian soil; it has usurped the land; it has rendered the Palestinian people homeless and has perpetrated all forms of terrorism, and it refuses to recognize the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to return to their land and there establish an independent State.

The Zionist State in Palestine is a hotbed of war and threatens international peace and security just as the racist Pretoria régime does in southern Africa.

The festering crisis today obtaining in South Africa urgently requires our international community to exert intensive efforts to convince the Governments concerned to heed the call of the world's conscience and to join in taking measures to deter and stop Pretoria's aggression against its neighbours.

The situation requires all forms of material and political support from the international community to bolster the struggle of the people of South Africa. We are fully confident that they will triumph and defeat apartheid despite all suffering and sacrifice, because that is the course of mankind's evolution towards freedom, good and progress.

Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Sri Lanka): I should like at the outset to extend my delegation's thanks to Ambassador Joseph Garba of the Special Committee against Apartheid for his excellent presentation of the Committee's report.

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

As that report makes abundantly clear, the South African regime's repression of the people of South Africa has increased dramatically during the past year. With that increase in the severity of repression, the resistance of the people has also become more resolute, more determined and more united.

The perpetration of the system of apartheid has been pursued by the racist régime on two levels. On one level, there are the direct physical measures inflicted by the apartheid régime against the people of South Africa. The state of emergency declared in July 1985 gave unlimited powers to the army, police and security forces to subjugate the majority. The result has been a series of killings, assassinations and disappearances, as well as waves of arrests and detentions which were promoted by the South African régime in what they described as an attempt to return to normalcy. Normalcy for the régime meant merely the maintenance, without change, of the entire structure of apartheid in the country. Normalcy for the régime therefore meant merely the continued subjugation and degradation of the people of South Africa. The report of the Special Committee, in its section on the review of developments in South Africa, gives an exhaustive account of the physical and military acts of repression which the racist régime has inflicted upon South Africa.

At another level, in addition to the deployment of force through the elaborate network of South African police and security forces, the régime has also sought to project an air of respectability and legitimacy. A new so-called constitution by-passed the African majority and created segregated chambers for the so-called coloured people and those of Indian origin. The Pretoria régime has also announced its intention to effect certain reforms in the apartheid system and to repeal certain discriminatory regulations. But those superficial measures have had no substantive impact on the real plight of the black majority.

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

While repealing some laws, the régime made an arrogantly defiant defence of the basic policies of apartheid, which it continues to implement undiluted. The policy statement made by Mr. Botha at the National Party Congress in August rejected the principle of one man one vote and the concept of political rights for blacks in a non-racial, democratic and unitary State. Nor was any attempt made to change the substance of the régime's concept of independent homelands. The response of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his statement of 16 August left no doubt that the South African régime's statement had not altered anything. Sri Lanka fully endorses the Security Council's statement of 21 August that a just and lasting peace in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in that country.

However, the response of the people of South Africa has been the most eloquent answer to the apartheid régime's actions during the year under review. Justice is on the side of the black majority, which is fighting against a minority racist régime. The severity of the repression has not weakened resistance to the régime. Resistance has been nationwide and has involved workers, trade unions, students, community organizations and religious groups of all communities, as well as ordinary people in all walks of life, including women and children.

The report of the Special Committee states that there is greater unity and co-ordination between the armed struggle and other forms of struggle. The Assembly has sometimes been admonished on the question of armed struggle against the apartheid régime. However, it must be clearly stated that what is involved here is not a mere insurrection nor a sporadic rebellion, but a sweeping national liberation movement involving the vast majority of the people pitted against a repressive, racist minority régime.

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

The armed struggle has intensified to the extent that other means of seeking redress for the majority have been denied. There should be no confusion between the democratic national struggle of the black majority in South Africa against a racist minority and groups elsewhere in the world who resort to armed insurrection not as a last resort but as their chosen means of destabilizing or bring down Governments that represent the majority of the people.

The extent of international support for the people of South Africa has also expanded with the strengthening of the national resistance movement against apartheid within South Africa. At the same time, the apartheid régime's acts of aggression against independent African nations which are its neighbours have also increased. Meetings of the Security Council to focus attention on and take measures against acts of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring independent African States such as Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have now become a common occurrence. The threat posed by the apartheid régime is therefore one which extends far beyond the borders of South Africa to engulf the entire southern African region. South Africa has arrogated to itself the right to conduct military actions across its borders on the pretence of dealing with those fighting for the liberation of Namibia.

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

We have a curious situation here of an occupying State defending its illegal occupation of Namibia by launching military assaults against neighbouring independent African States. Sri Lanka has categorically rejected the so-called right which South Africa has claimed in this respect. South Africa has even committed aggression against States with which it has reached accords and understandings.

It is not my purpose under the current agenda item to speak at length on the situation in Namibia, which we will discuss at a later date. However, it must be stated here that South Africa's occupation of Namibia, together with its acts of destabilization, economic sabotage and espionage against front-line African States, clearly makes the apartheid régime a threat to the peace and security of the entire southern African region.

This fortieth session of the United Nations has heard a series of Heads of State and Government expressing, in no uncertain terms, their abhorrence of the system of apartheid. If this session could take effective steps to ensure the dismantling and eradication of apartheid, it would truly constitute a historic contribution. Heads of State and Government of the Commonwealth which concluded their summit last week in the Bahamas also condemned South Africa's continued refusal to dismantle apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against its neighbours. Heads of State, in making proposals to bring down apartheid, recalled the view expressed at an earlier meeting in New Delhi that

"... only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa."

It is for this Assembly, which represents the voice of the international community to consider, within an appropriate time-frame, unequivocal measures,

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

including those available under Chapter VII of the Charter, to bring down the structure of apartheid swiftly and decisively. Further delay in the establishment of majority rule would only court major disaster and prolong the agony of the people of South Africa.

Mr. Al-Mahmood (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Africa remains one of the blemishes on the glorious list of United Nations achievements in the field of decolonization and the struggle against racial discrimination. Once again the international community points an accusing finger at the racist régime of South Africa, condemning it for its dehumanization of the vast majority of the population and its denial of citizenship to this majority, whereas such citizenship is enjoyed by an aryan minority which settled in the country in the course of the odious colonialist phenomenon which has almost disappeared from the African continent thanks to the efforts of the United Nations since its creation 40 years ago.

