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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 30 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Vice-President)	(Philippines)
later:	Mr. DE PINIES (President)	(Spain)
later:	Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Vice-President)	(Costa Rica)
later:	Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President)	(Cyprus)

- 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
- Organization of work

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 - (d) Report of the Special Political Committee

In the absence of the President, Mr. Moreno-Salcedo (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

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: Before calling on the first speaker I should like to request representatives, in accordance with annex V, paragraph 71, of the rules of procedure, to speak in the order of their inscription on the list of speakers, on the understanding that those prevented from doing so will be moved to the end of the list for that day, unless they have arranged to change places with other representatives.

I should also like to inform members that, owing to the large number of speakers inscribed to speak on the present item, the debate will continue tomorrow morning. On Thursday afternoon the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):

Despite the fact that the United Nations has realized the evils of the policy of apartheid, has given that question the utmost prominence and included it on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1952 and conducted extensive discussions since that time, despite all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the elimination of apartheid and the fact that the international community has consistently called for the ending of that crime committed not only against the people of South Africa and Namibia but also against humanity as a whole, a crime representing a shame which can be obliterated only through the liberation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia from this oppressive practice - despite all that, the apartheid régime persists in perpetuating its policy and depriving the African man of his most fundamental rights. Every day, in open defiance of the international will, it violates human rights and subjects the people of South Africa to the most brutal forms of exploitation, suppression and oppression. It also subjects them to the most brutal acts of imprisonment, torture and murder, not for any crime, but merely because the African man is calling for justice, equality and freedom. By imposing a state of emergency, the racist Government of South Africa has turned South Africa into one large prison.

South Africa is today witnessing a huge popular uprising which represents a new chapter in the epic struggle by the peoples of South Africa to attain their basic human rights. Notwithstanding the savage acts of oppression committed by the racist Pretoria régime, despite the mass killings, imprisonments and detentions, despite all forms of oppression - which affect all categories of the people, including trade unionists, workers, students, clergymen and even children - and despite the fact that it is pursuing the militants and charging them with treason merely for struggling to eliminate the evil of the system of apartheid - despite all these criminal acts committed by the racist régime, the resolve of the people

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

of South Africa to eliminate the system of apartheid and to achieve equality for all citizens has been further strengthened. Hence the escalation of the armed struggle and resistance, despite the criminal acts of intimidation.

In the face of this uprising, the Pretoria régime is trying to strengthen its nuclear and military capabilities and has stepped up its military expenditures for the period 1984-1985 by 21.4 per cent over the period 1983-1984, as set forth in detail in document A/40/22. All that may turn South Africa into a focal point of persistent tension, as it continues its aggression against neighbouring countries, intimidating them and perpetuating the policy of apartheid in South Africa. The white minority régime, in a desperate attempt to stem the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, a struggle which is escalating every day, is resorting to every means, including the mass expulsion of populations to so-called tribal homelands, or bantustans, which are nothing but mass detention camps for the blacks. It also bans all meetings by organizations which oppose the policy of apartheid.

All the acts committed in the framework of the aggressive policy of South Africa and all its savage terrorist acts which are carried out within the framework of the policy of apartheid throughout the country will not prevent the achievement of the goal towards which the people of South Africa are striving through their daily sacrifices, that is, the establishment of a society based on freedom and equality without any discrimination and the elimination of oppression and domination over the people of South Africa, so that people may be liberated and given its human dignity, and the instruments of oppression may be destroyed.

Not only is the apartheid régime, which represents a continuing aggression against the vast majority of the population of South Africa, committing inhuman acts in South Africa and Namibia but it has gone beyond that to play havoc with

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

and bring instability to southern Africa as a whole. It commits acts of aggression and carries out repeated military attacks against Lesotho, Botswana and Angola, in order to undermine the infrastructure and impede the development of those neighbouring countries. Despite these abhorrent policies and acts of aggression committed by the racist régime in South Africa and despite all the resolutions of the United Nations which call for refraining from all dealings or co-operation with that régime, certain Western countries are still maintaining close co-operation with the racist régime and provide it with material and moral assistance. All forms of economic, political and military assistance given to the racist régime in South Africa will encourage that régime to persist in its oppression and aggression. The call by the imperialist countries to adopt a policy of appeasement to stop the struggle of the people of South Africa and to follow what is called a policy of constructive engagement will be of no avail, because that only protects the racist régime and delays the inevitable elimination of the evils of apartheid.

The sham reforms instituted by the apartheid régime in South Africa every now and then, such as the new constitution, only entrench the policy of apartheid and, constitute a ploy, a manoeuvre, which cannot deceive the people of South Africa and the international community.

The racist régime of South Africa is still receiving support from another racist régime, namely, the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. This is not surprising, because the racist nature of the two systems has united them and prompted them to maintain close co-operation in all fields. The document A/40/22/Add.2 has outlined the forms of this co-operation in the nuclear, military, economic, academic, cultural and sports fields, and that document contains the following statement:

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

"The collaboration between Israel and South Africa is not limited to recruitment of engineers and technicians but includes exchange of visits and expertise in the military and nuclear fields as well as participation by soldiers from each country in the military exercises and training. It was reported that Israel encouraged South African Jews to travel to Israel and to serve in the military for a month each year." (A/40/22/Add.2, para. 20)

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The nuclear co-operation between the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine and the racist régime in South Africa threatens the security of Africa and the Arab nation as well as international peace and security.

The policy of apartheid is a crime against humanity and against human dignity. The international community should intensify its efforts to eliminate that policy. The plight of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under apartheid and occupation, requires effective measures by the international community to eliminate the evils of apartheid and to establish a democratic system that responds to the will of the broad masses and that ensures equality, freedom and justice, without any discrimination. It also requires unlimited support for the armed struggle by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to achieve dignity within a society based on the equality of all, without regard to race, colour or belief.*

The United Nations and in particular the Security Council should impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the South African régime to induce it to abandon the policy of apartheid and to ensure that majority rule is established and the people of Namibia gain their independence. The terror and torture practiced by the South African régime, the perpetuation of the policy of apartheid in South Africa, the defiance of United Nations resolutions, and the acts of aggression committed against neighbouring countries, as well as the strengthening of the minority régime's military and nuclear capabilities, make it imperative that the international community impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions in order to eliminate the South African cancerous régime.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believes that the policy of apartheid must be eliminated. Therefore, since the Revolution of 1 September 1969 it has boycotted

*The President took the Chair.

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

the apartheid system in South Africa in all fields, and it has imposed a comprehensive ban on all dealings with that system.

In conclusion, I pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for the efforts it has made to mobilize world public opinion against the policy of apartheid. We pay a tribute also to efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports; that convention will be another contribution to the elimination of the evils of apartheid.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Forty years ago, after a cruel war fought at enormous cost to mankind, the Nazi-Fascist forces were defeated. Today, 40 years later, the international community continues to witness a crime against humanity which those very forces responsible for the last world conflagration are perpetrating in South Africa. Today, 36 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, apartheid continues to violate each and every one of its provisions.

In no other part of the world is racism so blatantly embraced and brutally imposed as in South Africa. All the aspects of South African social life are strictly regulated by a racist classification of the population. The Africans make up more than 75 per cent of the population, but they are not entitled to live in 87 per cent of South African territory, which is reserved for whites. The Africans have suffered and continue to suffer today from all kinds of discrimination: in employment, at school, in hospitals and in recreation facilities. That is the result of a policy deliberately implemented by the white minority in that country and institutionalized through a complex set of laws that are imposed through brutal repression. Those who see in apartheid a simple expression of racial intolerance

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

are mistaken. Racism is an integral part of the system and the way the system operates; but the ultimate goal is the political domination and exploitation of the immense majority of the South African population.

The policy of bantustans, where millions of blacks have been compelled to live as prisoners in their own land, boundless repression, massive arrests, murder: that is only the tip of the iceberg of this aberrant system.

The nature of apartheid and its survival are no coincidence. The racist policies have been and continue to be necessary to the development of recalcitrant capitalism. It is that capitalism that is maintaining apartheid, providing breathing space for it and tolerating it.

The sub-human treatment and cruel exploitation of the black labour force - slave labour - the labour regulations used by the employers to reduce production costs, are very seductive to Western economic enterprises which invest in South Africa. That advantage, linked with Pretoria's willingness to act as an imperialist gendarme in southern Africa and in the South Atlantic, have made South Africa the most valuable ally of imperialism, whose relations are as strong as they are obvious.

The cruel internal repression, the policy of constant aggression against and destabilization of the front-line States and the illegal occupation of Namibia are the result of the policy of apartheid followed by the South African régime, which, by its very essence, requires terror if it is to survive.

It is clear that the Pretoria régime poses a permanent threat to international peace and security. Consequently, we cannot aspire to altering or reforming it. Our only and constant goal must be the total, final elimination of apartheid. Only then can there be peace, security and justice in that part of the world.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

It is equally clear that the inhuman policies of apartheid are tolerated by those who, in clear defiance of United Nations appeals and resolutions, maintain trading, financial, military and diplomatic relations with that régime.

One must reflect with alarm about the rapidity with which the Nazi policies have been forgotten by some countries that were the victims of nazism and are today the strongest pillars for the survival of the apartheid régime.

It must be recognized that pressure for effective international action against apartheid has grown over recent years. Some major Western countries have begun to take unilateral action to reduce their economic and trading relations with South Africa and have expressed their support for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Nevertheless, co-operation at all levels - military, technological, financial, commercial and cultural - between the United States of America and the South African régime continues practically unaltered. Similarly, we see a continuation of the hypocritical and false policy of "constructive engagement". It is a secret to no one that that policy is intended merely to perpetuate the hateful régime and, with it, foreign interests in South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

Repression in South African has attained a level where all the oppressed sectors have joined together to oppose the tyranny. The insurrection of the population is the inevitable consequence of those repressive policies.

Notwithstanding this ruthless repression, the daily killing of black patriots and the virtual state of siege in which the majority of the South African population lives, the resistance of the South African people grows day by day. This dramatic intensification of the liberation struggle in Namibia and in South Africa itself is so serious that it prompted Major-General Clark of the South African forces to say that they were currently living in economic, ideological and military circumstances normally associated with a general state of warfare.

The South African people is clearly determined to do its very utmost to achieve its right to equality, justice and self-determination. This has prompted some to criticize the so-called spiral of violence in South Africa, a criticism designed to avoid pointing the finger at South Africa, which is mainly responsible for the situation. South Africa is to blame for the destruction of regional peace and stability. Attitudes such as these are encouraging Pretoria to consolidate its power through an intensification of new forms of repression, through a continuation of its illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression against frontline countries.

The situation is explosive and must not be allowed to continue. South Africa's allies today have an opportunity to demonstrate their love of democracy and freedom.

In South Africa and Namibia there are no champions of freedom like those who, under orders from Washington, are attempting to overthrow the legitimate revolutionary Government of Nicaragua. My delegation wonders why the United States is taking the liberty of wandering all over the world, overthrowing totalitarian

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

Governments, and yet not providing assistance to South African patriots in their struggle against the apartheid tyranny.

As far as the United States Government is concerned, in the case of South Africa suspension of freedoms is irrelevant, as is the indiscriminate killing, the torture and the forced relocation of millions of blacks in the bantustans. As far as President Reagan is concerned, apartheid does not exist; Namibia does not exist; the policy of State terrorism practised by South Africa against the frontline States does not exist. Similarly, the Middle East, with the illegal occupation of Arab territories and the systematic violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people do not exist; just as Latin America does not exist, even though today, with the Contadora Group, it is determined to find a peaceful negotiated settlement to the grave Central American crisis.

But our peoples, the South African people, the Palestinian people and the Central American peoples, know who our common enemy is. The makeup is no longer working. Apartheid is condemned by history and history will in its turn condemn those responsible for perpetuating this hateful régime.

The international community must be more pugnacious. It must demand respect for United Nations resolutions and the implementation of the embargo and sanctions against racist South Africa.

Nicaragua supports the proposal by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to hold a world conference on sanctions against South Africa which should coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Soweto insurrection in June 1976.

The international community has a responsibility to support the South African and Namibian peoples in their just struggle. As long as apartheid lives on, humanity as a whole will be in slavery. The community of nations has the challenge and obligation to give its utmost support to the liberation movements in Namibia

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

and South Africa. There can be no peace in southern Africa as long as the rights of the great majority are violated with impunity. There can be no peace as long as heroes such as Nelson Mandela and thousands of other patriots remain prisoners. There can be no peace as long as there is a Namibia which continues to be occupied and plundered. There can be no peace as long as policies of aggression and destabilization continue to be directed against brother front-line countries. There can be no peace as long as apartheid exists.

The heroic struggle of the South African people will continue. One cannot assuage the wrath of a people which has taken the decision to free itself. We Nicaraguans well know this experience and hence our support for the just struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) is unconditional and active. It is that of brothers fighting to attain freedom, justice and peace.

Mr. KEISALO (Finland): The Government of Finland is gravely concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in South Africa and the increasing violence and bloodshed. The state of emergency proclaimed by the South African Government has only intensified the conflict between the Government and the majority of the South African people. The limited reforms implemented so far are of no significance as they do not alter the basic features of the system. Only abolition of apartheid, together with recognition of the civil and political rights of all South Africans can provide the basis for a peaceful and democratic evolution of South African society.

Within the United Nations, Finland, in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries, has worked towards the eradication of the racist system in South Africa and towards the transfer of power in the country to a freely and fairly elected Government. It is our conviction that the best way to put pressure on the South African Government is through joint and unanimous measures by the international community.

(Mr. Keisalo, Finland)

We have emphasized the significance of binding sanctions by the Security Council. In the prevailing situation the South African Government offers extremely limited options to the States Members of the United Nations. When persuasion and appeals are to no avail, sanctions remain the only means. Finland has consistently demanded effective mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council which, we are convinced, would lead to desirable results.

Although the international climate has changed sanctions have not yet proved to be attainable. In the meantime, therefore, Finland, with the other Nordic countries, has decided to take unilateral measures in order further to restrict its economic and other relations with South Africa. We urge other countries to adopt similar measures to increase the international pressure on the South African Government. Furthermore, measures recommended in Security Council resolutions 558 (1984) and 569 (1985) as well as General Assembly resolution 39/72 G on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid should be implemented by all countries and especially by the major trading partners with South Africa.

In 1978, the Nordic countries adopted a joint programme of action against apartheid. Less than two weeks ago this programme was revised and extended by the Nordic Foreign Ministers. It has been circulated as United Nations document A/40/754. The Nordic countries will work in the United Nations for the adoption by the Security Council of sanctions in such areas as investment, trade and transport as well as for strict compliance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on an arms embargo. A joint boycott of oil transport is one element of this policy.

(Mr. Keisalo, Finland)

At the same time the Nordic countries themselves adopted a number of further unilateral measures which they will implement on a national level. The major part of those measures is in the economic field, including the prohibition or discouragement of new investments or the granting of loans, and full implementation of the measures recommended in Security Council resolution 569 (1955). Furthermore, the Nordic countries will increase their humanitarian assistance to refugees and liberation movements, along with victims and opponents of apartheid, as well as increase assistance to the front-line States, to other countries of the southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and co-operation with these countries in order to reduce their dependence on South Africa and thus increase their ability to withstand South Africa's policy of destabilization. Finland regards this work as a dynamic on-going process. The Nordic working group will continue to consider and evaluate possible new measures against South Africa.

Although our relations with South Africa are already reduced, the Government of Finland will shortly introduce new legislation to implement further national measures concerning trade and economic relations with South Africa. Our direct and indirect assistance to the liberation movements and oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia will also be further increased.

Apartheid generates violence not only internally but also externally. The South African Government, through ever-increasing military aggression and economic pressures, has tried to destabilize neighbouring States and attempted to force them to fall under its dominance. Those acts of aggression constitute a serious obstacle to international peace and security and have consequently been unanimously condemned by United Nations Member States. The South African Government has been unable to give any acceptable explanation of those acts - simply because there is no explanation.

(Mr. Keisalo, Finland)

In our statement in the General Assembly last year we referred to Bishop Desmond Tutu and his work for a negotiated solution to the South African dilemma. This year we are encouraged that, despite an ever-worsening situation on the ground, he has consistently and without fear insisted on the beginning of the dialogue between the Government and authentic representatives of the South African majority. We are encouraged that, although time is threateningly running out, he still sees a chance for a peaceful change in South Africa. We stand with him in demanding the immediate abolition of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the free return of those in exile and, ultimately, the dismantling of the repressive system of apartheid. To that end, for the United Nations, for its Security Council, for each individual Member State, the time to act is now.

Mr. SIKALU (Zambia): I should like at the outset to commend the Special Committee against Apartheid and its distinguished Chairman, Ambassador Garba of Nigeria, for continuing to play an essentially active and important role in the international mobilization against apartheid. The Special Committee enjoys the full support of Zambia and its reports to the General Assembly, which contain a wealth of information, are without doubt of immense value.

It is fitting that the General Assesmbly is at this meeting taking up the question of apartheid soon after the general debate and the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The priority given to the consideration of this item is totally justified, given the fact that a confrontation of apocalyptic proportions is now rapidly unfolding in South Africa between the forces for change, the oppressed black majority and the racist minority régime which is desperately seeking to perpetuate the scourge of apartheid.

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

Apartheid was long ago declared by the international community to be a crime against humanity. Many of our countries, in advocating the eradication of apartheid, have repeatedly pointed out that that system is inherently violent and that it is in itself a threat not only to regional peace and stability but also to international peace and security. That, of course, is apart from the fact that apartheid was conceived and is being practised as an instrument for white minority domination and exploitation of the black majority in South Africa.

Who can now doubt that apartheid is violent by its very nature? Almost on a daily basis, the international community has in the last year seen on television the bestialities of the South African police and military forces, heard about them on the radio or, indeed, read about them in newspapers and magazines. These bestialities of the South African police and military forces have been and continue to be directed at innocent men, women and children who dare to protest against apartheid and all that it represents.

It has not mattered to the apartheid régime that those people have employed non-violent means of protest. It is enough that they have dared to protest. Hundreds of them, in fact well over a thousand, have been killed in cold blood by the apartheid régime. Many others have been maimed, detained and tortured. Indeed, a state of emergency has been imposed by the régime in many parts of South Africa.

Only a few days ago Bishop Desmond Tutu addressed the Special Political Committee. True to his character and reputation, he spoke with moderation, reason and objectivity about the situation in South Africa, his own country. He explained his own endeavours to encourage a process of peaceful change away from apartheid and minority rule to the establishment of a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, founded on majority rule. The Pretoria régime, as he told the Special Political Committee, has not only spurned his efforts in that direction but has even denied him the courtesy of a meeting with Mr. P. W. Botha.

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

Bishop Tutu is one of the many voices of reason that have been heard throughout the tortured history of South Africa. Allan Boesak, a close colleague of Bishop Tutu, suffered the fate of detention for trying to be reasonable in his advocacy of peaceful change away from apartheid in South Africa; and, needless to say, the African National Congress has tried literally for decades to work for peaceful change in South Africa, only to have many of its leaders, including Nelson Mandela, end up in prison on Robbin Island.

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

The events now taking place in South Africa clearly show that the patience of the oppressed majority has run out. They are now out in the streets demonstrating in word and deed that they can no longer tolerate the system of apartheid which has oppressed, dehumanized and exploited them for too long. They want it eradicated now and they are prepared to pay any price for its eradication. They have endured so much suffering and debasement for too long at the hands of the apartheid régime that for them the line between life and death is now no more than philosophical - it does not exist.

Thus, they are no longer afraid of the terrorism practised against them by the régime. They are on the march to freedom, and even the most dastardly forms of police and army repression will not stop them.

It is important that the international community not be confused about the situation in South Africa. The apologists for the Pretoria régime seem intent on convincing the world that that régime is moving gradually away from apartheid. The so-called changes in the apartheid system which are announced by the Pretoria régime from time to time are hailed by them as significant and deserving of encouragement by the international community. Thus, we are time and again admonished to be careful in order, as it were, not to upset the apple cart.

The truth of the matter is that the Pretoria régime has not embarked on any changes away from apartheid. It remains as pathologically committed to apartheid as it has ever been. The so-called changes that have been introduced have been intended to put a better face on apartheid while at the same time ensuring that it remains intact. The calculation of the Pretoria régime in that regard has precisely been to hoodwink and confuse the international community and, within South Africa itself, to divide the oppressed people. The heart and soul of apartheid has not been touched in any way by the so-called reforms undertaken by

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

the régime. In any case, as we have repeatedly pointed out, apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be completely eradicated.

There is no question at all that all our countries profess abhorrence of the system of apartheid practised by the South African régime and that we condemn it in various statements we make. On that we are all united and, perhaps, on the need to eradicate that evil system as well. It is also true that there are divergent views in this Assembly on how best and most quickly to contribute to the eradication of apartheid. Ideally, those divergent views should not exist and we should all be working together, united in a common objective.

But let us honestly say that the divergent views which exist in the Assembly on how to deal with the problem of apartheid are essentially between a minority of two or three States and the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. The position of the majority of States Members of the United Nations, which is also increasingly finding popular public support in all countries - and is, indeed, also the position of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements - is opposed by a minority of two or three Governments represented in the Assembly.

Now it is all very well to talk about the need for us to have a common position in order to send a strong signal to South Africa. Indeed, that is desirable and we should do all that is necessary to find common ground. But would it not be an act of self-righteousness for a minority of two or three States continuously to reject the position of the majority and to seek to convince the latter to abandon that position and instead to embrace the minority position in the interest of unity? Is it only by embracing the minority view that we would be sending strong signals to South Africa? Could it not be that the minority of States, holding a view that is not generally shared, need to reconsider their position?

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

Yes, the problem of apartheid is not a new one. The United Nations has been discussing apartheid for many years. Everything has been done to plead with, persuade and cajole South Africa concerning the need to end apartheid. South Africa has not responded. Therefore, we are not advocating economic sanctions against South Africa merely for the love of sanctions. The oppressed people are not out in the streets risking their lives for the love of violence and bloodshed. The liberation movements of South Africa are not resorting to armed struggle for the love of war, with all its consequences.

It is important that we have a sense of history. We have reached this stage precisely because of the intransigence of the South African régime. Those who oppose the view of the majority of States Members of the United Nations are in fact not suggesting anything new. The Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, which is an official document of the United Nations - to give but one example - is eloquent in its advocacy of peaceful change in South Africa.

And we are, of course, not saying that we want to write the constitution for South Africa. That, we acknowledge, is the responsibility of the people of South Africa themselves. That is why we have repeatedly called for negotiations between the white minority régime and the authentic leaders of the oppressed people.

In advocating economic sanctions against South Africa, we have always stressed that they are, in our view, the only remaining available peaceful means to bring about change given the intransigence of the pretoria régime. Sanctions are intended to contribute to an early solution of the problem of apartheid in South Africa and to minimize the amount of blood shed in that country.

The same countries which oppose sanctions against South Africa have been quick to impose them against other countries, without regard as to whether or not they would work or, indeed, adversely affect innocent people for whom they were not intended. And in their opposition to sanctions against South Africa, those

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

countries are not categorically saying that they are opposed to sanctions per se and that they will not under any circumstances apply sanctions against any country anywhere in the world. Thus, we cannot but wonder as to what their real grounds for objection are.

It is of course not pleasant for any country to belong to the category of allies, friends, supporters or defenders of South Africa. But the reality of the situation is that there are countries in this Assembly which are always reluctant to act decisively against South Africa. The Pretoria regime considers them its friends and allies and some of them have openly stated that South Africa is an ally. But more importantly, their reluctance to act against South Africa, their at times ambivalent statements and their recourse to the veto in the Security Council in order to prevent against South Africa have had the effect of encouraging South Africa in its defiance of the United Nations and its intransigence, whether in respect of apartheid, Namibian independence or its relentless acts of aggression against and its destabilization of independent African countries in the region.

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

It is perhaps for that reason that South Africa purports to be the bulwark against communism in southern Africa and the custodian of Western values.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the situation in South Africa is extremely grave. It is a situation that calls for urgent and bold steps by the Pretoria régime in order to avert a catastrophe. As my President, His Excellency Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, stressed when he addressed the General Assembly on 22 October 1985, South Africa needs now to do the following: first, declare unequivocally that apartheid is a dead issue and that President Botha is prepared to meet the genuine leaders of the oppressed people to discuss the future of South Africa; secondly, lift the state of emergency; thirdly, lift the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and other political parties and, fourthly, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

I need not also refer to the collective position adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their recent meeting in the Bahamas. That position was adopted after serious, protracted and difficult discussions. Zambia hopes that South Africa will heed the position of the Commonwealth and that, if it does not do so within a period of six months, the further measures envisaged by the Commonwealth Heads of State will be instituted against it.

The international community as a whole cannot be a mere spectator of the unfolding catastrophe in South Africa. Everything possible should be done to make apartheid a thing of the past and to create in its place a free and democratic society for all the people of South Africa.

Last, but not last, I wish on behalf of my delegation to commend the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports under the chairmanship of Mr. Besley Maycock of Barbados, for having successfully completed its work. The importance of the draft convention in the onslaught against apartheid cannot be overemphasized. It is therefore Zambia's

(Mr. Sikaulu, Zambia)

hope and expectation that the General Assembly will adopt it unanimously and that all States will now move expeditiously to sign and ratify the draft convention.

Haji OMAR (Brunei Darussalam): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to extend our warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at this fortieth session. Your dedication and vast experience in the United Nations are well known, and under your able guidance we are confident that this session of the General Assembly will come to a very successful conclusion. For its part, the delegation of Brunei Darussalam will spare no effort in co-operating with you as you carry out your tasks in the difficult months ahead. I would also like to join preceding speakers in expressing our gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, for his invaluable contributions to the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

One of the issues that has taken so much of the time of both the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council year after year is the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa. This year the General Assembly is once again focusing its attention on this issue. In fact, it is placed high on the Assembly's agenda, indicating its importance and the fact that the elimination of the appalling policies of apartheid and the racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa are matters of great urgency.

The 24 million blacks in South Africa continue to be victimized by the racist régime, which confers political rights and privileges on the white minority alone. The discriminated majority are deprived of their social, economic and political rights, as well as denied citizenship in their own ancestral land of birth.

The current situation in South Africa offers no prospect for an early solution that would bring peace and security to the country and to the region as a whole. The long-suffering people can no longer bear the oppression and repression. For them, the time for verbal appeals and patience is over. In desperation, the black

(Haji Omar, Brunei Darussalam)

majority has been resorting to violence in their fight for freedom and justice. Violence seems to them to be the only way to get their voices heard and their needs satisfied.

The deplorable situation we are witnessing today in South Africa is clear evidence that the apartheid policy has no place in the civilized world. In its vicious imposition of the worst form of human segregation, the Government of South Africa is now confronted by its worst crisis ever, internally and internationally. The country is racked with racial unrest that is approaching the proportions of a revolution. Demonstrations, riots and boycotts by the people are the order of the day. They are met by massive arrests and the torturing and killing of innocent and defenceless men, women and even school-children. The explosive situation in South Africa is further aggravated by the declaration of state of emergency that was imposed on 36 districts in the Cape Town area. This was an excuse for the Pretoria régime to indulge in more massive arrests and killings. Such actions, however, did nothing to silence or dampen the spirit of opposition to the régime's humiliating practices. On the contrary, the violence continues.

The hostilities of the racist régime did not stop at its own borders. The occupying South African forces in Namibia are using that country as a base from which to launch armed attacks against the independent African States of the area. Angola, for instance, has been a constant target of aggression for the past 10 years. Other countries that have been suffering from the same treatment include Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe. Unless the scourge of apartheid is eliminated, lasting peace and stability can never be achieved in the region.

Brunei Darussalam may be small in size and far away from South Africa. But we are not oblivious to the cruelty and hostilities inflicted by the South African régime on its people. My country, unilaterally or in solidarity with other

(Haji Omar, Brunei Darussalam)

nations, would not hesitate to condemn the racist régime. Brunei Darussalam rejects apartheid in all its manifestations. It is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and security. Apartheid must be completely dismantled; it should never be allowed to reestablish itself again.

(Haji Omar, Brunei Darussalam)

The obnoxious policies of South Africa should never be defended or allowed to persist. In this connection Brunei Darussalam commends the efforts undertaken by a number of developed countries in imposing mandatory economic and military sanctions against South Africa. We believe that concerted international action would bring South Africa to its senses and cause it to begin reconsidering its policies and practices of apartheid and racial discrimination. We strongly urge other countries to take similar measures to exert further pressure on South Africa to change its policies.

If South Africa is sincere about putting an end to the present violence in the country, it should heed the universal call for negotiations between the Government and the representative of the black majority. An atmosphere conducive to the initiation of such a process must be created, through the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other black political prisoners, among other things.

Finally, we once again urge the Government of South Africa to end the oppression of its people. Resort to violence will not solve the problem. The violence has to stop. The people must be allowed to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination and to establish a just Government which promotes peaceful coexistence among South Africans.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): Once again the General Assembly is called upon to consider the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa, and we must admit, albeit regretfully, that apartheid continues to exist. But it must be acknowledged also that there have been many significant developments in the South African situation since the General Assembly adopted its resolutions on the same subject last year. Events in South Africa have been widely reported and almost the whole world is now united in its abhorrence of the apartheid system. We differ only on how to eradicate it. I do not propose, therefore, to rehearse all

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

the arguments against a system already adjudged by the international community a crime against humanity and the human conscience. My delegation is of the view that the debate at this stage should, rather, focus on what needs to be done immediately to advance the demise of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa.

Since the General Assembly last considered the matter South Africa has been in ferment. The downtrodden and exploited blacks have now risen up against exploitation and have left the racist régime in no doubt as to their total rejection of apartheid or their desire for a free, non-racial and democratic society. The murderous reaction of the racist régime, on the other hand, is well known but has nevertheless shocked the world by its brutality. It has left over 800 black South Africans dead in the streets and thousands more wounded. In order to stem the surging tide of demonstrations against apartheid, the Botha régime has been compelled in the last couple of months to announce some hurried reforms, in the hope that they will appease black South Africans and the international community.

These so-called reforms deserve a comment or two, especially since some friends of South Africa, particularly in Western Europe, are already attempting to use them to drum up support for the Botha régime. We believe that the reforms so far announced do not go far enough and are, in any case, essentially a repackaging of apartheid to make it more acceptable to the international community. They do not totally eradicate white minority dominance, racial discrimination, selected citizenship or exploitation of the blacks. By what stretch of the imagination can they prove the good faith of the racist régime? Indeed, my delegation seriously doubts the ability of the present South African régime to eradicate apartheid. The situation calls for a fundamental change, not the cosmetic reforms that are being held out.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

It must be understood that the rapid developments in South Africa, in the last six months especially, have been due first and foremost to the extreme pressure brought to bear on the racist régime by black South Africans and simultaneously by the international community. A combination of the pressures by both groups has achieved the purpose of severely undermining the arrogance and security of the racist régime and is forcing it to come to terms with reality. It would be tragic, therefore, if we were to ease international pressure at this crucial time. We are not against negotiations to resolve the conflict now raging, but they must be negotiations to end apartheid and not to buy time for it. The young black South Africans will not settle for less, and it is not our duty to persuade them to be half free. It is imperative therefore that the international community continue to isolate South Africa, to apply sanctions against it, to refuse to invest in its economy, to deny it loans and other forms of credit and generally to take measures that will compel Botha and his régime to give up the apartheid system.

The measures I have mentioned are tantamount to sanctions and therefore need further clarification because of the current debate on sanctions as an instrument of change. There is no doubt that sanctions are punitive, but they are also legitimate under the Charter and international law. Furthermore, they are regarded by those of us who advocate them as the last pacific means of resolving the violent and already threatening situation in South Africa. If we fail to use sanctions as a world body then we shall be condoning the injustice, racism and violence that apartheid entails.

Some other arguments heard from those that are reluctant to authorize sanctions against the racist régime are that sanctions would hurt black South Africans and neighbouring countries in southern Africa rather than destroy white South Africa. These reasons are at best disingenuous, as many have already proclaimed from this rostrum. The vast majority of black South Africans currently

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

have a standard of living that cannot be lowered any further, no matter what happens to the country's economy. Sanctions, therefore, would affect them only marginally. The truth is that it is the privileged white minority that, in the event of sanctions being applied, would experience a significant drop in its lifestyle. Even then it is hoped that sanctions would amount to a short, sharp shock that would destroy apartheid and return the country once again to peace, justice and prosperity. Sanctions, it must be emphasized, are not meant to be permanent. They would be removed as soon as possible. They are meant only to hasten the collapse of apartheid.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

As regards the plea that sanctions would hurt neighbouring countries, my delegation wishes to clarify that sanctions are a bitter pill that the neighbouring countries have already decided, at the subregional level, to swallow. After serious deliberation, they have categorically stated, through the South Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) that they preferred suffering the pangs of sanctions for a relatively limited time to living perpetually under the shadow and exploitation of apartheid. It is also an economic fact that those neighbouring States could have better economic relations than now with a free and democratic South Africa. Let no one, therefore, purport to speak for a group of countries that have eloquently stated their own case in favour of sanctions.

One leading Western country has become rather notorious for obstructing the imposition of sanctions on the grounds that they do not work. Quite apart from the fact that the country itself has recently used sanctions against a Member State of the United Nations, logic compels us to ask, if it really believes that sanctions are inefficacious, what harm can be caused by applying them? The real reason for this isolated posture is not hard to find, but we appeal again to that country to join the vast majority of the international community in imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the only country in the world that has legitimized racism and employs State violence and terrorism to maintain it.

Also before us is the draft international convention against apartheid in sports, which took a long time to prepare because of the intensive consultations entailed. On the whole, it is acceptable to my delegation. A few questions have been raised, however, about its article 10, or what is popularly referred to as the "third-party principle". We recognize the concern of countries that have commented on it; however, we would also urge that the convention be seen as part of the many international actions to be taken to ensure a quick end to apartheid. In that respect, the convention should have only a limited life-span. But, more than that,

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

we ask that delegations understand that the inconvenience that the article will cause us is miniscule compared to the harsh suffering that apartheid entails for about 27 million people. If we collectively enforce the convention, with its third-party principle, apartheid, which is already on the retreat, would be eliminated soon, but if we hesitate, or are too mindful of our own sporting luxury, the racist régime will regroup and seek to preserve its sick system in the face of a feeble international protest.

Side by side with the final push against the racist régime in South Africa must be greater assistance to the national liberation movements which are primarily responsible for the struggle against apartheid and colonialism in South Africa and Namibia. My delegation would like to express its sincere gratitude to the Eastern European countries and the Nordic countries for the assistance that they continue to offer the national liberation movements; but those who are conversant with the movements know that more is still required from the international community if they are to survive.

The plight of women and children is of special concern to Ghana, since they have almost become the forgotten victims of apartheid. Their plight is buried in poverty, disease, malnutrition and illiteracy as they struggle to subsist under spartan conditions. Their children know no luxury and cannot even spell it, and yet they will be required to contribute tomorrow to the new eras in South Africa and Namibia. My delegation urges a special appeal to the international community to come to the immediate assistance of the national liberation movements to save lives and to prepare them for the return to their respective homelands. The Special Committee has a report on the subject in which specific projects are proposed for adoption by countries, agencies and non-governmental organizations. We hope that the report on the plight of women and children will help in

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

determining the right and most suitable form of assistance for the national liberation movements.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to state that the General Assembly has an obligation in law and in morality to seek an end to apartheid quickly, and we must not shirk that responsibility. The present situation in South Africa is dangerous and must be resolved without any further prevarication. We are disappointed that since the session commenced six weeks ago, during which time blacks have been murdered almost daily, this Assembly did not see fit to act urgently in one manner or another to ease the violence and confrontation there. Still, there is a burning need to act and act decisively now, and we urge delegations to join in calling upon the racist régime to enact legislation soon to abolish completely all apartheid laws, lift the state of emergency and repeal the Internal Security Act in particular, grant full citizenship to all South Africans without distinction, free all political prisoners immediately and unconditionally, especially Nelson Mandela, and initiate talks with acknowledged leaders of the black majority.

Until these demands are met the international pressure should continue by the addition this year of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime. In again underscoring our belief in global and compulsory sanctions, we by no means reject the modest collective agreement reached on limited sanctions by the Commonwealth at its meeting recently in the Bahamas. Indeed, we welcome it as historic, but the General Assembly need not trail behind the Commonwealth initiative. On the contrary, it should build upon it by widening its scope and endowing it with mandatory attributes. We believe that this is the best way of ensuring the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a free, democratic and non-racial society strongly rooted in the principle of "one man, one vote". We hope that this Assembly will not fail South Africans at this crucial hour.

Mr. MAKEKA (Lesotho): Sir, even though my Head of State, during his address on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary commemoration, expressed his felicitations to you on your unanimous and well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this fortieth session, permit me to echo those sentiments, since this is the first time that I have addressed this Assembly. As one of your Vice-Presidents, I feel honoured to serve under you, because of your experience, tact and skill in United Nations diplomacy. We feel proud in assuring you of our unswerving support and our preparedness to co-operate with you in your arduous work.

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

A year ago, I stood at this very rostrum to express my country's indignation at the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Our position of taking a firm stand against the inhuman system is well known and I need not repeat it here.