The South African racist régime continues to deny the vast majority of the the population their right to self-determination and participation in the government of the country. The so-called constitutional reforms are but a fraud which cannot deceive anyone and which constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter as well as the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, representing the will of the international community.

It is noteworthy that the racist régime has perpetrated a series of acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, namely, Angola, Lesotho, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The régime does not confine itself to open acts of aggression, but also uses mercenaries and rebel factions to assassinate refugees and to engage in subversion, thus creating a situation that poses a danger to international peace and security.

(Mr. Al-Mahmood, Qatar)

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which entered into force in 1969 and to which 123 States - the overwhelming majority of the international community - have so far acceded, strictly prohibits discrimination between the population of any State on the basis of race or colour. It prohibits granting some of them the right to vote and denying it to another group, or the establishment of representative chambers which are separate on the basis of colour or race.

The sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the racist régime, in successive resolutions, have not borne fruit because they were not fully applied. Foremost among those who disregard the will of the international community and co-operate closely with the racist régime of South Africa is the Zionist entity which, like the Pretoria régime, is racist - a characteristic which implies that the State comprises only one segment of the population and relegates the rest to the status of second-class citizens. The serious implications for international peace and security of the continuation of such co-operation between Israel and the racist régime of Pretoria are a secret to no one.

Despite all that I said earlier, we have, in recent weeks and months, seen a glimmer of hope in the dark night of apartheid in certain areas, which would indicate that the continuation of apartheid and the intensification of acts of repression and violence by the Pretoria régime have deeply shaken the conscience of mankind, and even shaken that of the white minority in South Africa itself, as well as that of the State whose negative vote in the Security Council has always protected the racist régime against mandatory sanctions.

This hope is justified, first of all, by the fact that groups and individuals among the white population of South Africa now publicly denounce apartheid and call for an end to that policy. Among them are those who have embarked upon talks with

(Mr. Al-Mahmood, Qatar)

the representatives of the national majority in a neighbouring country, thus bringing upon themselves the wrath of the Pretoria régime. We hope that this awareness will continue to spread among the population of South Africa who had thought that apartheid could last for ever. But now some of them realize that their real interest lies in ridding their society of racism.

Secondly, some States, which, in the Security Council, used to vote against the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the racist régime and never thought of taking unilateral measures against that régime, have been obliged by enlightened public opinion in their countries to impose partial voluntary sanctions which we believe are a step in the right direction, even though they do not measure up to the needs of the explosive situation in South Africa.

Thirdly, the countries which have consistently been against apartheid and have been prepared to adopt partial measures against the Pretoria régime, are now expressing clearly and more forcefully than before their will and determination to do so either individually or in consultation among themselves.

It is therefore clear that practical and effective opposition to the apartheid régime has entered a new stage which augurs well for the ability of the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions should the racist régime continue its shortsighted policy and its disregard of the rights of the majority of the people of South Africa and, thereby, its defiance of the will of the international community.

While commending the individual measures taken by the Nordic countries against the racist régime in South Africa, we fully support their idea that active efforts must be made to induce the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It has become abundantly clear that short of this, the racist régime will not abandon its hateful policy, and that as soon as the Security Council

(Mr. Al-Mahmood, Qatar)

adopts such a resolution, we will be able to embark upon the process that will enable us to turn a tragic page in the history of our contemporary world and to go on to a new page full of promise for the population of South Africa without any distinction between communities, thus effacing a blemish from which mankind has suffered for too long.

Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): I am pleased to participate once again in the debate on this item, not because I have any new thoughts or profound solutions to break the impasse, but to reiterate and to reinforce the policy that the Bahamas Government, and indeed many other Governments, have repeatedly expressed in condemning the illegal system of apartheid to which the South African Government seems to take pride in subjecting the black majority of that country.

"Have you caddied before? I don't want a useless boy.

Take my bag of clubs.

These balls are dirty. Clean them in the water.

You must be quiet when my partner plays a shot.

Be quiet.

If you lose another ball, there will be no tip for you.

Move your shadow. Do not rattle the bag."

The above is a translation from Afrikaans of a one-way conversation between a white man and a black man. It is against this background that Mr. Joseph Lelyveld wrote his just-published novel, Move your Shadow - South Africa Black and White. This journalist has endeavoured to combine personal experience - in the mid-1960s he was expelled from South Africa and later in the 1980s allowed to return - and extensive research to portray the evil and complex nature of apartheid.

The author defines apartheid in the form of stories of squatters near Cape Town sheltering themselves from winter rain in makeshift structures of twigs and polyethylene bags, in reports of the experiences of black student leaders jailed and tortured, in reports of the legal horrors faced by a "coloured" single mother living in a "white" area, in descriptions of the lives of blacks forced to work in segregated townships hundreds of miles from their families in "homelands", in the poignant portraits of Afrikaners desperately trying to reconcile white power with some notion of justice in order to forestall a black take-over, and in the venomous declarations of right-wing fanatics.

(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

Of course, those atrocities are not new, and probably less heinous than many that we have already heard and read about, but they highlight the deplorable acts which are still occurring in South Africa as a result of the system of apartheid.

Since the beginning of 1985, there have been increased world-wide denunciation and condemnation of the acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria against neighbouring States including action against women and children. And these incursions have taken the lives of many innocent people. The cosmetic or token changes grudgingly granted to certain ethnic and minority groups have in no way lessened the gravity of the situation. In fact, those handouts have exacerbated tension and constitute a further violation of the integrity of the vast black majority of South Africa. In fact, the defiant acts coupled with meaningless posturings have alienated even those Governments which were willing to find excuses for the senseless action the Government took in declaring a state of emergency, imprisoning, arresting and banishing innocent human beings. In essence, they have made a mockery of "constructive engagement" and "quiet diplomacy".

At the meeting recently concluded in Nassau on 22 October 1985, the leaders of Commonwealth Nations adopted an Accord on Southern Africa. They agreed to several specific proposals, and have recommended sanctions that are to be implemented in a time-frame, plus others that would be taken if the Pretoria Government does not comply. My Prime Minister, Sir Lynden O. Pindling, on 23 October enumerated those decisions, which contain specific guidelines geared to free black South Africans from an unjust, senseless and unreasonable bondage.

(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

The evil policy of apartheid has had a long history and no one can claim to be ignorant of the current havoc and turmoil emanating from apartheid legislation. While much still needs to be done to bring about a change of heart in the Government, it is heartening to note that practical support is widening and strengthening. While South Africans are emigrating in very large numbers, tolerance is waning rapidly, and despite Mr. Both's intransigence, it is clear that the life of the apartheid system is limited.

It is evident to my delegation that what is mandatory is that embargoes and sanctions now in vogue must be continued vigorously, and new and more stringent measures applied to supplement existing ones. Universal pressure is very important. My delegation is convinced that if the South African Government stands alone, completely isolated from the international community, it would have no alternative but to reverse its rigid policy.

My delegation has no difficulty in accepting the definition of apartheid as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, but it finds it impossible to fathom the mentality of a Government which enforces a rule to deprive human beings of their inalienable right to life, health and fundamental freedoms solely because of the colour of their skin.

Words seem empty when faced with such belligerence and disregard by a régime which refuses to listen to reason and which sees nothing wrong in more bloodshed and increased toll of innocent lives. It is against this kind of deep-seated evil and hatred that the civilized world must fight.

Suffice it to say, the Bahamas Government stands ready to encourage the South African majority in their just struggle and to support the implementation of all measures that would bring about a just and lasting solution to a complex and aggravating problem.

Mr. HAMRA (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): The cause of the heroic struggle against the apartheid régime has entered a new phase since the conclusion of the last session of this Assembly last year. The history of that struggle records the glorious epic of the fervent revolution which is sweeping over South Africa, with a view to eliminating an abhorrent system which has affronted the conscience of mankind ever since this heinous crime against humanity was first instituted, and ever since the Pretoria régime first gave this racist approach an institutional character and adopted it as an established ideology that ignores the most elementary rights, and violates all the practices, values and ideals established by humanity throughout the ages.

Forty years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War and the triumph over nazism and fascism. That experience teaches us many lessons, from which it can be seen that the end of the apartheid system is undoubtedly coming to an end, just as the Nazi and fascist bastions were overcome, whatever the apartheid system has available in the form of means of destruction and repression.

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

If we look closely at such systems we can easily discern the fate of apartheid ideologies, which go against the will of the black majority in South Africa and of the international community. It is evident that the aggressive policies followed by the Pretoria régime, its constant attacks on neighbouring countries, its insistence on imposing its hegemony by force of arms, its consolidation of its power by nuclear weapons, threaten the peace and security not only of the region but of the world.

As it tackles the question once again, the General Assembly finds itself facing a new tragedy requiring, more than at any time in the past, integrated, organized, collective action to put an end to the abhorrent régime and force it to comply with the will of the international community. The commemoration by the United Nations of its fortieth anniversary has made clear the great concern of Member States over racial discrimination and its rejection of such a policy and its insistence on the need to guarantee the right to self-determination of the people of South Africa. That is one of the highlights of the fortieth anniversary.

The establishment of the United Nations heralded a new dawn of peace, justice, equality, human dignity, freedom and pride. It is indeed regrettable that in spite of four decades of collective work by the United Nations since then the racist Pretoria régime continues to subjugate and enslave the vast majority of the population on the basis of colour and institutionalized discrimination, which is an affront to humanity.

Recent events have revealed that the Pretoria régime continues to perpetrate its evil. It is escalating its criminal activities and terrorist attacks, repeating the tragedies of Soweto and Sharpeville in every village and city by assassinating hundreds and throwing hundreds into prison. The elderly, women and students face the bullets of the abhorrent régime with heroism. Even children do not escape the death and destruction.

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

South Africa is a vast prison, where human dignity is humiliated and where the black majority is subjected to all forms of deprivation, injustice and repression. We pay tribute to the martyrs of South Africa, to the heroism of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues who languish in the régime's gaols. The international community must close ranks today to eradicate apartheid. It must not delude itself over the so-called reforms instituted by the régime. Apartheid cannot be beautified. The matter can be resolved only by destroying its power, by guaranteeing freedom, justice and equality to the oppressed majority.

This unique session of the General Assembly must constitute a crucial starting point on the way to emancipation and freedom for the struggling peoples of South Africa. It must be a historic opportunity for us to renew our total, practical commitment to those objectives. In resolution 39/72 the Assembly reaffirmed last year the need for co-ordinated action to eliminate apartheid and proposed specific measures to that end. Our top priority now is to mobilize, to unite our activities and potential to increase the isolation of the Pretoria régime and end its defiance of United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community.

Sudan commends the positive development in the position of certain countries which have imposed voluntary sanctions against the régime. We believe that the practical and effective solution is comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter. We sincerely hope that the Security Council will for the first time impose specific sanctions in accordance with its resolutions 566 (1985), of 19 June 1985, and 569 (1985), of 26 July 1985, and that they will be a step towards the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Hesitation over the attainment of that objective will not serve the cause of freedom, justice and independence for the people of South Africa and Namibia. It

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

will have a negative impact and will jeopardize international peace and security. Any argument based on the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions and the pretext that they would harm the majority is unfounded. Freedom for the people will guarantee economic benefits; that people will flourish when it attains its freedom. Man does not live by bread alone.

Recent developments have highlighted the increased use of force by the racist South African régime against the oppressed majority and the neighbouring African countries, as well as the murder of numerous refugees. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Security Council to take the necessary measures to ensure the imposition of a total arms embargo on South Africa and the prohibition of all forms of nuclear co-operation with it. There is a need to follow-up and monitor the implementation of such measures in the light of the report of the Security Council's special Committee, established under its resolution 421 (1977), and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. In that context, we must prohibit the export of technological equipment which gives the Pretoria régime the means to impose its destructive war.

There is also a need to impose an oil embargo against the régime. We have followed with keen interest the initiative of certain countries belonging to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to impose an embargo on oil exports to the racist South African régime. While we commend such initiatives, we hope that they will be unified in order to consolidate a total embargo on oil exports to the régime, forbidding any passing of petroleum products to it by third parties.

A sports and cultural boycott is of particular importance, because of the significance of such activities. We hope that this session will provide the opportunity to reaffirm the need to intensify that boycott.