Last week we were celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Indeed, my own Head of State came and addressed the General Assembly and, like many other speakers, he reminded us that, sadly, it had to be admitted that in the last 40 years the United Nations had failed to eradicate the scourge of racism and apartheid from this planet. Despite the fact that since its inception this Organization has been seized of the issue of apartheid in South Africa and its off-shoot, the illegal racist occupation of Namibia, the walls of apartheid remain undented. How could it be otherwise when all we do is talk and talk year in and year out? How could it be otherwise if a major Power comes to this very rostrum and makes no reference whatsoever to an issue of concern to all the world community, such as apartheid?

Over the past 40 years of the existence of the United Nations, the people of South Africa have witnessed the strengthening and heightening of the brutality and the inhumanity of apartheid. Their voices of opposition to oppression and enslavement by the white settlers met with banishment, house arrest and detention. The advocates of peaceful protest, like the Lithulis, were subjected to this treatment. It became clear from the very beginning that the oppressed masses were dealing with a different type of human being, who saw a black as nothing but an animal whose worth was only as a source of cheap labour. In the 1960s the oppressors became even more vicious, murdering in cold blood over 60 Africans protesting peacefully against the unjust pass laws. From that time on, South Africa was ruled by the gun, and indeed opposition to apartheid was dealt with

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

viciously and swiftly. In was in that period that the Mandelas and other African leaders were imprisoned, while others fled their motherland to engage in resistance from without. The apartheid machinery had become so brutal by then that it became clear that the white settler was not prepared to listen to reason. The Africans were left with no choice but to resort to the language of the oppressor: armed struggle - which means violence against violence. Thus, when Africa was rejoicing at freedom and independence just gained, the white settler in South Africa was turning the clock back to the dark ages.

In the 1970s the situation went from bad to worse. A peaceful protest of young school children in Soweto against inferior education, designed to produce servants and meted out to them in a hated language of the "master" so-called Africans, was met with brutal bullets, which left hundreds dead while thousands were forced to flee the country. Those who were arrested were not better off, because like the Bikos they were murdered by their captors even before trial, or they were left for the apartheid courts to murder. The most recent victim was Moloise, who was hanged despite repeated appeals from all corners of this globe.

What is happening now, in the 1980s, is very much on our minds. Thanks to technological advancement, we see on a daily basis the brutality of apartheid in our very homes. We read about it in newspapers. Even those who for many years refused to listen to reason and see apartheid for what it really is have nowhere to hide their hypocritical ignorance - unless of course they deliberately close their eyes and ears to what is going on around them. Who could imagine that six whites can be killed on a daily basis without the West, particularly the United States, taking immediate and effective measures against the perpetrators? Yet, as I speak now, Africans are being butchered in South Africa by guns manufactured and supplied by some Members of this Organization. Since September 1984, thousands of Africans

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

have lost their lives while protesting against a system which is as evil as, if not worse than, nazism - a system declared to be a crime against humanity because it is abhorrent to all decent people. The oppressors argue that only 800 or so Africans have been killed, when we know that twice that number has fallen victim to apartheid's guns. The words used by Bishop Tutu the other day when he addressed the Special Political Committee still ring in our ears.

How can the oppressed people of South Africa rejoice at the United Nations being 40 years old today? To them the last 40 years have been hell, and today represents only another day of mourning. Our dismal failure as an organization to live up to our very own Charter with regard to apartheid South Africa and to Namibia is enough to cause us to mourn during this period. We should mourn because we stood by helplessly as the apartheid monster was growing up, devouring with unprecedented ruthlessness those who stood up against it. And yet we had the power to do something about it.

The South African authorities have proclaimed themselves to be reformist. They have gone and are going to many Western capitals pleading that they need time as they are unable to effect changes overnight. In fact, one of them is on record as having said that he is not prepared to die in defence of apartheid. But the record is clear and speaks for itself. What reforms are they talking about? They first introduced the so-called President's Council; they then introduced a racist-oriented so-called tricameral parliament, which did nothing but entrench white domination. They abolished or intend to abolish the so-called Immorality Act and its sister law, the Mixed Marriage Act; and now they talk of South African citizenship even for blacks that live in so-called independent bantustans and the abolition of the hated Influx Control Act, with its pass law system. They are therefore surprised when rioting and unrest continue unabated - indeed, on the

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

contrary, is on the rise. One of them even remarked: "What more should we do? Surely we must be given credit for what we have done". Those words were addressed to the Western capitals, and not to the real parties to the dispute, the oppressed masses of South Africa.

The South African authorities are missing the point because they are talking to the wrong parties, and as a result they do not know - or if they know, they pretend not to know - what is at issue in the present problems facing them. Secondly, even at this late hour the South African President still says he has restrained himself and can make things worse if he is pushed too far. More and more South African territory is coming under direct military rule, by the so-called state of emergency, which is nothing but a stage of siege. We know that the so-called townships were designed and built in such a way that they can all be bombed in one day, without harming "the God-chosen white race". Those who survive the bullets are being thrown into gaols in the thousands. Church and civic leaders of the oppressed, particularly the leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), are gaoled without charges, and those that are charged are put on trial for treason. All these steps are but a recipe for more bloodshed and for more violence.

Lesotho is right at the heart of South Africa, since we are completely surrounded by this giant, which is militarily and economically powerful. Owing to our geopolitical location and colonial history we are heavily dependent on South Africa. Indeed, I have noticed that South Africa has circulated to Members of this Organization a magazine entitled "South Africa, the Mainstay of Southern Africa". This paper shows how dependent on South Africa are countries like Lesotho. The message to the Assembly is loud and clear. It is this: if it imposes mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa, the countries listed therein will suffer. South Africa has for a long time argued that sanctions will hurt blacks more than

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

whites and now we hear a lot about sanctions hurting neighbouring black States like Lesotho. These cries are falling on willing ears in some quarters of the Western world. Indeed we have heard these sentiments being orchestrated right here. Once again, through the help or assistance of its friends, South Africa is avoiding the real issue which must be tackled squarely - and sooner rather than later.

We know that sanctions are going to hurt Lesotho. South Africa has made it clear that if sanctions are imposed on it because of apartheid, it will pass them on to or literally reimpose them on neighbouring countries. President Botha stated clearly that he would repatriate all foreign workers, often referred to as migrant workers, if sanctions were imposed. Let me remind the Assembly that South Africa, which is so worried for us about sanctions, has not hesitated to impose them on us with impunity. South Africa has closed our borders unilaterally, to the detriment of our economic well being; South Africa has imposed an arms embargo on us. Even as we speak now, South Africa is refusing to allow transshipment of some of our arms supplies still lying in Maputo, Mozambique. We must express our thanks to those Western countries, particularly the United States, that assisted us in getting some of these weapons to transit through South Africa on to Lesotho. It took us more than five years to get one package of oil supplies from Maputo to our capital city of Maseru, because South Africa was refusing permission for this oil to pass on to Lesotho. Many private investors who wanted to invest in my country have been threatened and frightened away by South Africa.

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

In 1982 the capital city of Maseru was attacked by the South African Defence Force and 42 people were killed, 12 of whom were our citizens while the others were South African refugees and visitors. Over the years, particularly since 1980, my country has been subjected to armed incursions from South African territory, resulting in deaths and the destruction of property. Nearly two weeks ago the capital city of Maseru, which is situated on the border with South Africa, was attacked by mortar shells from South African territory. On 22 October 1985 six women and a man were murdered in their sleep in a village on the border of South Africa, the assailants fleeing into South Africa, as usual. Yesterday the South African authorities informed us that the South African Defence Force would be conducting military exercises along the borders of Lesotho. We have pleaded with South Africa not to go ahead with its planned exercises.

The list of these acts - which to us are nothing but sanctions and pressures - is long, but I would mention that South Africa has not confined these acts to Lesotho. The same treatment is being meted out to other neighbouring countries. Armed attacks against Botswana and Angola, the latter being attacked more than three times this year alone, are on record in this Organization. Mozambique has been subjected to armed insurgency by RENAMO, trained, armed and financed by South Africa. None of our countries is safe as long as apartheid exists. We are being destabilized and punished allegedly because we harbour the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Yet all we have done is to receive bona fide refugees, most of whom are schoolchildren. Every time the fury of apartheid is unleashed the number of refugees increases, and in blind anger Pretoria hits left and right.

The irony of the hostage situation in which we find ourselves is that, despite all this, South Africa and its allies expect us to stand here and say, "Please stop

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

sanctions because they will hurt us. We are literally being asked to oppose the demands of the South Africans for the dismantling of apartheid, for freedom and for equality. In short, we are being asked to defend apartheid.

There is no apartheid in Lesotho. We have nothing to do with apartheid except to be on the receiving end of its wrath. We have made it clear to all that the problem of South Africa is nothing but apartheid. We have even told the South Africans themselves that if they were to dismantle apartheid nobody would be talking about sanctions. Apartheid is inherently evil and violent and as such it cannot be reformed. We cannot dictate to the South Africans, but we can advise the present authorities that they must not wait until white people start to die and the whole region is engulfed in the inferno of a racial bloodbath. The present riots cannot for long be confined to the so-called townships. Nobody is asking this Organization to save South Africa from itself. Members are being asked to use their influence, collectively and individually, to persuade the South African authorities to accept the inevitable and avoid a catastrophe.

South Africa must release Mandela and other African leaders and start a meaningful dialogue with them to map out the future of that beloved country, freed from the scourge of apartheid. South Africa must learn from its white businessmen, Church leaders and others who were bold enough to talk with the ANC leadership because this is the only way to peace in South Africa and in our region. There must be no half-measures. Those who profess support for peaceful change in South Africa must stop talking about minority rights, because they have never said a word over the years about majority rights. They must avoid hedging on the real issue, which is the need for an end to apartheid in all its forms now, and not tomorrow, because tomorrow may be too late.

(Mr. Makeka, Lesotho)

In conclusion, permit me to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its dedicated Chairman, Ambassador Garba, for a very lucid report and work well done. The Lesotho Government is studying the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and will pronounce its position in due course.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to an item which had been scheduled for tomorrow, agenda item 14. The importance of the subject of apartheid and the long list of speakers have somewhat delayed our proceedings. However, since the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) must leave tomorrow afternoon for Vienna, for urgent reasons, I have to ask the Assembly if it has any objection to our taking advantage of the presence of the Director General of the IAEA in New York by enabling him to present the report tomorrow at 10.30 a.m., after which we would immediately resume the debate on the subject of apartheid, which is so important to all delegations, as demonstrated by the many statements that have already been made in the debate.

I call on the representative of Mozambique on a point of order.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): I listened very carefully to what you have said, Mr. President. Unfortunately, since you did not go into detail about the reasons why we should interrupt this debate but just informed us that the Director General has to go back to Vienna tomorrow afternoon, my delegation finds it very difficult to go along with your suggestion. We believe that the subject of apartheid is a very important one. At this very moment people are dying in South Africa, at least six are dying every day. We find it very difficult to accept that we should interrupt this debate at this time.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): That is why I asked the Assembly whether it had any objection to our calling on the Director General of the IAEA tomorrow at precisely 10.30 a.m. to present his report, which would only take 15 or 20 minutes. After that we could immediately resume our debate on the question of apartheid.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): I do not want to delay this debate. Since you have said that it is going to take only about 15 minutes, Sir, we can go along with you.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Mozambique for his co-operation.

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)

Mr. RAMASY (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): In the course of the past year a new stage has been reached in national mobilization and the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and all the enemies of apartheid, who are more determined than ever to eliminate that odious system and build a united, non-racial society in South Africa. The policy of apartheid of the Pretoria Government remains a subject of concern for the whole international community. The Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Garba, on 28 October 1985, explained in detail the development of the situation since the examination of the question at the last session of the General Assembly. We believe it important, however, to highlight the following points.

The past year has been marked by a resurgence of repression on the part of the police forces of the racist régime of Pretoria; an increase in arbitrary mass arrests followed by detention of unlimited duration and ending in murder; the deployment of the army inside and around townships; oppression and torture; the policy of bantustanization accompanied by forced movement and control of the population; the carrying out of so-called constitutional reforms by creating three chambers, leaving out of course the black population; the declaration of a state of emergency, conferring emergency powers on the police; and acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring African countries.

(Mr. Ramasy, Madagascar)

In an attempt to justify itself before the international public the Pretoria régime has increased its political manoeuvres in the pursuit of its alleged reform of apartheid by rescinding certain discriminatory laws, while at the same time reaffirming its attachment to apartheid and its rejection of the idea of granting political rights to blacks.

Along with this, the past year has been marked by the continuation and intensification of the armed struggle of resistance to apartheid, clandestine armed struggle and resistance on the part of workers, students, community organizations and religious institutions.

All this gives us ground for asserting that the apartheid régime has not succeeded in breaking the spirit of resistance or the determination of the black population of South Africa. Thus, internationally the admiration inspired by the heroic resistance of the South African people and indignation at the apartheid régime have won a great deal of ground for the movement of world solidarity for the liberation struggle in South Africa.

For the first time the Security Council, in its resolutions 566 (1985) and 569 (1985), has urged Member States to impose specific economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Western countries have adopted important economic measures to isolate the apartheid régime and support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. The Regional Ministerial Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development in Africa, set out in its programme measures designed to compel South Africa to give up its policy of internal oppression and apartheid. Recalling those facts, leads me to stress the following points.

The responsibility for the prevailing situation rests entirely with the racist Government of South Africa. The so-called reforms imposed or advocated by the

(Mr. Ramasy, Madagascar)

Pretoria Government are simply manoeuvres designed to perpetuate apartheid while our objective is to eliminate it in all its forms.

A number of countries have taken measures which are of the nature of sanctions against South Africa, and Madagascar is happy to see this. However, we continue to believe that sanctions cannot eliminate apartheid, although they help to speed up its elimination, and that the lack of binding sanctions should not be used to exempt certain countries from taking military measures. All countries must play their part in imposing sanctions against South Africa in accordance with their resources.

I should like to recall a passage from the statement made by Bishop Desmond Tutu on 28 October 1985 in the Special Political Committee. He said:

"In the present phase of apartheid we have been regaled with the language of reform. Of course, apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be dismantled."

(A/SPC/40/PV.15, p. 7)

In conclusion I wish to say that a wind is now blowing throughout South Africa. Change is inevitable, because we are witnessing a veritable revolution involving all South African social classes. To bring this about it is our duty to support all the measures advocated to put an end to apartheid. Thus we associate ourselves with the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, namely: recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people

"for the elimination of apartheid and for the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa ... irrespective of race, colour or creed, will enjoy equal and full political rights ..."

(A/40/22, para. 364);

recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of its national liberation movements, in particular the African

(Mr. Ramasy, Madagascar)

National Congress of South Africa (ANC), to eliminate apartheid and create a democratic society in which all the inhabitants of South Africa will be able on an equal footing to enjoy all political and other rights and participate freely in determining their own destiny; the rejection of so-called reforms of the apartheid régime and power-sharing or any other arrangements which would not entail the total elimination of apartheid; the freeing of all political prisoners and the ending of repression; the imposition of an arms and oil embargoes and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa; the boycotting of sporting, cultural and other activities; and support and assistance for the oppressed people of South Africa and its national liberation movements.

Finally, we would like to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid, and in particular its Chairman, for their work.

Mr. PAPAJORGJI (Albania): The racist policies of the apartheid régime of South Africa have been under discussion in the United Nations since 1946. Many decisions and resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly condemning the cruel policies of the racist régime of the Pretoria white minority. However, the numerous facts mentioned in reports submitted to the Assembly and, particularly, in the statements made by Heads of States, Prime Ministers and representatives of various African countries show that the fascists of Pretoria are continuing their hateful policy of apartheid by means of violence, terror and oppression and exploitation of the black population. The racist Pretoria régime pursues a typical policy of racial discrimination elevated to a State system which deprives the black population of the most fundamental human rights.

(Mr. Papajorgji, Albania)

Today, all progressive and democratic countries and peoples throughout the world are following with great indignation the events in South Africa, where a real massacre of the black population is taking place. The voice of protest is being heard ever more loudly against the racist Pretoria régime, which is killing, imprisoning and torturing the innocent black people, the true sons of the people of South Africa. The Pretoria régime has for many years now continued to practise its criminal bantustan policy aimed at denationalizing the African population.

Currently, the situation in South Africa is characterized by an accumulated hatred of the Azanian people, who are determined to overthrow the inhuman régime of apartheid. The state of emergency which was declared in July of this year in 36 areas of the country, allegedly for a short period of time, has not only not been lifted but, to the contrary, has spread almost all over South Africa. Although oppression and terror have further increased, the situation has not been normalized as predicted by the Pretoria régime, which stubbornly persists in its policy, in this way challenging the international community.

Under such circumstances, the Azanian people have come out in massive protests, demonstrations and bloody fighting, which represent an anti-racist and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement by the broad mass of the black population. This has gained the support of other African peoples, too. That is why it is not only the struggle of the Azanian people, but of all African peoples, for national and social liberation against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. This is the same struggle being waged by other peoples of the world who are fighting for freedom, independence and genuine social progress.

The African peoples, as well as the peoples of the whole world, oppose and condemn with great indignation the racist régime of the white minority and the transnational corporations that plunder the riches of the Azanian people. They condemn imperialist Powers - American imperialism in particular - which support and

(Mr. Papajorgji, Albania)

assist the Pretoria régime and refuse to apply economic sanctions against it.

At the same time, they condemn the Israeli Zionists, who closely collaborate with the racist Pretoria régime.

Like all progressive peoples and States that stand by the freedom-loving Azanian people, the Albanian people, too, have always resolutely supported the African peoples and States in their struggle for freedom and independence, against oppression and humiliation and against the racist régime and its imperialist patrons.

The unforgettable leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said:

"The Albanian people and their Government have welcomed and supported the just struggle of the African peoples to eradicate colonialism and racism from the continent of Africa and have supported the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of the African countries to cope with the aggressive, neo-colonialist and predatory policy and activity of imperialism."

The struggle being waged by the people of South Africa today against the abhorrent apartheid régime is not a conflict among races, as bourgeois propaganda claims. It is but a social conflict, where antagonistic social forces are confronted by each other - that is, the Azanian people on one side and racism, an outcome of the capitalist system, on the other.

It is for that reason that American imperialism and other imperialist Powers propagate reform as allegedly the only way of solving the racial problems in South Africa.

The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always shared the determined views and positions expressed by the representatives of the African and other countries denouncing the political forces of the Botha régime, the imposition of the so-called new constitution, reforms and other actions undertaken by that régime which seek to perpetuate the system of apartheid.

(Mr. Papajorgji, Albania)

Pretoria's racism is expressed in its foreign policy as well. It continues its occupation of Namibia by oppressing and exploiting the people of that country and its natural resources. It carries out continuous acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries, thus constituting an ever-increasing danger to their freedom and independence.

But that racist régime would not dare act in this way if it did not have the support and the comprehensive assistance of the United States of America and other imperialist Powers.