(Mr. Hamra, (Sudan))

This session coincides with the termination of the work of formulating an international convention against apartheid in sports. We pay tribute to the Ad Hoc Committee concerned for its achievement, which involved strenuous efforts. We hope that the document that has been drawn up will be a useful instrument for the international community to use in its confrontation with the abhorrent apartheid régime.*

*Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

This document will lack credibility if it is not signed and ratified by all countries of the world. We therefore appeal to all Governments to speed up the process of its signing and ratification so that it will soon enter into force and we shall see its provisions implemented.

In referring to the need to reaffirm our joint efforts to eradicate racial discrimination, we believe that the humanitarian and educational aspects are of great importance to the cause of lending support to national liberation movements and the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa. We hope that Governments and various intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations will lend the necessary material and moral support along the lines highlighted in the document adopted at the Arusha Conference last May.

The United Nations and the various specialized agencies and other international organizations have played a significant role in contributing to the total elimination of apartheid in South Africa. This goal can be achieved if there is total compliance with the General Assembly resolutions on a boycott. Regrettably, certain agencies continue to deal with banks that are still providing the racist régime with facilities and credit. We believe that it is necessary for the Assembly to appeal to the Secretary-General and the Directors-General of the specialized agencies to unify their position with a view to withdrawing their funds and ceasing any further contracting and dealings with all banks collaborating with the Government of South Africa, in order to achieve total harmony in the implementation of United Nations resolutions on South Africa. It is necessary that United Nations agencies and bodies inform the General Assembly with regard to the steps taken in this direction, and we hope that the Secretary-General will submit an annual report to the Assembly on the progress achieved.

With respect to effective measures by the international community against apartheid, I wish to mention the close alliance between the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes and their stepped up collaboration in the military and nuclear fields, as

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

well as the consequences of this alliance on the cause of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine. The aggressive nature of the two régimes and their policies and practices run counter to the aspirations of the international community as it seeks self-determination and sovereignty for these peoples. Hence the Organization must strive to achieve the implementation of its resolutions on the subject.

It has now become absolutely clear that the two régimes are responsible for undermining the credibility of the United Nations and, indeed, the hopes placed in it by the oppressed peoples. The international community is unanimous in its condemnation of apartheid in South Africa and its policies and practices; hence we are surprised that whereas the goals are common the means to achieve them differ. We call on those countries that find it sufficient to make public declarations to muster the necessary political will and join ranks with the other members of the international community with a view to imposing the necessary changes in South Africa. Much time has passed, and the only obstacle is the differing paths towards the same objective. Such delay is only lending support to the apartheid régime. The international community's efforts must combine so as to achieve swift victory for the peoples that look to this international Organization for support in their ongoing struggle. Any shirking of this responsibility will cast a slur on the conscience of mankind and will never be forgotten in history.

Mr. GARCIA MORENO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): Apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity, and the inhuman actions resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid are crimes that violate the principles of international law and in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter, constituting a grave threat to international peace and security. As is known, this is set out in article I of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the General Assembly in November 1973.

(Mr. Garcia Moreno, Colombia)

Apartheid in South Africa is the violence of racism and racial discrimination in their most systematic form. For nearly 40 years a vast corpus of laws and regulations has been enacted in order to apply and make effective the policy of apartheid.

For world public opinion South Africa represents the most ignominious forms of injustice and inequality. A nation prodigiously endowed by nature with natural resources has attained the highest gross national product in Africa and ranks first in economic levels. Nevertheless the gap between the high per capita income of the few and the very low of the many is a valid indicator of the social tensions and the conflict existing in this explosive land.

One is struck here by the one basic fact of apartheid: its victims. They include individuals, institutions and the very future of South Africa. The Africans have suffered from all conceivable kinds of disasters - from murder to humiliation; from expropriation of their lands to the most heart-breaking poverty; from the most brutal forms of incarceration to the most ruthless persecution. Their families have been split up, their careers and their education destroyed.

With respect to the bantustans in South Africa, everyone knows that these are a blatant swindle. Four-fifths of South African land has been reserved for a white minority making up less than one-fifth of the total population.

Bantustans symbolize the tragedy of the intolerable separation not only of the races but also of African workers from their dependents.

Wives, children and the elderly have been driven from the cities and forced to live in extreme poverty in over-populated areas. In those areas, where there is chronic unemployment, the separation of men from their families and of children from their parents becomes an even more heartless cruelty.

Apartheid is in essence an attack on the foundations underlying the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Garcia Moreno, Colombia)

My country reaffirms its unswerving support for the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. That Committee is carrying out a commendable task in dealing with one of the matters which most concerns and moves the international community.

Traditionally, and owing to a legislative mandate in keeping with the will of its people, Colombia has rejected and banished all forms of discrimination, whether based on race, sex, religion or any other ground. Consequently, my country unequivocally condemns all racially discriminatory practices, including those that unfortunately persist under the repulsive banner of apartheid.

In his recent statement to the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Colombia said the following:

"A blemish persists on this planet: racial discrimination is still present in South Africa. The latest events in that country have once again shown the truth about the infamous Pretoria régime, which, in the words of Pope John Paul II, undermines the entire human race." (A/40/PV.4, p. 78)

We share the Secretary-General's view that apartheid is the most dangerous social and political poison. Apartheid is the cause of a threatening, violent situation and of a social tragedy which is the source of immeasurable suffering.

In his statement yesterday, Mr. Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, said:

"In the last 12 months, more than 800 people have been killed - most of them at the hands of the police and security forces and 250 of them in the last two months, since the state of emergency was proclaimed in parts of the country. The number of injured is much greater, and at the last count over 4,000 persons had been arrested, detained and banned in the same period. The great majority of the legitimate and indigenous black leadership are behind bars, and some of the most prominent among them are facing trial on treason

(Mr. Garcia Moreno, Colombia)

charges. Against that background of relentless violence and bloodshed, what hope can still be reasonably entertained for a peaceful settlement of the South African crisis?" (A/40/PV.51, p. 7)

Colombia shares those sincere concerns and the deep anxiety of the international community at the deterioration of the situation in South Africa. The historically irreversible time has now come to put an end to crime and violence and to ensure that justice will prevail in that part of the world.

It is appropriate here to give two quotations from Bishop Desmond Tutu, last year's Nobel Peace Prize winner.