The Albanian delegation deems it necessary to point out that this fascist régime, in its policy inside as well as outside the country, also takes advantage of the situation created by the rivalry for hegemony on the African continent between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The Soviet social imperialists are trying to make use of the tense and difficult situation prevailing in the region of southern Africa with the aim of extending their imperialist influence.

The Azanian and Namibian peoples, as well as the peoples of other African countries, have never reconciled themselves to racism and its ugliest form, apartheid. The strong opposition and protests of the black population and of Azanian and Namibian patriots for national liberation show that they are determined to get rid of the racist and neo-colonialist yoke.

That is why this struggle enjoys the resolute support of progressive countries and peoples the world over.

The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania once again reiterates that the Albanian people and its Government are and will continue to be determined opponents of any kind of racial and national discrimination. We strongly condemn that hated policy of apartheid of the racist Pretoria régime, and

(Mr. Papajorgji, Albania)

we are convinced that the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples will be crowned with victory.*

Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): A great victory over the forces of aggression and racism, as well as the founding of the United Nations, both occurred 40 years ago. The United Nations Charter lays down as one of its most important goals that of organizing international co-operation to encourage the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Destroying the major bulwark of racist fascism in Europe, the peoples of the world were entitled to look forward to the early elimination of racism throughout the world as an outrageous phenomenon unworthy of contemporary human civilization.

However, this did not happen. Racism and racial discrimination persist in various parts of the world, poisoning the international atmosphere and constituting a constant source of danger to the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The most open, naked and cynical form of racism is the system of apartheid in South Africa, where racism has been elevated to the status of a constitutional principle and a governmental policy of that country. Apartheid in South Africa means the flagrant flouting of all the rights and freedoms of the majority of its population - I should say the overwhelming majority of its population. The country has been transformed into a vast prison, where millions of black and coloured Africans are deprived of their freedom. On the basis of racist legislation, any African can be thrown behind bars without trial, without investigation, without even any charges being preferred. At the present time

* Mrs. Castro de Barish (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

there are in South Africa more than 200,000 prisoners, and their number grows every day. The suppression of civil and political freedoms of the indigenous population of South Africa is exploited by the racists for the most ruthless economic exploitation and to deprive the majority of the population of their elementary social, political and economic rights.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

The whole social and political system of South Africa ensures a privileged position for the ruling white minority, while millions of black Africans live stripped of their rights and in poverty. Millions of inhabitants of South Africa are demanding to be treated as human beings and to be allowed to live in their own country without being subjected to humiliation and discrimination. They demand the removal of the humiliating political, economic and social barriers that have been erected by the repressive racist régime.

Recently, the liberation movement has been marked not by individual action but by mass demonstrations by tens of thousands of people. It must be pointed out that a new and qualitatively different stage has been reached in the struggle of the country's indigenous population for freedom. The country is racked by a profound internal political crisis. For those reasons the Special Committee against Apartheid correctly concluded in the report (A/40/22) that the struggle by the oppressed people of South Africa and all opponents of apartheid in the country as a whole has reached a new level of nation-wide mobilization. The South African authorities are responding to such legitimate and natural demands by massive repression, by firing on the peaceful population and by bloody terror. Unarmed demonstrators are met by armed military detachments and large contingents of police. In the past few months the apartheid régime has killed more than 700 people. On the basis of trumped-up charges of State treason, the leaders of the mass democratic organizations have been arrested. In essence, a war is being waged against the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa, who have risen up against the criminal system of apartheid.

The actions of the racists have aroused the angry condemnation of the entire world. The policy of apartheid has long and repeatedly been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace. For more than 25 years the General Assembly and the Security Council have been

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

demanding that the Pretoria authorities end their policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. As recently as July of this year the Security Council once again, for the umpteenth time, strongly condemned the apartheid system and the mass arrests and murders committed by the racists, called for the freeing of all political prisoners and detainees and stated that only the total elimination of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a free, united and democratic society on the basis of universal suffrage can lead to a solution to the problems of South Africa.

How did the racists react to the appeals of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council? The Government of South Africa not only failed to evince the slightest inclination to heed the voice of the United Nations, the voice of the overwhelming majority of the world's States, but even stepped up its repression within the country and expanded its aggressive action against neighbouring independent African countries.

Racism and aggression are indivisible, and that is confirmed both by past history and by contemporary events. Apartheid is not only an inhuman policy that flouts the basic principles of morality and humanity but a genuine threat to peace in Africa and international security as a whole.

Military adventurism is an ineradicable feature of the South African régime. In the face of the stiffening resistance to the system of apartheid in South Africa itself and the growing liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, the Pretoria rulers are seeking a way out through external aggression. Over the past decade southern Africa has become the arena of constant armed conflicts caused by the aggressive actions of the racist régime.

The South African military machine is waging an unending war against the People's Republic of Angola. In September of this year detachments of South African troops once again entered the territory of Angola and bombed areas of the

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

country more than 2,200 kilometres distant from its border with South Africa. Once again, colonial war is being waged on Angolan soil. Armed banditry is also going on in other front-line States - Botswana and Lesotho. Acts of banditry are being organized against Mozambique and terrorist and sabotage raids are being carried out against the youngest independent African State, Zimbabwe. The colonial occupation of Namibia continues to pose a serious threat to the independent countries of Africa. South Africa not only has implanted racism in Namibia and been ruthlessly exploiting that country but is using Namibian territory as a base for aggression against Angola and other front-line States.

By wreaking violence and terror in its own country, in Namibia and in the occupied territories of independent African States, the South African racist régime is causing incalculable suffering to millions of totally innocent people. The mission of the Special Committee against Apartheid to Angola, Zambia and Tanzania provided a clear picture of the tremendous suffering and intolerable living conditions of thousands of women, children and old people who are living in refugee camps as a result of the invasions and repeated acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa and its policy of oppression in South Africa and Namibia.

The list of crimes of the apartheid régime is so long that the mere reciting of it would take a tremendous amount of time. In its vain attempt to save the apartheid régime from its inevitable doom, Pretoria has been engaging in internal political manoeuvres aimed at weakening and splitting the liberation movement in South Africa. However, the so-called constitutional reforms so widely touted by the South African authorities, as well as by Governments and the mass media in certain Western countries, have turned out to be just another version of the same old policy of apartheid. The Soviet delegation believes that the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia against racist tyranny deserves comprehensive support and demands that the United Nations take immediate and

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

effective measures in accordance with the Charter and with the obligations solemnly assumed by it.

Next year it will be 40 years since the United Nations began to consider the problem of racism in South Africa. We must make special mention of the hard work to mobilize international efforts in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid accomplished by the Special Committee against Apartheid, now under the chairmanship of the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, Ambassador Garba.

The South African authorities would not have been able to disregard world public opinion so arrogantly had they not been confident of the real support of influential Western patrons and protectors, first and foremost among them the United States. Thus, they are blocking the application against South Africa of the effective comprehensive sanctions clearly provided for in the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

Washington is making wide use of its own version of sanctions and all kinds of discriminatory measures against States whose policies do not suit it, but it is unwilling to lift a finger against the racist régime, which every day is condemned as anti-popular and anti-human.

Furthermore, the argument is used that sanctions against South Africa harm its neighbours, and when those countries themselves reject that line of argument representatives of Western Powers go so far as to assert that sanctions supposedly hurt the population of South Africa itself, although it is precisely the indigenous population of that country that is calling for sanctions to be applied as soon as possible.

All this looks as hypocritical as the recriminations some level against Pretoria for its use of "unnecessary violence" and their advice somehow or other to reform apartheid. These are nothing but attempts to cover up their own share of responsibility for the crimes of the régime, which has survived to our day largely thanks to the support and "constructive engagement" of its Western friends.

Pursuant to its principled foreign policy aimed at the total and final elimination of colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations, the Soviet Union vigorously condemns the racist Pretoria régime, which is pursuing a policy of aggression and State terrorism throughout the south of the continent. The USSR categorically condemns the massive repressions carried out by the racist régime of South Africa and demands the immediate cessation of the terror being conducted against the African people of the country. It demands the freeing from their dungeons of the valiant fighter for the freedom of Africans, Nelson Mandela, and the thousands of other political detainees.

There must be freedom of action for the African National Congress and all organizations that want to create in South Africa a united and democratic society. The Soviet people express their solidarity with the struggle against apartheid,

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

against racial segregation and discrimination and all forms of oppression and exploitation of the African population of South Africa.

The Soviet Union initiated the adoption by the United Nations of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and it was among the first States to ratify that Convention.

Our country supports the demand of African and other non-aligned countries, and also the appeal of the General Assembly to the Security Council, that the Council adopt against South Africa comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including an embargo on oil and oil products.

The decisions of the United Nations on the question of the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African authorities are aimed at providing comprehensive moral and material support and assistance for the people struggling against colonialism, racism and apartheid for their national liberation. In line with those decisions, the Soviet Union has continued and will continue to give every possible kind of support to the national liberation movements in southern Africa. This anti-colonial and anti-racist position of the Soviet Union has always been and remains firm and consistent.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be marked by decisive action aimed at eliminating colonialism, racism and apartheid once and for all.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Once again the General Assembly has been invited to debate South Africa's racist policy of apartheid. That inhuman system, acknowledged to be a crime against mankind, persists in South Africa, producing its daily toll of victims and seriously threatening peace and regional and international stability. More than ever its

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

adherents hang on to their privileges, heaping scorn on the condemnation their racist policy provokes from international public opinion.

Their intransigence draws its strength from the inability of the international community to adopt effective measures against the loathsome apartheid system and is nourished by the support that certain Powers continue to give them.

The oppressed majority in South Africa, the Namibian people and the peoples of the area, particularly those of the front-line States, for their part continue to pay a heavy price in terms of freedom, dignity and stability. Southern Africa remains the setting for tensions and deep convulsions caused mainly by the apartheid régime.

The repression of the African majority within South Africa is accompanied by the maintenance of the colonial occupation of Namibia and the recurrence of attacks against South Africa's neighbours. In that part of the world numerous cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter, on which repose solidarity and human fraternity, are seriously flouted by the arrogance and greed of a minority jealous of its privileges. The principles of equal rights, the self-determination of peoples and the non-use of the threat or use of force in international relations against the territorial integrity or independence and political sovereignty of any State are continually violated by the South African apartheid régime. Racism and racial discrimination, aggression, intervention and interference, destabilization and colonialism are the hallmarks of the Pretoria régime.

Internally the régime remains inflexible. Racism is still the order of the day. The majority are still refused a say in government, and the carnage and the killing are the response to their legitimate demands. Over the last 12 months more than a thousand people have been killed and tens of thousands have been injured, arbitrarily arrested or imprisoned without trial. Thousands of women, children,

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

trade-union leaders, clergymen and workers have been imprisoned because they have dared demand justice and equality.

Deaths in detention and the torture of detainees continue to take place daily in South Africa, while disappearances and the banning of meetings have proliferated. The press, already tightly controlled, has been subjected to more severe censorship than ever.

Not a day goes by without the international community learning of the cold-blooded killing of peaceful opponents of apartheid by the South African police. Not a day goes by without freedom fighters, students, trade unionists or religious leaders falling victim to a major act of repression.

The policy of bantustanization, of the forced transfer of populations and the restriction of people's movements pursuant to the inhuman and notorious pass laws have continued, perpetuating the oppression of the African population and aggravating their poverty and destitution.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The massacres at Crossroads in February this year are still fresh in our memories, symbolizing not merely the determined opposition of the inhabitants of the African townships to the bantustanization policy and forced removals but also the determination of the inhabitants of the townships and the black majority as a whole to put an end to that policy by their willingness, if necessary to pay the supreme sacrifice. This determination, illustrated by the heroic resistance to the police forces and the South African army, despite the powers and impunity guaranteed to them by the state of emergency imposed on 21 July by the racist régime, makes it clear to those that may still have doubts that the hateful apartheid system is doomed and that, however frequent or thorough the reforms made to it may be, sooner or later it is bound to end.

Neither the so-called constitutional reforms, which are based on the principle of racial segregation, nor the state of emergency can guarantee any form of stability for the apartheid régime. The establishment of a tripartite parliament, another element of the doctrine of racial segregation, has been rejected in South Africa and vigorously condemned by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the international community as a whole.

The state of emergency, despite the array of means of repression it makes available to the racist forces, has not restored peace or brought back what the racist régime calls "law and order". On the contrary, it has served to spread unrest throughout the country, arousing international condemnation and provoking condemnation by the overwhelming majority of Governments. It is also a measure of the panic and disarray within the ranks of the South African régime and the inability of that régime to assess calmly the radical changes now taking place in the country.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The speech by the racist Botha on 15 August is a striking illustration not merely of Pretoria's willingness to ignore the urgent appeals of the international community for the abolition of the apartheid system but also, and above all, of its determination to pursue and further strengthen its policy of subjugating and repressing the African majority. We hope that the countries which still believe in the possibility of reforming the apartheid system have finally understood the message coming out of Pretoria.

Apartheid is a crime against humanity, and the only solution, if peace and stability are to be restored in southern Africa, lies in the total destruction of that hateful system. That is the pre-condition of the establishment of a just, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa. Indeed, that is the only way to stop South Africa's invasions of and attacks on independent neighbouring countries and to halt the attempts at destabilization carried out either directly or through mercenaries against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States.

As was stated at the 21st summit meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa in July, and at the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Luanda about a month ago, the eradication of apartheid can be obtained only through the complete isolation of South Africa and the strengthening of assistance to the South African and Namibian liberation movements and to the front-line States.

The imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is the most effective peaceful way of bringing this about. There are a few countries which on the one hand are opposed to armed struggle and violent change in South Africa and Namibia and on the other hand reject the imposition of sanctions as a peaceful means of bringing about such changes. They argue that such sanctions would harm the

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

oppressed majority in South Africa and the peoples of Namibia and neighbouring States. The time has come for such countries to fall into line with the rest of the international community and support the total isolation of South Africa. It is also time for those countries to stop exploiting the oppressed peoples in South Africa and the front-line States in order to further their own selfish interests in South Africa and Namibia.

The Security Council should make use as quickly as possible of the powers conferred upon it under Chapter VII of the Charter and fulfil its responsibilities by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. All members of the Security Council, in particular those which still have relations with the Pretoria régime, should support the adoption of such sanctions and provide assistance for the process of bringing about true change that is at present under way in South Africa. They can thus spare the South African people further suffering and grief, and promote the early advent of a just, democratic society in South Africa and an era of peace, stability and co-operation in southern Africa.

Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): The international community, which on 24 October celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, is entitled to hope that the obstacles that still stand in the way of the pure and simple abolition of the barbaric and shameful policy of apartheid which is still being practised by the racist minority régime in Pretoria will shortly be overcome. It is heartening to note that the overwhelming majority of Heads of State and Government and other leaders of Member States have decisively branded apartheid, in their addresses at the historic commemorative session of our Organization, a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. Similarly, in the course of the celebration, a few weeks ago at the Headquarters of this Organization, of the thirtieth,

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

anniversary of the South African Freedom Charter, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the international community had occasion again to reaffirm the legitimacy of the stubborn struggle now being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa and the necessity and urgency of intensifying comprehensive assistance for the just cause for which they are struggling.

A tribute should be paid to the Organization for the untiring, persevering efforts it has made to serve the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa, which is waging a heroic struggle under the determined leadership of the liberation movements. Unfortunately, apparently almost insurmountable obstacles remain and we must admit that it is not easy to overcome them. As is well known, these are the apartheid régime itself, with its formidable apparatus of repression, of the black majority and its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring sovereign countries and, secondly, those in Western Europe and elsewhere that give it unconditional assistance.

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid which the General Assembly now has before it gives us extremely telling information about the escalation of repression carried out by Pretoria against the oppressed people of South Africa, about the growing resistance of the oppressed masses, about the many-faceted forms of co-operation between the criminal régime and the Governments of certain Western countries - including, of course, that which advocates the policy of constructive engagement - and about the present solidarity and international co-operation designed to bring about the abolition of this inhuman and barbaric institution which has been identified quite rightly with nazism and fascism and the fortieth anniversary of whose defeat the international community commemorated six months ago.

The proclamation on 21 June 1985 of a state of emergency in 36 administrative districts of South Africa became the culminating point of the escalating repression practised by Pretoria against the oppressed and enslaved people of that country. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states:

"Within six weeks of the proclamation of the emergency measures, at least 2,500 opponents of apartheid were detained and over 140 were killed under those draconian measures. Among the detainees were religious leaders, lawyers, teachers, students, trade unionists and other political activists who resisted apartheid". (A/40/22, para. 130)

But how many people have fallen victim to this oppressive machine since then? Certainly, hundreds of dead and wounded, to judge by the distressing images of public repression which American television showed us last week.

It will be recalled, furthermore, that the international community has condemned these arbitrary measures and asked that the state of siege be immediately lifted, that the black leaders who are detained or imprisoned be freed immediately, that negotiations with the authentic leaders of the oppressed population begin,

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

and so forth. The Security Council even adopted a resolution condemning in rather vigorous terms the facts to which I have just referred. Unfortunately, however, Pretoria has once again taken no account of this - and has done so with complete impunity.

Simultaneously with the arbitrary arrests, the political trials - or "trials for treason", - and political detentions, whose number has considerably increased since the beginning of this year, the Pretoria racist minority régime has energetically continued to apply its policies of bantustanization, forced displacement of people and control over the movements of the African majority, as well as the implementation of its most perfidious political manoeuvres. It will be recalled that among those political manoeuvres was the masquerade of the "constitutional reform" which was enacted last year and which the international community, including the General Assembly and the Security Council, has already declared null and void. These political manoeuvres, whose concealed objective was to fool world public opinion, to allay somewhat its anger and indignation, were repudiated and rejected by the overwhelming majority of the oppressed black people, as well as the liberation movements.

The outright duplicity and hypocrisy of Pretoria were finally unmasked by Pretoria itself. Its Head of Government, in a statement made to the Congress of his Party on 15 August, rejected the principle of universal suffrage and the granting of political rights to the blacks in a non-racial, democratic and unitary State, and even insolently brandished the threat of sanctions and much more severe reprisals against those who opposed apartheid. The international community was deeply shocked at this.

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

The Prime Minister of South Africa also stated, on 30 September this year, that the blacks would soon be able to exercise universal suffrage within what he called a united State. Ambassador Garba, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in the statement he made in this Hall on 28 October, drew our attention to the subtlety and perversity of that manoeuvre. He said:

(spoke in English)

"This nebulous new system is thus nothing but an attempt to maintain that white domination". (A/40/PV.51, p. 19-20)

(continued in French)

That appears to us to be a particularly apt remark which the international community and all the resistance movements should bear fully in mind.

Regarding the major obstacles standing in the way of the total elimination of this diabolical system of apartheid, my Government regrets that certain Western countries, including that Power which advocates a policy of constructive engagement, far from giving it up as they have been frequently urged to do by the international community, persist in pursuing their policy of out-and-out tolerance of, assistance to and many-sided co-operation with Pretoria. That is the major obstacle to all efforts undertaken so far by the international community to bring about the removal of this scourge.

Pretoria is fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of its trading partners as well as of its military and nuclear allies, whose vast transnational corporations are blindly participating in the pillaging of the natural, material and human resources of South Africa and Namibia. That explains why Pretoria has dared to defy, in all impunity, the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which imposed a mandatory arms embargo, has remained more or less a dead letter since certain Western and other countries which voted in favour of it have never scrupulously respected the

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

embargo. In its report, the Special Committee against Apartheid has published for our benefit the list of those countries that maintain close official or private commercial, military and even nuclear links with the illegal racist régime of South Africa. The international community must take seriously information concerning the alarming rate at which the nuclear capability of the two Fascist, Zionist and racist régimes - that of Pretoria and that of Israel - is at present developing.

So far as the oil embargo is concerned, it has met the same fate as the arms embargo. Certain Western Powers that protect Pretoria and enjoy the right of veto have always, when necessary, spared this diabolical régime the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter - sanctions that the Security Council has the duty of applying in such cases.

That is the vicious circle in which we find ourselves and which it is our duty to contribute to breaking out of at all costs, in the higher interest of the oppressed people of South Africa as well as the conquered and enslaved people of Namibia.

The Lao Government notes with satisfaction that since the beginning of this year movements acting in solidarity with the oppressed black people of South Africa have been growing both in scope and in quality throughout the world. Even in the United States, strong pressure has been exerted by public opinion on governmental, parliamentary, university, banking and other circles to ensure that a series of economic or other sanctions are applied against Pretoria.

The Lao Government, like the Governments and peoples of all peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world, supported the special Declaration on the situation in southern Africa published after the Ministerial Regional Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development in Africa held in August this year at Lomé, the capital of Togo. The Governments of the countries which, by their actions, are giving protection and encouragement to Pretoria in pursuing its

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

inhuman policy should listen carefully to national and international public opinion, which is pleading the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa.

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

As you know, Pretoria has not stopped short at simply oppressing and savagely repressing the majority black population to the point of its becoming a foreign community in its own country, but the racist régime has taken upon itself the role of regional policeman and, unconditionally supported by its Western protectors, is relentlessly pursuing its policies and practices of State terrorism against sovereign and independent front-line countries in southern Africa, such as Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Lesotho. Pretoria has more than once committed these acts of aggression, destabilization and intimidation, as well as applying an economic blockade against those countries. The international community supports the policy of wisdom and peaceful co-existence being pursued in good faith by those front-line countries towards the Pretoria régime. But, as everyone knows, it is Pretoria which, through its duplicity, has failed to respect its commitments. Many resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council have been adopted condemning, for form's sake it is true, the Pretoria Government for its hostile and destabilizing policy towards its neighbours in southern Africa. Earlier this month, during the plenary session of the General Assembly commemorating its anniversary, Pretoria committed a fresh act of aggression against Angola, the southern part of which is still occupied by South African soldiery. It is public knowledge that Pretoria's troops have been actively engaged in attempting to destabilize and to overthrow the present régimes in Angola and Mozambique. To achieve these sinister and criminal ends, it has not hesitated to use all illicit means available, including a band of UNITA counter-revolutionaries, to attack Angola's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Verbal condemnations have more than once rung out against South Africa, and the Powers which protect them and possess the right of veto have at best taken an abstentionist position, but when it was necessary for the Security Council to adopt global and mandatory

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, those Powers - or at least one of them - never failed to cast a veto.

So we can see how this scourge, apartheid, has up to now been able to escape the decisive verdict of the international community deriving from implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter. Nevertheless we should not despair. The Lao Government, while reaffirming its strong condemnation of the crime of apartheid as well as the one responsible for it, is firmly convinced that the heroic struggle now being waged by the oppressed and conquered peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under the determined leadership of their respective national liberation movements will undoubtedly lead to a glorious victory in the very near future. Let them know that the Lao people and Government, in view of their own gruelling and painful colonial past and aware of the cost of the long and relentless struggle which they themselves had to wage in order to regain their national independence and freedom, will always stand at their side until final victory is achieved. Let them also know that the Lao people and Government have invariably sided with the international community and peace and justice-loving people throughout the world in demanding the immediate and unconditional release of the great leader, Nelson Mandela, as well as all his companions in arms and freedom fighters who are still, with dignity and stoicism, languishing in the jails of the South African nazis and have been doing so for many years. Their extraordinary courage and their sublime and unequalled patriotism is undoubtedly a powerful source of encouragement for other freedom fighters, and will certainly triumph in the end over the satanic forces represented by apartheid, as well as the small white fascist group which practises it.

Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): In his statement on behalf of the ten member States of the European Community, and Spain and Portugal, the

(Mr. van der Stoep,
Netherlands)

representative of Luxembourg has already noted that over the past year the situation in South Africa has taken a marked turn for the worse. He strongly condemned South Africa's apartheid system and reiterated the conviction of the Twelve that there can be no solution for the political turmoil in that country as long as its Government persists in its racial policies. My country wholeheartedly endorses the views set forth in this common statement.

Apartheid, as a form of institutionalized racial segregation, is a systematic violation of the principle of equal rights of all human beings enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the Netherlands, a country with a long-standing commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, the racial discrimination and oppression in South Africa has met with universal disapproval and indignation. The strength of popular feeling on this issue is clearly reflected in the stance taken by my Government. The Netherlands Government unequivocally condemns the apartheid policies of the South African Government as an affront to basic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The Netherlands attaches the highest priority to the early dismantling of the apartheid system and its replacement by a truly democratic society in which all South Africans, irrespective of race or the colour of their skin, participate on a footing of equality in the political and economic life of the country. It is a matter of deep concern to us that so far the South African Government has reacted to outside pressure merely with limited gestures. The tragic events of this year have clearly demonstrated that the exclusion of the country's black majority from participation in the government of their own country is bound to fuel the vicious spiral of oppression and violence with more and more unacceptable results. Therefore it is our strongly held view that the international community has no choice but to bring to bear increased pressure on the South African Government

(Mr. van der Stoep,
Netherlands)

finally to embark on a policy of fundamental reform leading to the complete elimination of apartheid as the only alternative to more repression and bloodshed.

The Netherlands Government is distressed over the mounting confrontation and violence in South Africa which has already caused hundreds of deaths and is almost daily claiming new victims. The South African authorities have responded to the deepening crisis, not by moving away from apartheid, but with a show of force and by stifling voices of protest. In July a state of emergency was declared in 36 magisterial districts around Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape in an effort to stem the rising tide of resistance against the Government's intransigence. This decree remains in force despite the Security Council's demand that it be lifted immediately. Predictably, these draconian measures have resulted in further mass arrests and detentions and increased suffering for the oppressed black majority. In their statement of 23 July the Ten called on the South African authorities to release all those detained under the decree's provisions and to address the root cause of South Africa's endemic unrest by inaugurating a dialogue with the authentic representatives of the non-white community, among them those currently in prison, in order to arrive at an adequate representation of the black community at the national level.

(Mr. van der Stoel,
Netherlands)

To this end the Ten suggested a number of confidence-building measures, including the unconditional and prompt release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and the repeal of discriminatory legislation such as the pass laws and the Group Areas Act. Unfortunately, the South African Government once again chose to disregard the appeals of the international community. Instead it suggested some minor steps which only scratch the surface of the apartheid edifice and retreated behind vague and unconvincing statements directed at the outside world, while stepping up its efforts to stamp out opposition to its apartheid policies at home. Accordingly the Ten, together with Spain and Portugal, decided on 10 September on a number of common measures to maintain their pressure on South Africa.

The President of South Africa, in his address at the opening of the National Party Congress on 15 August, spoke of the need for reform and negotiations. To our grave disappointment, however, he did not meet the challenge of the circumstances by opening a window to the future and the prospect of a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems through genuine dialogue. So far, world public opinion has been looking in vain for signs of willingness on the part of the South African Government to abandon apartheid as the guiding concept for the organization of South African society. South Africa's new Constitution, inaugurated in 1984, granted limited parliamentary representation to the country's Coloureds and people of Asian descent but disregarded the legitimate political aspirations of the blacks. Because it seemed to relegate the enfranchisement of South Africa's black majority to an indefinite future the new Constitution added to black frustration and helped to spark the outbursts of black anger which have thrown South Africa into its present state of civil strife and upheaval.

Some small steps, such as the granting of leasehold rights for blacks in the urban areas, have been taken. The so-called petty apartheid has been somewhat eased. Also, the legal impediments to marriages and sexual relations between

(Mr. van der Stoep,
Netherlands)

whites and non-whites have been abolished. However, the policy of forced removals, which has inflicted great hardships on millions of South Africans, has been only suspended, not abrogated. It has been hinted that the South African Government may move to abolish the pass laws and the Influx Control Act and to restore South African citizenship to the 10 million blacks residing in the so-called homelands. Unfortunately, many of these proposals are clad in ambiguity and so hedged with qualifications that doubts concerning the commitment of South Africa's Government to fundamental reforms continue unabated.

The reality in South Africa is that the misery in the overcrowded, resource-poor tribal homelands is unchanged and that the phalanx of apartheid laws continues to lay down the crippling limits within which the lives of the non-white majority are confined, while political power at the national level remains the exclusive preserve of the white minority. The conclusion is inevitable, therefore, that the pace of change in South Africa lags far behind the pressing needs of the blacks, especially the paramount issue of their political participation.

The Netherlands does not arrogate to itself the right to offer a blueprint to South Africa for its future political configuration. We believe, however, that all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, are entitled to full political rights and an equal say in the process of restructuring their society. In order to contribute towards the attainment of the goal of achieving a peaceful transition to a non-racial society the Netherlands supports efforts at increasing international pressure on South Africa while continuing to encourage the forces of peaceful change in the country. I will explain this two-track policy in somewhat greater depth.

The Netherlands Government has traditionally looked to the United Nations as the focal point for concerted international action to put an end to apartheid.

(Mr. van der Stoel,
Netherlands)

Mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council are the most effective and redoubtable instrument put at our disposal by the Charter. The Netherlands for its part strictly observes resolution 418 (1977), by which the Security Council decreed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. During its membership of the Security Council the Netherlands initiated the consultations leading to the adoption of resolution 558 (1984), which calls on Member States of the United Nations to ban the import of South African arms as a necessary complement to resolution 418 (1977). At the national level the Netherlands Government is now in the process of introducing legislation to prohibit the export of paramilitary goods to South Africa and to give a statutory basis to the provisions of resolution 558 (1984).

However, international pressure on the South African Government must be further stepped up if a catastrophe is to be averted. The Netherlands, therefore, has consistently spoken out in favour of the adoption of selective economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, in particular a mandatory ban on investments and an oil embargo. In August the Security Council adopted resolution 569 (1985), which, among other things, calls for the restriction of new investments in South Africa on a voluntary basis. For such a measure to be truly effective, however, it must be mandatory or at least supported by a significant number of countries.

Pending agreement on investment restrictions with adequate international support, my Government has taken steps designed to ensure the faithful observance of the Code of Conduct for European companies with interests in South Africa. There is no doubt that the guidelines of this Code, including such principles as freedom of association, guaranteed minimum wages and equal pay for equal work, contribute significantly to reform in the field of labour relations in South Africa and, by implication, to the achievement of equality for the black population. To enhance the Code's effectiveness even further, the Netherlands seeks to make it

(Mr. van der Stoel,
Netherlands)

more comprehensive and to tighten up supervision of its application. Reporting on the observance of the Code is intended to become obligatory for Netherlands companies with branches in South Africa and contraventions of the Code's statutory provisions will result in sanctions being imposed on them. Also, the Netherlands has consistently advocated the establishment of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. Meanwhile my Government fully subscribes to the measure agreed upon with our partners in European political co-operation to cease oil exports to South Africa. Furthermore, my Government actively encourages Netherlands companies to reduce their imports of South African coal.

In a different field the Netherlands has signalled its disapproval of South Africa's policies by terminating its cultural agreement with South Africa and by the introduction of visa requirements for South Africans. The latter measure enables my authorities to restrict South African participation in sporting events in the Netherlands.

Pressure alone, however, does not suffice. As a responsible member of the international community it is also our duty to encourage forces of peaceful change in South Africa wherever and whenever we can. Together with its partners of the Ten - and soon to be the Twelve - the Netherlands has decided upon the intensification of positive measures and programmes aimed at the elimination of existing inequalities. The Netherlands for its part has already increased its contacts and programmes for assisting members of the non-white community and anti-apartheid organizations dedicated to the goal of the peaceful transformation of South Africa's social and political system. In addition, the Netherlands will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to political prisoners and other victims of apartheid through the United Nations Fund for South Africa, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the World Council of Churches and other appropriate channels.

(Mr. van der Stoel,
Netherlands)

A very important part of the Netherlands assistance efforts in southern Africa is directed at the countries members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the front-line States. As the South African raid on Gaborone has demonstrated once again, the effects of the tensions engendered by South Africa's system of racial discrimination do not stop at that country's borders but expose the entire region to South African aggression and acts of destabilization. With the purpose of enabling those States to cope with the additional economic burdens resulting from the spill-over of South Africa's problems, the Netherlands has devoted a substantial part of its development co-operation programmes to assisting the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the front-line States and other countries in southern Africa. Because my Government greatly values its relations with the front-line States, the Netherlands wishes to promote a political dialogue between those States and the member States of the European Community and will take the necessary steps to initiate that process.

It is widely understood, however, that the interrelated problems of southern Africa can be solved satisfactorily only if the main source of strife and insecurity, South Africa's apartheid system, is eliminated. Without the removal of that root cause, our common goal of achieving peace, stability and prosperity for all the peoples of the region will continue to elude us. More than ever, the international community is faced with the urgent task of preventing the South African authorities from plunging their country and their neighbours into a disastrous general conflagration.

A social structure erected on the basis of racial discrimination and prejudice cannot endure. It should be understood that attempts to salvage apartheid are doomed and merely prolong the country's suffering. We therefore call on the South African Government to rise to the demands of the situation and immediately to

(Mr. van der Stoel,
Netherlands)

embark upon a course of fundamental reforms leading to the establishment of a truly democratic, multiracial society founded on equal political and civil rights for all its citizens, irrespective of race or the colour of their skin.

For if the violence inherent in the apartheid system continues unchecked, the voices of reason and moderation on all sides risk being drowned out as the country slides down the fateful path of confrontation.

Mr. MOUSBOUTAS (Cyprus): If, during the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations it was with justifiable pride that we heard references to the achievements of this Organization - such as in the area of decolonization, the drawing up of codes of international behaviour, its peace-keeping operations and so on - it was with as much disappointment and anxiety that we listened to the voices of the international community referring to the continuing abhorrent system of apartheid in South Africa.

There are times of greatness in the history of man. There are also times of regression, and apartheid is the epitome of injustice and the perpetuation of one of the darkest pages in the history of mankind. How unkind and unjust has man been to man, how vicious and ruthless? The answer in its full length and scope is found in daily press reports. For apartheid is, in short, a negation of human values. It is also a reminder of our collective failures and the heavy burden we share in rectifying the evils which mark the present and pose grave dangers for the future.

There is no doubt that, as members of the human race, we have a sense of guilt at our inability to act, and even more so as to what we could do and have failed to do for the people of South Africa. The human race, like justice, is one and indivisible. When human rights and fundamental freedoms are denied to the people of South Africa, all peoples, whether in Pretoria or thousands of miles away, are

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

deprived of a part of their own freedom, especially now in the age of space exploration and in an ever more independent world.

There is no doubt that the determination of the international community to struggle against that abhorrent system has been sharpened during the past months.

True, the South African régime has still found it possible to disregard condemnations, to defy appeals and even to intensify its efforts at suppression and elimination of the internal opposition to its discredited policies. there is no doubt in our minds, however, that with the world's conscience awakened, the beginning of the end of apartheid is in sight. Some evidence of this is that the Pretoria régime is employing even more brutal repression and stepping up its torture and murder of the opponents of apartheid - that is, is behaving as a desperate world bandit does when the beginning of the end is in sight.

As if this were not enough, the Pretoria régime has undertaken a campaign of aggression, subversion and destabilization directed against neighbouring countries and particularly towards Angola. The contempt shown by the Pretoria régime for the international community and international law definitely continues and is evidenced not only by the attacks on the front-line States but also by its continuing refusal to accept the termination of its Mandate over Namibia and persisting in its oppressive presence in that Territory.

By intensifying its attacks against the front-line States, South Africa is trying to intimidate those countries into submitting to such political arrangements as would neutralize them as strong opponents of the heinous system of apartheid. But the fact remains clear and the signs are everywhere that, even though there is still a considerable way to go, this is the beginning of the end, the suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa will come to an end and their dignity and rights will be restored in the not too distant future.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

The failure of the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions on South Africa on the issue of Namibia has allowed the racist régime to continue its brutal repression internally and its armed aggression and destabilization externally. Our responsibility for having permitted the strengthening of the régime is serious. We have appeased South Africa, and in doing so we have contributed to the aggravation of the situation.

The international community now appears more determined, however, to isolate the Pretoria régime by not committing funds for new investments and even by disinvesting. All these steps, even though they may fall far short of the comprehensive sanctions needed, contribute to weakening and isolating the promoters of apartheid.

Cyprus has repeatedly condemned apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination and has consistently supported international efforts to ensure the imposition of sanctions as provided for in the Charter with the aim of forcing South Africa to abandon its inhuman policies. Our hearts have all along been with those who are struggling for a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will enjoy equal and full political rights. We therefore affirm once again our full solidarity with and support for the tormented people of South Africa and assure them that we shall continue to do our full part, individually and through the United Nations, in bringing about as soon as possible the end of the inhuman system of apartheid.

Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa has now been on the agenda of this body for almost three and a half decades. Although the international community has repeatedly expressed abhorrence and condemnation of that system as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, that abominable practice continues. The General Assembly is again considering the item, and we have before us the report of the Secretary-General in document A/40/780. I should like to record our deep appreciation to him for his untiring and praiseworthy efforts. I should also like to take this opportunity to commend the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, contained in documents A/40/22/Add.1 to 4 and A/40/36, respectively. In this context we should also like to applaud the noble efforts of Ambassador Joseph N. Garba, the Chairman, and the other members of the Special Committee in championing the just cause of the people of southern Africa suffering under apartheid and racial discrimination. We also express our satisfaction that after prolonged and extensive consultation the Ad Hoc Committee has been able to prepare a draft convention against apartheid in sports.

Bangladesh's position on apartheid is based on our commitment to support oppressed people throughout the world who are waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is also inspired by our deep and abiding faith in the Charter of the United Nations, our firm commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention against racial discrimination and our strict adherence to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to people suffering under colonial subjugation. Pursuant to its total commitment to the eradication of apartheid without compromise, Bangladesh has always pledged full support to the

(Mr. Wasiuddin, Bangladesh)

oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against that country's obnoxious policies.