When the Security Council was meeting on the question of South Africa, he said that South Africa

"is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder-keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all up into kingdom-come. There is endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed." (S/PV.2560, p. 31)

In his book, Crying in the Wilderness, Bishop Tutu said:

"I long for a more open, fairer South Africa, in which the people count and have equal access to the good things of life, with equal opportunities to live, work and learn. I long for a South Africa where there is equal, unimpeded access to the courts of the land, where detention without trial is something that happened in the horrible past, where no one even mentions banning orders and other arbitrary acts, and where the rule of law holds full sway."

An unpardonable error is committed by régimes which forget and deny the following statement in the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

"recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." (resolution 217 A (III))

(Mr. Garcia Moreno, Colombia)

South Africa, however, has ignored and defied the appeals made by all countries and the peaceful demands of the United Nations. The South Africa Government is mistaken if it thinks it can solve its problems through unacceptable constitutional reforms which leave intact the foundations of the apartheid system.

Colombia supports the view that continuous and more rigorous international pressure against South Africa is vitally necessary to convince that Government of the urgent need for the peaceful abolition of apartheid.

Apartheid poses a constant threat to the independence and territorial integrity of African nations and undermines their efforts to achieve economic and social progress. On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations it is imperative to mobilize the international community to ensure that it acts as the gravity of the situation demands.

We speak with admiration of those noble symbols of resistance: Biko, Mandela and Tutu, and so many others who are nameless.

The United Nations must act decisively in the struggle against racism. It is the duty of the Organization and of all men to defend the natural, inalienable right to be born free and equal. Consequently, Colombia has committed itself firmly to shoulder its responsibility towards its brothers in Africa, whose enormous grief at the ruthless execution of the poet Benjamin Moloise it shares.

Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Events at the present session of the General Assembly have clearly shown that the situation in South Africa and the fight against apartheid constitute one of the most urgent problems of contemporary history and that this problem must be solved forthwith. The scope of the anti-racist demonstrations by the enslaved majority of that country has become truly massive. The situation has deteriorated and has, indeed, become explosive, because the racist régime of Pretoria, blatantly

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

trampling under foot the legitimate rights of the indigenous population of the country and ignoring the will of the international community, is obstinately striving to perpetuate the apartheid system, strengthen the domination of the white minority and implement its so-called constitutional reforms.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

However, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of South Africa, including the so-called Coloureds and Indian population, rejected the hypocritical reforms of the racists which do not affect the foundations of apartheid. The attempts of the Pretoria régime to make out that they are in favour of progressive reforms and peaceful efforts as opponents of violence were unable to delude anyone. These manoeuvres were rejected by the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the non-aligned movement, just as it was rejected by the indigenous population of South Africa.

It is over three months since a state of emergency was introduced in the country, allowing full freedom of action to the police and army of the racists. Pretoria has thrown all its repressive forces into battle against the patriots of South Africa. As a result, the blood of fighters for freedom and justice is being spilled once again, indiscriminate searches are being carried out and the torture chambers of the racists are overflowing. This year alone the police and army have killed about 750 people. Repression and cruelty are being practised even against children. In recent months, hundreds of adolescents were killed in cold blood or mutilated. Thousands of opponents of apartheid were thrown into gaol. The whole world was shaken by the cruel fate of the South African poet Benjamin Moloise, executed by the racists despite protests by the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the international community.

However, notwithstanding the terror unleashed by the executioners, popular demonstrations against apartheid have not been stilled. Patriots are expanding their fight against the racist régime.

This fight is taking many forms: strikes by students and workers, acts of civil disobedience, boycott of firms and shops applying racist rules and mass protest demonstrations as well as armed action.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Considerable alarm is being caused by yet another cycle of aggressive acts undertaken by Pretoria against independent African States. The attacks against Angola and Botswana, subversion and destabilizing activities directed against Mozambique, Lesotho and other countries, as well as the policy of repression inside the country have but one aim: to perpetuate the domination of racism in the area, and to suppress the desire of African peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

As before, despite the unambiguously expressed will of the Namibian people through its legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the United Nations and the international community in general, the South African régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and is preparing a neocolonialist future for it.

All these acts of the Pretoria régime clearly confirm the fact that the reactionary policy and practice of apartheid constitute a crime against mankind and a serious threat to international peace and security, as was directly proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The events in South Africa have given rise to a wave of protests throughout the world. Pretoria's actions have been condemned by the Security Council, other United Nations bodies, the non-aligned movement, the Organization of African Unity, the Governments of many countries, eminent statesmen and political leaders, and by public opinion. The socialist countries, including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, condemn most resolutely the crimes of the apartheid régime and fully support the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa.

Even the traditional allies of the racists in the West recently tried to dissociate themselves from the crimes of Pretoria. In general, however, their policy remains unchanged: verbal condemnation but in fact support and connivance.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The position of the United States of America is particularly characteristic in this respect. Verbal condemnations, so-called soft sanctions full of reservations and loopholes, have not led to any noticeable changes in Washington's position towards the apartheid régime. They are an attempt to evade real sanctions, whose adoption is blocked in the Security Council by the United States veto. As a result of the so-called constructive engagement with the Republic of South Africa, the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated dangerously, South Africa's aggressive acts against neighbouring States have been intensified, efforts to settle the Namibian problem have reached a stalemate, and the apartheid régime has taken on an even more repressive character. The Special Committee against Apartheid in its report to the General Assembly was quite right in pointing out that United State policies "have been the most serious hindrance to international action against apartheid". (A/40/22, para. 348)

South Africa's militarization at a steadily increasing rhythm and Pretoria's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons are a source of particular alarm.

It is well known that, in the development of its military machine, South Africa is to a very large extent - and in the creation of its nuclear potential is fully - committed to co-operation with the United States, some of its NATO allies and Israel. In document A/AC.131/179, the United Nations Council for Namibia has noted that the South African corporation engaged in the development and manufacture of armaments not only uses its own production facilities but depends on about 800 private sector contractors, including many local subsidiaries of United States and Western European companies. These subsidiaries produce a range of weapons, including naval equipment, armoured vehicles and heavy artillery. All the subsidiaries operate under stringent secrecy laws. Many examples of military and nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa are given in the report submitted by the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/40/22/Add.2).