On the solemn occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations His Excellency President Hussain Muhammad Ershad of Bangladesh, participating in the commemorative session of the General Assembly, reaffirmed this policy in his statement before the General Assembly. He said:

"The most deplorable policy of apartheid is still being perpetrated on the people of Africa. The outrageous situation now prevailing in South Africa has shaken the conscience of humanity. As we are gathered here on the occasion of this commemoration, can we not assert our joint will on the racist régime of South Africa and force it to abandon forever its heinous policy?"

(A/40/PV.41, p. 51)

The abominable policy of apartheid has had grave political, economic and social implications for the vast majority of the population of South Africa. It has denied the black African's political and civil rights, including their right to representation, and has dispossessed millions of them under draconian laws. To suppress that peoples' legitimate struggle for their inalienable rights the Pretoria régime has armed itself to the teeth. It has built an elaborate apparatus of State terrorism to which tens of thousands have ruthlessly been subjected. On the economic level it has reduced the indigenous population to mere slave labour, which has resulted in their continued impoverishment. To ensure the perpetuation of such exploitation of the labour force, trade-union leaders are being arrested, strikers dismissed and evicted and trade-union activities progressively curtailed.

In the social sphere the ruthless cobweb of controls and discrimination has doomed the majority of the South African population to miserable housing, education and health and to other poor conditions. All in all, the racist Pretoria régime has sought to chain the black Africans in an all-encompassing manner, condemning

(Mr. Wasiuddin, Bangladesh)

them to a state of existence that is a severe affront to all that humanity stands for.

It is the firm conviction of my delegation that any solution that does not ensure transfer of power to the vast majority of the people of South Africa in accordance with their freely expressed views must be rejected. Bangladesh has always advocated a concerted international campaign, to be directed towards a complete isolation and boycott of the racist régime of South Africa in all fields - diplomatic, political, economic, trade, social, sports and culture and the like. It may be recalled that Bangladesh took the initiative in drafting the resolutions at the General Assembly regarding an arms embargo against South Africa. In the same spirit we are in full agreement with the view that mandatory sanctions, as provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should be applied against South Africa with a view to putting an end to the existing collaboration between the apartheid régime and some other countries. We fully share the concern expressed in the report of the Special Committee contained in document A/40/22/Add.2 at the increasing and continuing diabolical alliance between South Africa and Israel and unequivocally endorse its call for concerted international action against it.

The prolonged and valiant struggle of the indomitable black Africans, which has culminated in the recent mass uprisings in South Africa, clearly signals that the days of apartheid are numbered. Yet the racist régime has not responded positively to the call of the world community. Instead, it has been using every manoeuvre to maintain and reinforce its stronghold in southern Africa through the apparatus of State terrorism. It continues to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia and refuses to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority of that Territory until independence. Through the strength of the evil hands of apartheid the racist Pretoria régime has not only continued

(Mr. Wasiuddin, Bangladesh)

its oppression of the people of South Africa and Namibia but has also been extending its acts of aggression into neighbouring countries, thereby threatening international peace and security.

The international community has repeatedly expressed concern at and condemnation of such acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime. It is a matter of graver concern for us all that South Africa has not only been building up its arms industry but has also actively been engaged in developing its own nuclear capabilities. Bangladesh has consistently maintained that Security Council resolution 418 (1977) prohibiting the sale or transfer of arms to South Africa must be enforced strictly. In that regard my delegation would like to commend the actions taken so far by the Special Committee to monitor closely the developments in the fields of military nuclear, economic and other collaboration between the South African régime and certain countries.

(Mr. Wasiuddin, Bangladesh)

We are deliberating on the policies of apartheid pursued by the racist minority régime of South Africa at a time when the valiant and indomitable people of South Africa have elevated their struggle to a new level for complete eradication of this system. Acts of terror and intimidation have not only failed to repress their relentless struggle, but actually added to its further widening and intensification. Time is now ripe for the international community to translate its abhorrence and condemnation towards the inhuman policies of apartheid into decisive and firm actions. There is no doubt whatsoever that the oppressed people of South Africa will emerge victorious in their just and legitimate struggle. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nation, it is incumbent upon us all to undertake concrete, concerted and vigorous efforts in support of the struggling people of South Africa in order to eliminate the system of apartheid from the face of the earth once and for all.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): Can a price be fixed on the dignity and self-respect of a man? As far as my delegation is concerned, the dignity and self-respect of a man is priceless. No price is too high for one's dignity and self-respect. Our oppressed South African brothers have realized this and are paying with their blood the price of their human dignity.

Those who condone the evils of the inhuman system of apartheid and are its apologists argue that the economic conditions of blacks in South Africa is far better than in any other African country. To those, we should like to make it clear once and for all that the issue at stake with the system of apartheid is not economical well-being, the issue is political and human dignity. It is not how much better the standard of living of the segregated African in South Africa is compared to those of Africans elsewhere. What the majority are fighting for is their human dignity, self-respect and human equality, things which the evil system of apartheid is adamantly against.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

Thank God, not many of us gathered here have to suffer the indignation of that system. A legalized racism. A system that allows the whites to think that they are the God-chosen and anyone who is not white should be downtrodden.

The patience of the black majority in South Africa has worn out. These people have since 1912, when the African National Congress was first established right up to 1960, used peaceful protests and passive resistance, and the reply was that the South African Government had consistently responded by violence and terror and an intensification of racial oppression and all of this time the international community stood by passively.

It was only after 1960 that the struggling masses in South Africa realized that the only language understood by the oppressor is to reply to violence with violence. Therefore, while continuing to call for negotiated change, the freedom movements organized themselves to give a little prod to the process.

With the independence of many African States, the question of apartheid was forced on to the international political agendas, where it remained as an ever-increasing pressure for external action against the South African racists. But until recently, the South African response has been the same: more repression, more violence and terror and more defiance to the call for humanity and justice.

In the last few years, because of international pressure and the intensification of the internal struggle by the people, the South African Government has invented new delaying tactics, trying to bamboozle the innocent. For example, it has allowed all races to sit on the same benches in the parks, and sometimes to eat in the same restaurants. It talks of more reforms to come. However, what it does not do and has no intention of doing is to accept the principle of human equality and undertake serious negotiations with the real African leaders that will lead to the process of abolishing apartheid.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

The realities are that South Africa is not interested in the peaceful means of solving the problem, it is not interested in the peaceful cohabitation of all races in South Africa, it is interested only in the defence of apartheid. To that end it adopts a policy of terrorism. It indiscriminately kills its own citizens.

The patience of the most patient ultimately wears out, so does the patience of the oppressed people of South Africa. They have decided to buy their self-respect and human dignity with their blood. All too often their resistance is spontaneous, an expression of the desperation felt by those who have simply reached the end of their patience with the oppression of apartheid.

The writing is clearly on the wall. The oppressed people of South Africa have run out of patience and are no longer willing to suffer in silence the indignities and injustices of their conditions. They are no longer willing to put up with police harassments and the denial of their basic rights. The struggle for freedom and for the destruction of apartheid in South Africa has reached a critical stage and it behoves the international community to intensify its support for the freedom fighters in order to hasten the final demise of apartheid.

The international community must help the struggling people of South Africa, by going further than simply condemning South Africa; for the defence of humanity we must oppose apartheid through active steps to isolate South Africa, politically, culturally and economically. We decided this many years ago, and now we must intensify our efforts.

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is imperative and entirely appropriate that the General Assembly should rededicate itself to launching a final assault on the citadel of apartheid in South Africa.*

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

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): This statement concerns the agenda item entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

In the statement he made from this rostrum on 2 October last, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Congo, Comrade Antoine Ndinga Oba, had occasion to congratulate the President of the General Assembly and the other Assembly officers elected to serve during the fortieth session of the General Assembly. As I reiterate that cordial greeting and the well deserved tribute paid by my Government to Ambassador Jaime de Piniés and to his well known wisdom and skill, I wish to recall that those qualities are relevant and timely, thus fulfilling my duty without dwelling on it too long at this stage of the Assembly's work.

My position is quite a different one, when I speak of the serious, tragic problem of the official racism implacably practised by white South Africa, of the resulting colonial situation which is high-handedly maintained in Namibia, and of the hateful policy of systematic aggression and destabilization pursued by Pretoria against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the front-line States.

I wish to reiterate the horror felt by my country, Congo, by its leaders and by Congolese public opinion at apartheid and at the white minority South African Government's police repression carried out by fire and sword. This is the tragedy of the decadence of the human race and of the great deterioration in the living conditions of more than 20 million human beings, who have been denied all dignity.

It is surprising that the racist Power has not clearly perceived the upheaval and protest we see today in South Africa and throughout the world, and the broad movement condemning the apartheid system.

The apartheid régime has persistently tried to convince public opinion - particularly in Western-bloc countries - that South Africa, as led by the whites, is and will continue to be an important ally of those countries and that consequently the status quo in South Africa is remarkably well suited to their interests: the defence of the West and the fight against communism. The Western

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

countries, to avoid harming their own economies, ought therefore to refrain from joining in the international community's sanctions against racist South Africa. It must be admitted that the PLO, and the successive campaigns have admittedly been skilful. Paradoxically, they seduce first and foremost those among the States Members of the United Nations which are the best informed about the tragedy and which, moreover, are staunch and self-proclaimed champions of the all-out crusade to defend human rights and human dignity. The highly revealing and telling silence on the eradication of apartheid and on racist South Africa being a prime source of international tension during a stage-show political statement at the solemn commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations escaped no one.

Before going any further, I wish to pay a solemn tribute to the memory of thousands of martyrs who this year were cut down by the senseless, lethal folly of the Pretoria racists. Benjamin Moloise, who was executed on 22 October in the face of universal condemnation, is one of those whose memory my delegation wishes to honour.

Now, during the fortieth anniversary year of the United Nations, we are faced with a dilemma: should we honour the purposes set out in the Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or should we allow the traces of ideologies and practices condemned by human conscience to be perpetuated in South Africa.

However they cloak themselves or however subtle their language - expressions such as "separate development" for example - racism and nazism boil down to a single premise: hatred and contempt for man by man. When that contempt goes beyond the boundaries of an individual attitude and reaches State institutions, basically inspiring all domestic and foreign national policy, the situation becomes one likely to disrupt international peace and security.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

In South Africa the danger seems to be all-pervasive, beginning with the looks cast at blacks and at coloured people by the white racist minority, who are schooled in and imbued with the fantastic convictions of a bygone age.

To the extent that he cannot identify with the black or any other race, the white South African racist, like his nazi forebear, sees in anyone who does not reflect his own image and his own prejudices all sorts of hallucinatory manias, similar to the phenomena studied by Franz Fanon, Jacques Lacan and other leading intellectuals.

In the eyes of the white racist, the imaginary aggressiveness attributed to blacks justifies all kinds of exigencies. The result today is the slow but sure transformation of the peaceful, generous people of South Africa into an immense force of violence, unquestionably equal to the straitjacket imposed by the iniquitous laws and methodical practices of the apartheid system.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

The acts of aggression against the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of neighbouring States in South Africa are the result of deliberate policy and are the natural outcome of the blocking of the internal situation which is characterized by arbitrary action and the senseless denial to the black people of their fundamental rights and human dignity.

The Pretoria régime, motivated by the most abject bad faith, has forfeited all credibility in the eyes of world public opinion by flouting the agreements which were concluded after the negotiations, freely entered into, which led to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on the process of independence of Namibia. The aid and the massive support which Pretoria gives to the forces of evil in Angola and in Mozambique shamelessly violates accepted international commitments. Not only has the Government of Pretoria failed to renounce its illegal occupation of Namibia, but it has even stepped up its military presence and its racist administration, thus transforming the territory into a beachhead for its premeditated attacks against the People's Republic of Angola.

State terrorism and the repeated violation of sovereignty practised against Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Botswana, has caused considerable damage. The racist régime, furthermore, refuses to acknowledge this or to pay any compensation to the States thus victimized. This attitude can earn for South Africa nothing but the sworn enmity and unanimous condemnation of the international community.

In this fortieth anniversary year, the powers for maintaining international peace and security vested in this Organization should be used to the full.

This aim is perfectly legitimate on behalf of all the peoples and nations which are determined to preserve future generations in South Africa from the scourge of war.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

Our Organization has undoubtedly not disgraced itself. Its Special Committee against Apartheid has been making considerable efforts to ensure an informed world public opinion, and for this we would like to congratulate its Chairman, our colleague Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria.

My delegation shares the opinion, held by many others, that the United Nations, on the basis of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, should impose on the apartheid régime the mandatory sanctions which are so amply deserved by that country by reason of its behaviour, which is so at variance with the rules and principles that are maintained by this Organization. Nevertheless we know that such a determination to apply the provisions of Chapter VII depends essentially on a limited number of Governments, which hold strangely aloof from the feelings and the very clear message being sent by the resisting people of South Africa.

In the name of what kind of morality can it be reasonable or legitimate to declare war on Nicaragua and at the same time to reject any action against the Pretoria régime? The people of South Africa has not allowed itself to be misled by all the fabrications and attempts to fiddle about with apartheid; it seeks the dismantling and total eradication of that hateful system. For this is a struggle for the dignity of the human person, in order to found a new South Africa, and the international community must therefore commit itself to specific and unceasing action.

The international convention against apartheid in sports, for example, recently drafted by the Ad Hoc Committee on that subject of which my country is a member will, once adopted, serve as a most useful weapon in the hands of international youth. My delegation hopes that this Convention will enjoy overwhelming support.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

The awarding of two Nobel Peace Prizes in the space of less than 20 years to distinguished South African individuals, together with the heroic struggle being waged by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), are a source of inspiration for millions of men, women and children who, mostly defenceless as they are, nevertheless give daily proof that their quest for liberty knows no bounds.

After 25 years of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela sends us the same message. Therefore, on 11 October, my country, as part of its observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the political prisoners of South Africa, launched a special press campaign.

Petitions for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all anti-apartheid political prisoners should be addressed to the Special Anti-Apartheid Committee of the People's Republic of Congo, ACAP, Post Box 2034, Brazzaville, Congo.

It is high time that the racist power in Pretoria ceased to carry out its strategy of desperation in southern Africa.

Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): The debate on item 35, policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, concerns a problem that has long been on the Assembly's agenda. Possibly it is one of the problems most fully debated in all its aspects, both in the various forums of the United Nations and in the General Assembly and in the Special Committee against Apartheid, of which Costa Rica had the privilege of being a member for seven years during which time my country was both Vice-Chairman and Chairman on different occasions.

As often said, this hateful State policy that has been codified and systematized, has been declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations General Assembly.

(Mrs. Castro de Barish, Costa Rica)

To carry out this systematization, the Pretoria régime has over the years been promulgating laws and decrees to that end, including, in particular, the Group Areas Act, the pass laws, the decree on Bantu education, and the system of settlements and bantustans, whose only purpose is to deprive black South Africans of all rights and to exploit their labour unjustly, and thus to crush with an iron hand the struggle of the oppressed people for their rights and their freedom.

(Mrs. Castro de Barish,
Costa Rica)

To carry out this repression, the apartheid régime of South Africa has declared a state of emergency and deployed armed forces in South African towns and villages. Hundreds of persons have died and thousands have been seriously wounded, many of them being children. Thousands of leaders of the people have been imprisoned and evidence of the torture of detainees is overwhelming, as has been indicated here by the Rapporteur on this question, Mr. Kumar Mitra.

Before these recent very serious events, the anticipated statements of President Botha had aroused a glimmer of hope as it was thought that he would announce real and effective changes in his policy in terms of the recognition of the inalienable rights of the black majority in South Africa. Those statements created a feeling of frustration and discouragement not only among the oppressed South Africans - the black majority - but also in the entire world community, as has been evident in this Hall.

South Africa's leaders have left no doubt about the decision of their Government to maintain in place all the key elements of the apartheid régime, their refusal to recognize the equality and value of the human person, and their rejection of the legitimate political rights of the majority black population. The well-deserved, unconditional release of the freedom fighter Nelson Mandela has been categorically rejected, despite appeals from all corners of the world by distinguished persons, heads of State, His Holiness Pope John Paul II, professors, philosophers, writers and students. Other political prisoners have also been gaoled and executed, among them the poet Benjamin Moloise, in disregard of the appeals of all segments of society for an act of clemency.

(Mrs. Castro de Barish,
Costa Rica)

And, in connection with this total denial of fundamental human rights, it is appropriate to recall here what the Secretary-General said in his important statement of 23 October to this Assembly:

"One of the distinctive features of the ethos created by the United Nations is the international concern with the promotion of human rights. There is a need to end violations in a number of societies, and especially the unique, abominable and universally condemned situation of apartheid, where racial discrimination is organized by the State itself. The situation clearly shows that when human rights are violated or suppressed, resistance erupts, and when resistance is met by violence, the political and economic cost can become unbearable. I believe that pressure exerted by the world community alone can help resolve this situation. This would set a persuasive example of how seriously we take one of the purposes of the United Nations stated in the very first Article of the Charter." (A/40/PV.49, p. 8)

South Africa's apartheid leaders should not forget that South Africa, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations and signatories of the Charter, is morally and legally bound to abide by those principles and support them. They are the *raison d'être* of this Organization. For that reason alone - not to mention the pressure of world public opinion and the reaction of the oppressed people, the black majority - the South African Government should, before the situation becomes even more critical, carry out a genuine reform of its hateful system of State racial discrimination and eliminate the reprehensible laws that provide it with a pseudolegal basis. They were enumerated in the statement made when this item was taken up by Major-General Joseph N. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and of the African Group of States at the United Nations, namely:

(Mrs. Castro de Barish,
Costa Rica)

"... abolition of the Group Areas Act; total abolition of the system of influx control and pass laws; ... an end to the system of racial classification in which every single South African is assigned by the State to one of four racial categories; abolition of the bantustans and bantu educational system and, most importantly, one person, one vote in a united, democratic and non-racial society." (A/40/PV.51, pp. 17 and 18)

We would add "and a free society".

For Costa Rica, which is dedicated to the system of participatory and representative democracy in which each person can and should exercise his inalienable human rights, independence and freedom are the reality of our institutional life. We express the fervent desire that reason will at last enter the minds and hearts of the rulers of South Africa and that they will decide to take that important and decisive step, which is not as difficult as they imagine, and which can make the difference between the injustice and violence that prevail today with all their consequences of suffering and death on the one hand and, on the other, good sense, the peaceful solution of the problems on which from the onset the United Nations has focused its attention, and the elimination once and for all of that terrible social blemish and shame of South African society - apartheid.

We wish to express the heartfelt hope that this could spell the end of apartheid for Namibia as well. That should also bring independence and freedom to that hard-pressed people which has suffered the illegal colonial occupation of South Africa. Hostility and violence against the neighbouring front-line States must cease and peace should come to that convulsed region of Africa. If that can be achieved - and we express our hope here that it will be - then everything else will come of its own accord, as the Bible tells us.

Mr. JARRETT (Liberia): Once again, the Assembly is debating the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa - a policy which is a continuous source of tension in the area and a threat to international peace and security. Under this system of racial discrimination, 4.5 million whites continue their repressive practices against 23 million blacks, without respect for their basic human rights. The indigenous inhabitants are uprooted and banished to become citizens of puppet régimes in alien black homelands. Many black workers are forced to live separated from their families in order to avoid starvation and because they cannot live freely in those areas where jobs are available. Wives who are not allowed to live with their husbands, employed in the so-called white areas, are forced either to break the law or become unfaithful.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

The black population, condemned to the so-called citizenship of bantustans, are divested of their rightful citizenship of South Africa and their right to vote in the land of their birth. They are deported as aliens from the country whose nationality they hold by reason of birth. They are hounded by South African police as unlawful immigrants and are denied the right to participate in the political life of their country. Those blacks who are recruited to live in what have been designated white areas continue to suffer under all forms of racial and repressive laws, including the infamous pass laws. In response to the tremendous resistance of the South African people against these injustices, the authorities of the racist régime unleashed large numbers of troops to suppress defenceless demonstrators and hundreds of people were killed or wounded. Many leaders of mass organizations and thousands of innocent people were also arrested. The South African authorities thought they could extinguish the flames of the people's struggle by death and imprisonment; but where there was repression there was equal resistance, and the greater the oppression the tougher the resistance.

We consider it important to reiterate these familiar but sad incidents, in particular because South Africa has time and again promoted cosmetic reforms fictitious in character deliberately to mislead people of good conscience who have renounced racism in their own societies and elsewhere. We take this opportunity to warn the international community not to be cajoled by the barrage of South African propaganda, such as the recent announcements of President Botha. We must be alert and not consider fraudulent reforms to be a step in the right direction.

In recent years the South African authorities have intensified their customary manoeuvres of political deception and military suppression in order to sustain and strengthen their racist rule and hoodwink world public opinion. They have given wide publicity to their willingness to improve racial relations through constitutional reforms. The object of that exercise is to continue to place all

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

important powers in the firm grip of a handful of white racists, with a few Coloureds and Asians thrown in to keep up the pretense. Reforms in South Africa are intended chiefly to perpetuate and legitimize the system of apartheid.

The inhuman policy of the Pretoria régime is pursued not only in South Africa; it has been extended to Namibia, a Territory illegally occupied by that régime. Moreover, racist Pretoria constantly engages in State terrorism in order to establish hegemony in southern Africa. For this purpose it resorts to threats, blackmail and the use of subversive and terrorist activities on a large scale. We have witnessed during the course of this year regular instances of border violations and acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the neighbouring countries of Angola, Botswana and Lesotho.

Apartheid is contrary to the moral and political principles which lie at the basis of our society. Its elimination offers the only prospect for peace in southern Africa. The arrests, the arbitrary detention, the policy of forced removal and the violence exercised by those who should enforce law and order cannot be a solution. The solution lies only in the establishment of a just and democratic society based on equality of civil and political rights and respect for the dignity of the human being.

The declaration on 20 July 1985 of a state of emergency was but the latest deception to enable the racist minority Government of Pretoria to pursue unbridled repression. By conferring extraordinary powers on the army and the police, by stepping up arbitrary arrests and giving the order to fire on peaceful demonstrators the notorious régime of South Africa has intensified its abhorrent policy and defied the international community.

Mr. Botha's apartheid policy cannot be reformed; rather, it must be effectively eradicated. Those who join us in condemnation of apartheid and

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

at the same time reinforce their resistance to the demand for isolation of South Africa will only lead black people to believe the words of Bishop Desmond Tutu when he said:

"The West appears to be saying that blacks are expendable, that when it comes to the crunch you really cannot trust the white people, who will tend to club together and say that blood is thicker than water."

History has shown that in the final resort a nation cannot live half-slave and half-free and that the forces of freedom do finally win. Most important of all, human nature is such that human beings will continue to struggle for their dignity and liberty until they achieve victory or death. South Africa is incapable of killing all opponents of apartheid, including those living within South Africa itself.

The events occurring this year in South Africa should remind us that we are all involved in the struggle against apartheid and that neutrality is not possible. Either we fight against it or we find ourselves giving tacit support to it. The colour of our skin or our nationality is irrelevant to the requirement that we make a choice either for or against the elimination of the evil of racism.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

It is against that background that the Government of Liberia considers of great importance the speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 37/69 C of 9 December 1982. That resolution, inter alia, reaffirmed the General Assembly's conviction that the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter, was the most appropriate and effective means by which the international community could assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. However, it is most regrettable that the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly related to the question of the policy of apartheid have failed to have any effect, because of the increasing collaboration between South Africa and some Western States Members of our Organization. The political, military, technological, economic and financial assistance they give to the racist régime has encouraged it further to defy the United Nations.

The continuation of the illegal practices of the South African racist régime and the situation prevailing in southern Africa make it necessary for the United Nations to reaffirm the demands expressed in its previous relevant resolutions and decisions and to search for ways and means for their implementation. It is the responsibility of all members of the United Nations to do their utmost to put an end to the inhuman policy of apartheid, which has been universally condemned as a crime against humanity.

The Liberian delegation commends the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and fully endorses the conclusions and recommendations and the proposed programme of work contained in its report now before the Assembly.

The Government of Liberia remains, as ever, committed to the total eradication of apartheid and to the establishment of a democratic society under majority rule in South Africa. We reaffirm our support for the freedom fighters and oppressed peoples of South Africa, who are waging a just and courageous struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria.

Mr. KURODA (Japan): It is indeed a deplorable fact that racial discrimination is still practised in many parts of the world. It is a persistent and deep-rooted problem, as old as the history of mankind. Nevertheless, we must not give up our fight against it; rather, we must redouble our efforts to eradicate racism wherever it occurs.

Today the most blatant example of this pernicious practice is, of course, South Africa's apartheid, which is nothing other than an institutionalized system of racial discrimination. It is natural that our efforts to achieve racial equality should be focused primarily on that country.

In the past several months we have witnessed a serious deterioration of the situation in South Africa. The declaration of a state of emergency there only added fuel to the fire of the already rampant violence. Black people are rising up in an expression of dissatisfaction and frustration stemming from the repression they are suffering. The South African Government's attempts forcibly to suppress the unrest have tragically resulted in hundreds of casualties. It must realize, however, that the uprisings will not end until apartheid is abolished, once and for all. It is therefore imperative that the Government of South Africa abandon its futile attempts to quell the unrest by force, and that it take genuine steps to resolve the difficulties at their root cause.

The Government of Japan fully respects the various resolutions on apartheid, and has long been taking all appropriate measures to convince the South African Government that it should end its apartheid policy. In fact, Japan's measures are among the strictest of those taken by the industrialized democracies.

Japan does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. Needless to say, it does not recognize the so-called bantustan states.

Japan not only strictly observes the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977), but does not extend any type of military co-operation whatsoever to that country.

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

There is absolutely no co-operation between Japan and South Africa in the field of nuclear development, including peaceful uses of nuclear energy. As the only country in the world to have suffered the devastation of nuclear weapons, Japan is particularly strict in its observance of that policy.

In the economic field, Japan prohibits direct investment in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. Moreover, Japan has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa.

Cultural, educational and sports contacts with South Africa are also discouraged. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan does not issue visas to those South Africans who apply for entry into Japan for the purpose of cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities. The Ministry is doing its best to ensure that this policy is strictly enforced.

Japan has long been making substantial contributions to United Nations funds and programmes providing humanitarian and educational support to the oppressed people in South Africa. It will continue such humanitarian assistance in the future.

On 9 October 1985, in view of recent developments in South Africa, the Government of Japan announced its decision to take further measures against South Africa in addition to those strict measures already in effect. The new measures include the more stringent application of existing laws and regulations to prohibit the export of computers that might assist the activities of such organization as the armed forces and the police which enforce apartheid; efforts to urge all those concerned to co-operate in voluntarily halting imports of Krugerrands and all other gold coins from South Africa; efforts to increase Japan's co-operation in the area

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

of human resource development in southern African States, with a view to contributing to the improvement of the status of black people in the region. In announcing those measures, the Government of Japan renewed its opposition to apartheid in South Africa and reiterated its hope for the early realization of a South Africa without apartheid.

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

Beset by sustained unrest and by a sequence of riots and repression that has claimed more than 700 lives in the past year, the situation in South Africa is critical. Witnessing this situation, the Government of Japan believes that the Government of South Africa must state clearly and unequivocally that it intends to abolish apartheid and unconditionally enter into discussions with the leaders of the black community on specific steps leading to that end. Japan calls upon all involved to join their energies in search of a non-violent solution.

Japan earnestly hopes that the Government of South Africa will heed the voice of the international community and take measures to ensure that the system of apartheid will be abolished peacefully in the near future.

Finally, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers in expressing the sincere appreciation of my Government for the strenuous efforts being made by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid. The Government of Japan wishes to assure those bodies of its full co-operation in their noble struggle against apartheid.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): This debate on the South African Government's apartheid policy is another manifestation of the international community's deep concern regarding this question, which, as everyone knows, is a threat to international peace and security.

As you, Sir, have noted, distinguished kings, presidents and heads of Government who spoke here less than a week ago all without exception expressed their resentment over this question and renewed their commitment to its eradication. To struggle for the eradication of apartheid is to struggle for the observance and advancement of human rights. It is also to struggle for the victory of a democratic multi-racial society in South Africa. And, finally, it is to struggle for the advent of peace in southern Africa. In that struggle, we must work quickly in suitable ways, because the situation in South Africa is deteriorating rapidly.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/40/22) only confirms the dramatic situation the valiant people of South Africa continue to endure, given the acceleration of Pretoria's savage repression.

In the face of the heroic and resolute resistance of the people of South Africa, the Pretoria régime has, as all are aware, since 21 July 1985 decreed a state of emergency, thus strengthening its repressive and oppressive system against the black majority of South Africa, whose only wrong is to claim its elementary right to dignity, freedom and life.

We are, however, pleased to note the mobilization of the international community against this escalation of arbitrary measures in South Africa and its mobilization for the elimination of apartheid. Thus the Security Council, expressing its indignation and general disapproval, condemned the establishment of the state of emergency, and in its resolution 569 (1985) of 26 July 1985 called upon Member States of the United Nations that have not yet done so to envisage the adoption of appropriate voluntary measures against South Africa. In so doing the international community has qualitatively and quantitatively increased its pressure for sanctions against Pretoria.

It will be recalled that unfortunately, as always, the Pretoria regime's only reply has been the hardening of its blind intransigence within South Africa and destabilization, aggression and invasion in its relations with its neighbouring States and the outside world, in complete disregard of the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and its use of the international Territory of Namibia as a base. Similarly, by installing in that Territory, through a so-called multi-party conference, a self-styled interim government that the international community has unanimously considered invalid, the South African régime has clearly demonstrated its determination to continue illegally to occupy Namibia despite the numerous decisions and resolutions of the United Nations in that respect.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

There is, then, no further doubt that in deciding to turn a deaf ear to all the appeals of the international community, to all the warnings of the Security Council, the principal United Nations body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, in turning a deaf ear to the entire world, including those Powers that might still harbour the hope that constitutional change in the apartheid system could change it, Pretoria has chosen to defy the entire international community and the conscience of the world by obstinately refusing to respect fundamental human rights and to apply majority rule.

This policy of obduracy and defiance of reason and law, coming after the limited sanctions adopted by certain countries such as the United States, Canada, France and others, as well as the countries of the European Economic Community and Japan, clearly demonstrates the need to accelerate the concerted and coherent efforts of the international community in order completely to eradicate the system of apartheid through the application of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, which is the only thing capable of bringing the apartheid régime to reason before the southern part of the continent breaks out in generalized strife.

In this respect the Security Council has the duty fully to assume the responsibilities that fall to it under the United Nations Charter, which we have just celebrated and commemorated on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, and to adopt binding sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. What is at stake indeed is the credibility and reputation of the United Nations, which we all today consider an indispensable instrument.

I wish in this connection to recall the proposal made from this rostrum at the commemorative session for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and on behalf of Africa by His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and the current President of the Organization of African Unity, for the holding, no later than June 1986, under the auspices of the United Nations, of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

This is the time to take the necessary decisions. In the same statement, President Diouf said:

"We must heed the message of history before it is too late, for the defeat of the adherents of apartheid is now a certainty. Only the timing remains to be determined." (A/40/PV.42, p. 20)

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

The martyred people of South Africa have suffered too much in the struggle imposed upon them by the abominable system of apartheid, whereas they wish only to live in a multiracial, egalitarian and democratic society which guarantees freedom to all. If wisdom is still to prevail, it is necessary to create a climate conducive to agreement, which first of all implies the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, an end to the state of emergency, the abrogation of repressive legislation against anti-apartheid political and social movements and particularly the beginning of frank and sincere negotiations between the Pretoria authorities and the legitimate representatives of the liberation movements and patriotic forces of South Africa.

In this connection the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid deserve our full attention and our wholehearted support so that internationally agreed and co-ordinated action can be taken to eradicate apartheid - the shame of this century - through specific and forceful measures within the framework of the United Nations, and notably the Security Council, and by a genuine display of solidarity on the part of the international community with the fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the front-line States.

It is the duty of the United Nations, in which the Governments and peoples of Africa continue to place great hopes, to respond positively to the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples, and thus to all the peoples of the world, by putting an end to the bloody violence and upheavals experienced by the black population of South Africa, thus advancing the cause of human rights and peace in the world, the fundamental objectives of the San Francisco Charter.

The achievement of this goal calls for the combined efforts of all those struggling against apartheid. And it is for this reason that we welcome the fact

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

that the Special Committee against Apartheid has been able to elaborate an international convention against apartheid in sports and that this legal instrument, whose signature, ratification and implementation have already begun, will undoubtedly serve the noble cause of the struggle against apartheid, which, as has already been said here, is a struggle for human rights and for human dignity.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The storm over South Africa which has been gathering for many years is starting to burst, and a human tragedy of unpredictable magnitude could unfold if the South African Government does not belatedly accept the need for prompt and fundamental change.

Apart from the danger of nuclear war and the urgent need for effective arms control and disarmament, the main focus of international concern, revealed in statements before this fortieth commemorative session of the General Assembly, has been the related problems in southern Africa - apartheid, South Africa's continuing obstruction of Namibia's independence and South Africa's policy of destabilizing its neighbours; but especially apartheid, which is the root of all these problems.

At times in its history, mankind has been confronted by intrinsically evil situations, the gravity of which is such that all Governments must continue to strive for their eradication until this is achieved. Apartheid is such an evil.

Many years ago one of the famous figures of South Africa's earlier history, Jan Smuts, wrote: "the old Africa has gone and the white races must face the new situation which they themselves have created". It is both sad and ironic that the warnings which so many individuals and the United Nations have consistently given to South Africa over many years have not been heeded. If the white minority chooses to attempt to maintain indefinitely its highly privileged political and economic position, based as it is on the denial of fundamental rights and enforced by coercive and often brutal action, against the legitimate anger of the

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

disenfranchised and disadvantaged majority, then bloodshed can only continue on an increasing scale.

I do not want to be repetitive and to lapse into a ritual condemnation of apartheid. But apartheid is a denial of everything for which the United Nations stands. It is a betrayal of the ideals of the founders of the United Nations and a rejection of the basic human rights of mankind as they are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since our last debate under this agenda item in the General Assembly in 1984, there have been important changes both inside South Africa and in the international perceptions of the situation, and in the response of the international community to that situation.

Within South Africa the Government has promised meaningful change, but has delivered very little. It has extended limited political rights at the national level to the 3.5 million persons in South Africa classified as Coloureds and Indians, but it has given pitifully little to the black population. It has repealed some of the more obnoxious provisions of petty apartheid. But what do these changes amount to? They are, for the most part, cosmetic and inadequate. Inequality and injustice remain, to a degree that black South Africans find intolerable. Government opponents continue to be detained without charge. The Government remains committed to the enforcement of the Group Areas Act and other laws which maintain the formal separation of the races. State education remains racially segregated. The Government has killed or gaoled or chased into exile almost all the black leaders, leaving no credible or representative black South Africans with whom it can negotiate.

The cause of such changes as have occurred has been not ideological conversion but economic and political pressures. Apartheid is still an essential element of

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

the South African economy, but the pressure that is being mounted against it has meant that it must be given a less inhuman face.

The dramatic fall in the value of the rand in September 1985 and the consequent problems encountered by the South African Government in rescheduling its international debt obligations have underlined to business leaders in South Africa the need for change. Accordingly, a number of leading South African businessmen took the bold but belated step of holding discussions with leaders of the African National Congress in Lusaka.

It is the South African Government's refusal to countenance the removal of the apartheid system that is driving black South Africans away from the pursuit of peaceful change and towards violence. The South African Government talks vaguely about dialogue in a "meaningful and open forum"; but the matters which must be discussed are apparently not allowed on the agenda; and the only people who could speak for black South Africans are in their graves, in gaol or on the run.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Almost daily we have been presented with gruesome statistics of growing violence in South Africa - of the details of those killed, wounded and detained. Through television we have seen evidence in our own living rooms of the violence and bloodshed in South Africa today. It is an irony that because of censorship within South Africa we have been presented with a clearer view of developments than many living inside that country have been.

The Australian Government has consistently supported the efforts of those, drawn from all communities within South Africa, who are working by peaceful means for the immediate and unconditional end of apartheid. We have applauded the efforts of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, who addressed the Special Political Committee two days ago. We have welcomed the efforts of the members of the United Democratic Front and organizations such as the Black Sash Movement who have sought to right the injustices within South Africa and who frequently have suffered personally in their endeavours. We have called upon the South African Government to free Nelson Mandela and to enter into dialogue with the recognized leaders of the black community in South Africa.

Just as we support those who have worked from within, so we are committed, through international action, to bringing the South African Government to the realization of its folly. As the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Bill Hayden said in his statement to the special meeting of the Security Council on 26 September 1985,

"We do not wish to see South Africa brought to its knees. But we do want to see it brought to its senses". (S/PV.2608, p. 111)

1985 has seen a notable increase in the level of international pressure on South Africa, because of the violence of the South African authorities' response to internal peaceful challenge. We hope that South Africa can be pressured into

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

peaceful and positive change, by the international community, acting together and using measures that are effective. The range of sanctions proposed or adopted by the international community - a ban on new investment and loans, for example - appeal to the Australian Government for two reasons. One is that they are proving to be effective. The other is that they have growing support, particularly in some countries with strong financial connections with South Africa. In the absence of a mandatory embargo on new investment in South Africa, we are looking to develop co-operation with other States so that existing voluntary measures can be made more effective.