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

All this testifies to the fact that decisions of the Security Council, its resolution 418 (1977) concerning an embargo on the delivery of weapons or ammunition to South Africa are still not being fully implemented by some Western countries and Israel. In this connection one can only agree with the conclusion of the Special Committee against Apartheid that

"The developments in the past year - particularly the extensive use of the armed forces by the apartheid régime for intervention in Angola, the murder of refugees in Botswana and violence and repression against the people of South Africa - underline that any form of assistance to the military, police, intelligence or other forces in South Africa is nothing less than complicity in the crimes of the apartheid régime." (A/40/22, para. 374)

The main conclusion that can already be drawn from an analysis of the general debate and of discussions on this item at the fortieth session of the General Assembly is clear: the existence of the apartheid régime can no longer be tolerated. It is high time to take effective measures for the complete and final liquidation of this hotbed of racism, colonialism and aggression in southern Africa. This is one of the main tasks confronting the United Nations at this stage.

The Ukrainian SSR firmly supports the demand for the total and immediate cessation of all forms of co-operation with the South African régime. The adoption of specific and effective measures to close the loopholes in the embargo on the delivery of weapons to South Africa is of importance in ensuring its proper implementation.

(Mr. Sofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Security Council resolution 418 (1977), relating to the embargo on the delivery of arms to South Africa, was later supplemented by resolution 558 (1984), which requested all States to refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa. Both resolutions were supported by the Ukrainian SSR in the Security Council. Our Republic fully abides by the United Nations decisions and recommendations to isolate and boycott the South African régime and does not maintain any relations with it.

The Ukrainian SSR takes an active part in the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid which, under the leadership of its Chairman, Joseph Garba, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, is doing yeoman work in unmasking the policy of the Pretoria racists and helping the national liberation movements in southern Africa and anti-apartheid movements throughout the world.

The Ukrainian SSR unswervingly supports the appeal to the Security Council by the African countries members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and the General Assembly that the Council immediately impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions, in conformity with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, against South Africa. The obstructionist position adopted in this regard by some Western Powers must finally be overcome.

Pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, it is necessary, we fully agree, to take measures such as those set forth in General Assembly resolution 39/72 and Security Council resolution 569 (1985), the programme of action adopted by the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries in April and the declaration by the Special Committee against Apartheid of 28 March this year.

An important part in the fight against apartheid and to isolate the racist régime of South Africa could be played by an international convention against apartheid in sports, a draft of which has been introduced by the Ad Hoc Committee

(Mr. Sofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

that has been actively working on such a convention for several years. We support that draft convention.

The Ukrainian SSR is at one with the people of South Africa who, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), are waging a legitimate struggle against the reactionary Pretoria régime, with all the means at their disposal, to eradicate the policy and practice of apartheid and for their freedom and independence. We assist the national liberation movement of South Africa politically, morally and materially.

The mass information media of the Ukrainian SSR keep the population well informed about the various aspects of the fight against apartheid, the activities of the United Nations in that field and the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Throughout our Republic we celebrate international days of solidarity by meetings and public assemblies, as well as by organizing exhibitions and conferences.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a member of the Security Council and in the United Nations in general, unswervingly pursues a policy designed to bring about the full and immediate eradication of apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa. Our position of principle on the question of the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid are also set forth in detail in various replies to questionnaires from the Secretary-General. That position remains unchanged. We have always been on the side of those fighting against apartheid, racial segregation and discrimination, against all forms of oppression and exploitation and against colonialism and neo-colonialism, in southern Africa or elsewhere. Apartheid, buttressed by bayonets and dollars, will inevitably be blown away by the hurricane of the wrath of the South African people. There is no place for it on our planet.

Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania): The current debate on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa is taking place at a time when the apartheid régime is facing a political crisis, when repression and violence against the oppressed people of South Africa have been intensified and new measures have been adopted aimed at the consolidation of the illegal colonial occupation of Namibia, and when we are witnessing an increase in the aggressive nature of the provocative, destabilizing and subversive actions taken by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring independent African States. In the period under consideration opposition to the apartheid system has been strengthened. The movement for freedom and social justice has gained new supporters among the population at large and has spread throughout the entire country. The struggle for liberation has also been intensified throughout southern Africa within the overall context of increasing opposition by the people of the entire world to the policy of force, oppression and domination.

The serious deterioration of the situation in South Africa in particular and all of southern Africa in general emphasizes even more strongly the imperative need for new, rapid and effective measures for the elimination of the policy and practices of apartheid in South Africa in order to ensure stability in that region and international peace and security. In this regard we join those who feel that it is high time to begin to fulfil decisively the special responsibility assumed by the United Nations to secure recognition of the right of the oppressed people of South Africa and all the other peoples of southern Africa to freedom, progress and national dignity and to forge of their own destiny.

More than ever before, at this session of the General Assembly Member States have forcefully shown their total and essential opposition to apartheid and have vigorously condemned the attitude of the racist régime in denying the basic civil and political rights of the majority of the South African people and defying United Nations resolutions regarding southern Africa. The United Nations, which 40 years

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

ago proclaimed peace, freedom and justice to be among its ideals, has committed itself to bend every effort to bring about the elimination of apartheid and its root causes and to ensure enjoyment by the oppressed people of South Africa of their right to equality and social justice.

The imperative need to begin fulfilling these commitments acquires a particular significance and increased urgency this year when mankind is commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism, which, as is well known, used racism as one of its repulsive political and ideological tools for dispersal for the justification of genocide and expansionism, to legitimize racial and national inequality and for oppression and domination. Apartheid is nothing but an expression of the policy of racial supremacy raised to the level of State policy, and the denial of basic human rights, equality and human dignity.

That is why we believe that, in order to respond properly to the extremely grave and explosive situation in South Africa, the starting point for our actions should be the elements agreed upon thus far by the United Nations in its consensus with regard to the policy of apartheid.

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

Such a consensus has already been reached in the General Assembly with respect to the harmful, immoral and inhuman character of apartheid, described as a crime against humanity. Member States have unanimously denounced and rejected apartheid as being in flagrant contradiction of the basic principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In unequivocal terms the United Nations has established that in this regard its final objective should be the elimination of the policy and practices of apartheid and racial discrimination and the establishment of a democratic society based on the assurance of equal rights for the entire population, without discrimination as to race, colour or creed, and on national advancement, equality and social justice. That objective was reaffirmed in the declaration by the President of the Security Council on 21 August 1985 when, in a statement which he made on behalf of the Council, he stated that

"A just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa." (S/PV.2603, p. 4)

However, despite repeated appeals by the overwhelming majority of Member States, unanimous agreement has not yet been reached on the most appropriate means of fulfilling that final objective. The failure so far to reach unanimity on the most effective measures that would lead to the actual elimination of the appalling system of apartheid is due to the policy of co-operation with the racist régime of certain Western countries, which have always opposed and blocked requests of the overwhelming majority of Member States for the application of global sanctions against South Africa. That fact has been perceived by the racist régime - as has been stressed more than once by the African countries - as an encouragement of its attitude of arrogant rejection of the appeals of the United Nations and the African

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

countries for the opening of a constructive dialogue leading to the settlement of the racial conflict in South Africa, the elimination of tension in the region and its actions of insolent infringement of the norms of international behaviour.

As mentioned in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, without consideration being taken of the opposition of the African majority to the so-called reform of the apartheid system, the new constitution and the denunciation of that constitution by the international community, the racist régime has begun to implement its programme for the restructuring of its policies concerning the ethnic groups, a programme that includes three quarters of the total population of South Africa from the country's political life. It has become obvious that the goal is to sow discord among the oppressed population and to strengthen the supremacy of the racial minority. Those measures have brought about a growing wave of protests throughout the country against the manipulation of the reform of the system of racial segregation, demanding the abolition of apartheid, the release of political prisoners and the establishment of a non-racial society.

In defiance of the struggle, the demands of the African majority and the appeals of the international community, the rulers in Pretoria have resorted to unprecedented criminal acts which reached a climax in an escalation of violence and repression with the proclamation of a state of emergency in 36 districts where the anti-apartheid movement had registered an unparalleled upsurge. The police and the army were given discretionary powers. That was followed by firing on demonstrators, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, the suppression of the opponents of apartheid and even by premeditated killings, such as the execution of the black militant, Benjamin Moloise, and the brutal repression of any attempt by the population to stand up against the apartheid rules. Those measures have resulted in hundreds being killed and thousands injured.

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

The aggressive nature of the policy of apartheid at the same time found its expression externally during this period in repeated provocative acts to intimidate and destabilize the entire southern region of the continent, and to obstruct by force the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

Developments in this period prove once again, if proof were needed, that the only way to resolve the racial conflict in the Republic of South Africa and the tension in that zone is not to be found in arrangements to reform apartheid but in the eradication of that out-dated system based on racial supremacy, a policy of force, expansionism and domination, in the fulfilment of the demands of an oppressed people struggling for the enjoyment of its fundamental rights of freedoms and the aspirations to freedom and independence of all peoples in southern Africa.

The wide campaign of solidarity throughout the world with the struggle for social advancement in the Republic of South Africa, the debates in the Security Council during this year on the acts of aggression against Angola, Botswana and other neighbouring independent African States and even the measures - although of a very limited nature - recently adopted by certain Western countries that co-operate with the racist régime in Pretoria as well as statements made during the current session of the General Assembly, all reflect an increasingly broad understanding of the imperative need of effective and rapid actions to respond to the gravity of the situation in South Africa.

We believe that the commitment of all States to the achievement of that goal and renunciation of positions of reservations, expectations and duplicity towards events in South Africa, would respond to the voice of reason and the will unanimously expressed during the commemorative session of the General Assembly regarding the strengthening of the role, authority and influence of the United

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

Nations and the better use of the Organization as a centre for harmonizing effective action by all Member States to resolve the major issues facing mankind.

In its heroic struggle to eliminate the apartheid system, for freedom and democracy, the oppressed people of South Africa has always enjoyed the militant solidarity of Socialist Romania and the Romanian people. Romania has condemned and continues resolutely to condemn the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and to give active support to the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, to the African National Congress (ANC) and to other national liberation movements which are fighting for the eradication of the apartheid system and the last remnants of colonialism on the African continent and for the upholding of the cause of justice, freedom and human dignity.

That consistent position has found its expression in numerous State and Government documents and in Romania's activities within the framework of the United Nations and other international organizations to support the rights and freedoms of the African majority and was reaffirmed on the occasion of the summit meetings between President Nicolae Ceausescu with leaders of the African States and the national liberation movements. On those occasions the leader of the Romanian State underlined the importance of the unity of all peoples for the political solution of various disputes and situations of tension in the world, including those in southern Africa, and emphasized the need to eradicate policies based on racism and apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and the bringing about of a democratic State which would ensure the full equality of rights for all the citizens of the country, regardless of colour, race or ethnic criteria.

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

Expressing indignation at the measures of violence and brutal repression perpetrated recently by the racist régime, the Romanian people and public opinion in Romania have reaffirmed their full support for the just struggle of the majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa for freedom, justice and a life in dignity and have requested with determination the immediate cessation of the repressive acts committed by the the racist minority régime against the oppressed people of South Africa, the ending of the state of emergency and of the other abusive measures and the release of political prisoners and of the patriots who have been arrested.

Our country's position on the situation in South Africa has recently been reiterated by President Nicolae Ceausescu, who resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid and gave expression to the full solidarity of Romania and the Romanian people with the struggle of the popular masses of that country to ensure their vital right to participate in full equality in the governing of the country.

In this spirit, we join with those delegations who have demanded that the United Nations act now and take decisive and effective measures in support of the oppressed people of South Africa in its struggle to put an end to the repulsive policies and practices of apartheid.

We are convinced that the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, which enjoys broad support throughout the world, will inevitably lead to the abolition of the shameful system of apartheid and to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the South African people to freedom, equality and social justice.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The 40-year history of the United Nations is also a history of the struggle against the racial policy pursued by the white minority in South Africa. During last week's commemorative session, almost all Heads of State or Government gave priority to the struggle against the policy of apartheid.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

The community of the United Nations has in numerous resolutions expressed its indignation at the crime of apartheid. The United Nations Security Council has repeatedly condemned the Pretoria régime and adopted relevant decisions, among them the mandatory arms embargo in resolution 418 (1977). In 1985 alone, the Council had eight debates to deal with the situation in southern Africa. Two of the debates were held right at the beginning of this anniversary session of the General Assembly. In defiance of world public opinion, the historically doomed régime of apartheid had again attacked a peaceful and sovereign neighbouring country, the People's Republic of Angola. That was another proof of the fact that a growing dangerous threat to international peace and security emanates from Pretoria. Certainly, State terrorism has long been part and parcel of the apartheid régime, but over the last few months the use of force inside and outside the country has assumed a new dimension, demonstrating more clearly than ever the nature of the massive and gross violations of human rights.

Therefore my delegation is happy to see the agenda item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" being dealt with by the General Assembly right after its general debate and the commemorative session. There is indeed no time to lose. We have to send a resolute and unanimous message to the racists in Pretoria. Yesterday's deeply moving statement by Bishop Desmond Tutu here in this Hall made it clear that the oppressed people of South Africa cannot be helped with half-hearted actions.

The rejection of the practices of apartheid has become world-wide today. In addition to the front-line States, the non-aligned countries and the socialist States, it has spread also to Western countries. There we attentively notice frequent specific actions, from protests and demonstrations to restrained boycott

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic
Republic)

measures or even the breaking off of relations with the racist régime, a radical measure taken long since by the socialist States and most of the non-aligned countries.

The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, whose activities under the chairmanship of Ambassador Joseph Garba we highly appreciate, has in its latest report recorded the events in southern Africa that have occurred during the last year. They furnish proof that the terror of the racists has escalated since the introduction of the so-called constitutional reforms. The warning expressed by so many delegations at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly has thus become alarmingly true.

According to the politicians of the apartheid régime, their foreign policy, for instance, was to undergo a change. They spoke of a so-called policy of good-neighbourliness, and professed their alleged readiness for peace and understanding. Yet in reality attempts to destabilize neighbouring States not only continued unabated but were systematically escalated.

Only a few days ago the South African Air Force launched another air raid against Angola. This was done in further pursuance of a policy of armed aggression, which had already been denounced on 20 September and 8 October, in resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, as violations of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Also, the South African plot with the counter-revolutionary MNR gangs on the territory of Mozambique continues. At a recently held press conference, the Minister of Security, Sergio Vieira, proved with the help of confiscated documents that Pretoria was permanently violating the Nkomati Agreement of March 1984.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic
Republic)

Zimbabwe's Minister of Security, Emerson M'nangagwa, has accused the Botha régime of preparing, in a secret operation, the infiltration of increasing numbers of diversionary groups into his country. These permanent attacks launched against front-line States and the continued support of bandits in the neighbouring States provide clear proof that Pretoria has never been willing to seek a peaceful settlement in southern Africa.

Likewise, South Africa continues to oppose a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, as called for in the decisions of the United Nations Security Council. My delegation will have an opportunity to explain its position on that issue at a later date.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

In July this year racist Pretoria declared a state of emergency. That was nothing but an official acknowledgement of the failure of its so-called policy of reforms which had been praised in many Western quarters. The demand by millions of South African citizens for the implementation of their human rights, for a life free from humiliation and discrimination and for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa was answered by the rulers in Pretoria with murder and mass arrests, the victims of which included even children.

Open terror, brutal oppression of the majority of the population by the inhuman racist clique, more and more judicial murders and acts of terror perpetrated against the people of South Africa in revolt - all this is an expression of the continuing aggravation of the situation inside the country. Partial concessions to preserve the racists' power and cosmetic operations were replaced again by naked force. However, that attempt to prolong the existence of the hated system is a sign not of strength but of growing desperation, and its potential consequences are unpredictable.

The escalation of State terrorism pursued by the apartheid régime in the past few weeks shows the whole world how ineffective and demagogic are the measures which leading Western countries called sanctions. The so-called constructive engagement policy of the United States and some of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies is in reality a policy of all-round political, economic and military support for Pretoria. The report of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the hearings on the activities of transnational corporations and the Khalifa report all clearly denounce the comprehensive engagement displayed by Western States and their monopolies in South Africa and Namibia.

Equally alarming is the collaboration between Israel and South Africa, which is increasing particularly in the military and nuclear fields. In view of the

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

aggressive policy pursued by those two States, their fateful collaboration represents a grave danger to the world.

Hence the question must be asked most emphatically: for how long do certain Western countries intend to keep alive that régime, ostracized all over the world, hated by its own people and long since historically doomed to failure? How can they still speak of democracy, self-determination and human rights and shed crocodile tears over terrorism, while tolerating and supporting the State terrorism of the Botha régime inside and outside the country? Do those imperialist circles by their verbal declarations not only lose credibility but also make themselves guilty and bear the responsibility for the crimes of the apartheid régime? The reasons for that double standard of morality and for their deceitful policy are obvious. What they want is to rescue the strategic positions of imperialism in southern Africa. So-called constructive engagement and political and diplomatic, as well as economic and military, support for South Africa are inseparably linked with global ambitions of predomination and superiority.

The aggressive and inhuman apartheid régime is intended to act, further, as an imperialist spearhead directed against the process of national and social liberation in Africa and against the independence, democracy and progress of the African States; and, not least, it is their intention to obtain and enlarge the super-profits of transnational corporations in the region.

My country's position on the situation in southern Africa has been and is unambiguous. It has been reaffirmed in the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of 23 October 1985 as follows:

"The participants in the meeting resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid conducted by the Republic of South Africa and the mass repressions against the indigenous African population and insist that any support to the racist régime

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

in Pretoria cease. They insist on putting an end to the acts of aggression, interference and military intervention by the imperialist forces against Angola and the other States in southern Africa."

We regard the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council as the decisive means for the eradication of apartheid. In this we are at one with the position held by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

In the framework of the international struggle against apartheid, the elaboration of a legal instrument plays an important role. That was illustrated by the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. An instrument of precisely that kind for isolating the apartheid régime in the field of sports would be the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. We call upon all States to agree to the relevant draft resolution contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Ad Hoc Committee on its successful work.

The murder of Benjamin Moloise, in impudent defiance of the progressive world public, including the United Nations General Assembly, its Security Council and the Secretary-General personally, is but another link in the chain of Pretoria's crimes. Names such as Sebokeng, Crossroads or Langa - scenes of racial terror witnessed over the past 12 months - can no longer be deleted from the memory of the peoples; but the massacres by the white henchmen cannot extinguish the fire of resistance of the oppressed people.

The united front of South Africa's fighting people under the leadership of the African National Congress is unbroken. The call for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and of all imprisoned patriots becomes

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic
Republic)

louder and louder. The militant political actions of the past few months are, as the General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions put it, a sign of the beginning of the end of the racist régime. We can and in fact we must contribute to bringing about the end of the apartheid régime as quickly as possible.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