It has been argued that economic sanctions have never succeeded in solving an international problem. How can one say that? Certainly, the Australian delegation would question such an assumption, if only because comprehensive economic sanctions have never been completely and consistently applied in any previous international situation.

In Southern Rhodesia, where sanctions were partially applied, they were an important part in the pressures which led to an independent Zimbabwe. It can be argued, however, that had sanctions been applied more comprehensively and more completely, the independence of Zimbabwe would have been accelerated.

The arguments that sanctions would adversely affect the black population, that they would set back such limited reforms as have taken place in South Africa recently, that sanctions would economically cripple neighbouring States and that they would not achieve the objective of dismantling apartheid have a number of weaknesses. First, we do not know. Comprehensive economic sanctions have never been tried and South Africa has already shown some response to those limited sanctions which have already been applied by a number of countries, including Australia. Secondly, this argument about sanctions overlooks the fact that the

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

majority of black South Africans, and even church leaders in South Africa, themselves have called for the imposition of sanctions. Thirdly, it overlooks the fact that we are not dealing with a purely economic question which can be argued in terms of the economic advantages and disadvantages of imposing sanctions on South Africa. Economic sanctions need to be seen as part of a response to what is essentially not simply an economic issue but a massive social and humanitarian problem - namely, apartheid. There are occasions on which responsible members of the international community may need to take steps which, on the basis of a short-term and narrow interpretation of their economic self-interest, they would prefer to avoid.

During 1985 the Australian Government has taken a number of steps in relation to investment. It has prohibited all new investment in South Africa by the Government and public authorities, except for that which is necessary to maintain our diplomatic representation in that country. It has prohibited any further direct investment in Australia by the South African Government and its authorities. It has asked all Australian financial institutions to suspend new loans to borrowers in South Africa, either directly or indirectly. It has withdrawn the Australian Trade Commissioner from Johannesburg. It has withdrawn various forms of official Government assistance for Australians trading in South Africa. It has banned exports to South Africa of petroleum and petroleum products, of computer hardware and other products known to be of use to South Africa's security forces. It has prohibited the import from South Africa of Krugerrands and all other coins minted there as well as of arms, ammunition and military vehicles. It has put an embargo on all new Government contractual dealings with majority-owned South African companies for contracts worth more than \$20,000. It has decided to avoid Government procurement of supplies from South African sources, again except when such procurement is necessary to maintain our diplomatic

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

representation in South Africa. It has also decided to restrict Government sales of goods and services to South Africa. It is introducing a code of conduct for Australian companies operating in South Africa which seeks to ensure that they do not try to exploit the particular circumstances inherent in apartheid. The code, for example, proposes that there should be no racial segregation at the workplace and that, as in Australia, there should be racial equality in such areas as recruitment, employment, wages, training and promotion.

During the consideration of the situation in South Africa and Namibia in the Security Council earlier this year, the Australian Government made it clear that it is prepared to support the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions to bring about an end to apartheid.

Australia welcomes the fact that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers adopted unanimously the Commonwealth Accord on South Africa at their meeting earlier this month in Nassau, the Bahamas. That Accord calls upon the authorities in Pretoria to declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and that specific and meaningful action will be taken in fulfilment of that intent; that it terminate the existing state of emergency; that it release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other persons imprisoned or detained for their opposition to apartheid; that it establish political freedom and, specifically, lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties; and that it initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative Government.

Australia also welcomed the decision of the Commonwealth Heads of Government to establish a small group of eminent Commonwealth persons to encourage in all practicable ways the evolution of that necessary process of political dialogue and change in South Africa.

The Commonwealth also agreed in Nassau earlier this month on a programme of common action endorsing the implementation of a number of economic measures against South Africa, most of which, in fact, Australia had already put in place.

Several measures are to be adopted immediately and these include: a ban on all new Government loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies; whatever unilateral action may be possible to preclude the import of Krugerrands; refusal of Government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa; a ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police or security forces; a ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials and technology to South Africa; a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa; a strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and paramilitary equipment from South Africa; an embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa; and, finally, discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it. We commend these measures, adopted unanimously at the Commonwealth meeting, to Member States which have not yet implemented them.

It was agreed, moreover, that a group of Commonwealth Heads of Government would meet to review the situation in six months' time and if in their opinion adequate progress had not been made would consider the option of further measures against South Africa. My delegation welcomes the support given to this approach by Bishop Desmond Tutu in his statement on 28 October and by other previous speakers in this debate.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that the Australian Government remains determined to play its part in the United Nations General Assembly, in the Security Council and in other international bodies, such as the Commonwealth, in contributing to effective measures which will, we trust, lead to prompt and peaceful change in South Africa and to the ending of apartheid.

Mr. ORAMAS-OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): In the course of the debates at the fortieth session, 125 of the 137 speakers referred in "unequivocal" terms to the present situation in South Africa. This bears witness to the great concern of the international community at the cruel ordeal to which the South African people have been subjected by a group of racist hangmen.

On 29 October The New York Times reported four new deaths and noted that, since December of last year 800 people had been killed by racist bullets for the crime of fighting to be considered human beings, as was said only a short time ago in this Hall by Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Apartheid is more than a nightmare, and enough pages have been written about the violation of human rights by the racists to make up a large encyclopaedia. Bishop Tutu indicated that among those murdered there have been many children, but there has been no media coverage about them. Repression increases in response to peaceful protests against Bantu education and bannings, and the answer of the new Fascists comes in the form of dogs and bullets. The state of emergency - which in reality has never ceased to exist for South African blacks - provokes revulsion among men of goodwill, but not among those who call themselves champions of democracy and human rights, such as the United States and make grandiloquent statements from this rostrum without saying a single word about the barbarism of their Pretoria partners, who reap the benefits of the so-called constructive engagement.

(Mr. Oramas-Oliva, Cuba)

The black masses of South Africa need not our compassion but our firm and unrestricted assistance in removing a social cancer that poses a serious threat to peace and security in South Africa, especially now, when the black masses of South Africa have shown that all the doors have been shut against them, as has just been declared by the United Democratic Front, an organization which has been prohibited from holding meetings in Cape Town.

The Pretoria racists and other allies should not forget that, as Titus Livius said, "Necessity is the ultimate and the most terrible weapon", and that is the choice which the racists are forcing the oppressed and long-suffering black South African people to make.

From this rostrum we demand that the racist Government put an end to the massacres and the state of emergency and that it immediately adopt those measures which the voice of reason urgently demands, in order to avert catastrophe in South Africa. Those measures are: the return of exiles, negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the South African people, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the release of Nelson Mandela and of all other political prisoners and the abolition of all apartheid legislation.

If in their shortsighted wilfulness the racists do not heed the voice of reason, there can be no further room for subterfuge or delaying tactics. It will be necessary for all members of the international community, especially the members of the Security Council, to follow their conscience and their duty and apply comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Otherwise we shall have to conclude that the death of 800 black people does not matter, as seems to be believed by some who in reality share the ideas about racial differences and do not consider those South African martyrs to be human beings.

(Mr. Oramas-Oliva, Cuba)

There are no alternatives and the time has come for clear-cut definitions. Either we are with the racists or we support those who are enduring the effects of the apartheid policy. In line with this, my country attaches great importance to the draft international convention against apartheid in sports and we consider that that instrument should be adopted as it has been presented at this session of the General Assembly.

Similarly, we support the proposal put forward by the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the holding of an international conference on sanctions against racist South Africa next year.

Today there may yet be time to prevent the holocaust. Tomorrow it will be too late and all of us must bear in mind that when all roads are barred people have always, as history teaches, found many ways of expressing their deepest sentiments in favour of freedom, a right that belongs to all of us.

In conclusion let me say that for the blacks of South Africa there will be a tomorrow. From the blood drenching the path of freedom, a world will emerge where blacks and whites can work together. There will be a tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD (New Zealand): Last week my Prime Minister, the Right Honourable David Lange, made a comprehensive statement of New Zealand's position on this subject to a special session of the Special Committee against Apartheid. There is no point in my traversing that same ground today. I shall therefore confine myself to underlining the basic points of our policy.

New Zealand rejects South Africa's policy of apartheid. The continuation of that system of institutionalized racism is a flagrant abuse of the United Nations Charter and the principles upon which this Organization was founded.

For many years the people of New Zealand have expressed their opposition to apartheid and to all it stands for. In New Zealand we are committed to building a society based on racial harmony and equality; to the establishment of a multiracial

(Mr. Mansfield, New Zealand)

society based on partnership, on mutual respect, on justice and on consent. This will not happen overnight, it will not be achieved without effort and resources, but the people of New Zealand have demonstrated that they cannot and will not compromise on those principles.

Apartheid is the antithesis of this endeavour. The continuation of that policy in South Africa marks the repudiation on the part of the racist régime of the fundamental principles which the people of New Zealand are committed to upholding in our own society.

Only two days ago in this hall we heard the moving testimony of Bishop Desmond Tutu on the suffering the people of South Africa are forced to endure as they attempt to achieve for themselves the rights which the Charter of this Organization sought to guarantee for all men and women. We listened with respect to a man who has sought through his own life and ministry to give expression to the ideals upon which all of us here hope to see a free South Africa grow. We heard his call for a society without the injustices, the repression and the brutality under which his people must now live, yet such is the stature of the man that we heard him call, even in the face of the present provocations, for the peaceful eradication of apartheid, for the peaceful emergence of a society where both black and white can, in his words, be truly free.

This vision will not be realised until apartheid is abolished. In speaking to the Special Committee against Apartheid my Prime Minister emphasized once again New Zealand's support for this goal. He made it clear that New Zealand does not see the so-called reforms of the South African Government as contributing to apartheid's elimination. As he said:

"The South African Government has so far refused to enter into a genuine dialogue with representative black groups on a future political settlement; instead, it has detained many of them and declined to meet others. There are

(Mr. Mansfield, New Zealand)

few signs that it is ready to contemplate extending to blacks the right to participate equally in the political process. Its limited reforms have signalled no change in the basic racist philosophy of the State. That continues to be embodied in the law and backed by force - force which has been used relentlessly at home to suppress demands by the blacks who seek no more than the right to have their say in the government of their country; and against its neighbours to weaken them and establish its military dominance in the region: all to reinforce white domination and the Government's capacity to resist change. It is for all these reasons that the world is united in its determination to bring about the end of apartheid as it has probably not been united since the campaign to end slavery. I want you to know that New Zealand stands full square behind the effort and will work with others of like mind in the United Nations, the Commonwealth and elsewhere toward the end we all seek and which is now so clearly attainable."

International action is needed against apartheid if that end is to be attained. That is why New Zealand last year was a sponsor of the resolution on concerted international action against apartheid, and why we hope to sponsor a similar resolution when it comes before the Assembly later in this session.

Less than two weeks ago my country participated in drawing up the Commonwealth Accord on South Africa at the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Nassau. My Prime Minister has affirmed New Zealand's commitment to the implementation of the programme of action that the Heads of Government agreed on. He pledged support for immediate, carefully targeted and meaningful economic sanctions. Noting that New Zealand would strictly comply with each of the economic sanctions that the Commonwealth has decided should be immediately applied, the Prime Minister said that New Zealand could go further than that when he stated:

(Mr. Mansfield, New Zealand)

"If and when the Commonwealth judges it necessary we shall be ready to play our part in moving to the next steps outlined in its Accord... New Zealand will be prepared to honour those as well. And if the South African Government still remains obstinate New Zealand will be prepared to join others in further collective efforts, even comprehensive mandatory sanctions if that is what it takes to achieve peaceful change in South Africa."

Peaceful change in South Africa is our goal. Time is running out, but it is not yet too late. South Africa may indeed, as Bishop Tutu argued, be on the verge of a catastrophe, but while the leaders of those who are being oppressed are willing to come to this Assembly and commit themselves to working for peaceful change, the international community must do all within its power to support them.

The New Zealand Government is committed to the elimination of apartheid. We demand the release of political prisoners and the ending of the state of emergency, with the violence it engenders. We look forward to a South Africa that no longer threatens the security of its region by unwarranted and bloody attacks on its neighbours. We seek the restoration of political and human dignity in South Africa. We look forward to Bishop Tutu's vision of a South Africa that is truly free.

Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The persistence of apartheid is possibly the most serious and urgent problem before the United Nations at its fortieth anniversary. No other issue so generally offends the conscience of all mankind. In this latter part of a century that has witnessed unprecedented social, political and technological progress, the survival of that anachronistic vestige of intolerance is quite unacceptable. Today more than ever before, the international community must adopt urgent and effective measures against South Africa which will contribute to speeding up the total and definitive eradication of apartheid.

This sense of urgency is born not only of an interest in restoring decency and justice in South Africa but also of our obligation to respond resolutely to a real and serious challenge to the maintenance of international peace and security. The persistence of apartheid is a serious source of conflict and a grave threat to the normal development of international relations. It affects not only the region but also the entire international community, which cannot in good conscience remain indifferent to the growing crisis in southern Africa.

It seems obvious that the South African Government has no intention of eliminating the most violent and offensive manifestations of the apartheid régime. Internal repression has become much more intense than it was a year ago. The process of bantustanzation has not been abandoned. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally and to launch acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. The growing active resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa to apartheid deserves the sympathy and support of all the States represented here. That resistance is all the more justified when Pretoria, instead of taking concrete steps in the right direction, has opted to take refuge in new and more severe measures designed to preserve apartheid. We have all been witness to the wave of violence to which millions of South Africans have daily been subjected as a consequence of Pretoria's blind intransigence.

(Mr. Beauge, Argentina)

Argentina reiterates its most vigorous condemnation of the policy of apartheid and its solidarity with the victims of that policy. Discrimination for any reason is incompatible with the principles upon which the Argentine Republic was founded. So it should come as no surprise that my Government has adopted important and concrete steps against Pretoria. The level of relations has been reduced to a minimum. Air services have been suspended. Argentina is faithfully complying with the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Very recently, my country ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

All those steps are a reflection of the extent of Argentine support for Africa's struggle against racial discrimination and they should leave Pretoria in no doubt as to our resolute condemnation of the system of apartheid.

Individual action by States, although useful, is not sufficient. We have often pointed out - and we would emphasize this today - that only concerted action by all Members of the United Nations, including those which have the most extensive relations with Pretoria, can form an effective instrument in the struggle against apartheid.

We would therefore reiterate our appeal to the Security Council to act in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter and impose concrete and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. There can no longer be any doubt about the danger apartheid represents to peace and international security. The lack of an adequate response by the United Nations would serve not only to protract the tragedy of a people being wrongfully deprived of its fundamental rights but would also dangerously militate against the credibility and political and moral authority of our Organization.

Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): As we have long and repeatedly warned and predicted, apartheid has finally set South Africa on fire. The fire which started

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

over a year ago with the fury of an incipient conflagration has already consumed more than 800 lives and is bound to consume thousands more if the authors of the incendiary policies of the white apartheid régime in South Africa are not brought to their senses and awakened to the futility and folly of their racist ways as quickly as they must be. The situation has never before been so desperate in South Africa. Never before have the passions of the oppressed majority in that cruelly tried country been so inflamed. Never before has the commitment of young South Africans to the liberation of their tormented land been so fatalistic and so infused with a sense of finality.

To know what is happening in South Africa, one must watch the faces of 15-year olds as they jog to the cemeteries in Sowete and other townships carrying the coffins of their fallen comrades to their resting places. There is no sign of sorrow on their faces as they shout slogans and sing songs of liberation with the passion and cheerfulness of a generation that has taken control of its own destiny. To them, life under apartheid is no worse than death - for what is human life deprived of its essence, its dignity and sanctity, its very human worth? So the young South Africans have decided to sacrifice their young lives so that those who remain may live in freedom in a free South Africa, a South Africa free of apartheid and racism.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

And yet the white minority régime in South Africa remains as hard of hearing as ever. As if the hearts and feelings of the white rulers of that country were made of rock, every day of bloodshed and death, every weekend of mammoth funerals and floods of tears, seem to stiffen their intransigence as they routinely threaten to become more murderous in their heavily armed confrontations with peaceful and defenceless juvenile demonstrators. And we ask: What manner of human beings are those who cannot be moved by so much needless bloodshed, death and suffering? We ask what manner of human beings would react to a tragedy by threatening to compound it? Every peaceful demonstration against apartheid in South Africa has been greeted with an official threat to use more force against demonstrators - and, indeed, more force has been used, regardless of the innocent lives lost.

We are told that the peaceful demonstrators are making it difficult for apartheid to be reformed, for the evolution of a new society in South Africa to begin, and that they must therefore be shot. But what we have seen so far in South Africa, often celebrated by the Western world as the beginning of the evolution of a non-racial society in reaction to the current upheaval, has been nothing but the consolidation of the status quo masquerading as reform. What is called a "manifesto for a new South Africa," recently articulated by Mr. Botha, has turned out to be a blueprint for the modernization of the racially determined ethnic truncation of South African society. If the Botha blueprint sees the light of day, South Africa will remain a racially divided country, for bantustans will merely be transmogrified into units while retaining their ethnocentric character in every respect. The so-called units will, in other words, remain creatures of the racist ideology of apartheid. There will be no such thing as a united South Africa characterized by genuine common citizenship and equal rights. A Zulu will still be told that he has nothing to do with the rest of his fellow black South Africans, and vice versa.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

Each unit, so goes the Botha blueprint, will, in the fashion of the current triracial Parliament in Cape Town, look after its own affairs, segregated as ever, and only have a thus-far-undefined say at what is called a "high level". But, even more insulting to black South Africans, the Botha blueprint does not think their long-frustrated aspirations deserve even the humiliating respite of a fourth chamber in Cape Town. The blueprint still sees black South Africans as unworthy of accommodation and integration into the political life of their country. They are still to be kept at the servile level of ethnic self-determination and "independence" under the boot of the white man. No, Mr. Botha's blueprint is simply a recipe for a catastrophic dénouement of the tragedy of apartheid.

The blueprint is as racist - if not more so - as the apartheid order it seeks to replace. Indeed, its very existence says a great deal about the depth to which the régime in Pretoria has sunk in the cesspool of racism. We must ask what kind of a solution to the problem of racism in South Africa can come out of a blueprint unilaterally produced by a white racist régime whose vision of the future is that only the whites must continue to dominate all the other groups in South Africa in one form or another. What blueprint can claim to be free from the virus of racism if its very essence, its raison d'être, is to frustrate the aspirations of the majority who happen to black and entrench white supremacy by denying that majority the right to rule?

A blueprint for the deracialization and democratization of South Africa is a manifest necessity, but it must be one whose legitimacy must be seen to derive from the collective will of the people of South Africa in their totality. All the racist mutations of the South African political realities and the equally racist obfuscations of the imperatives of change in that country are a waste of time, for they are not capable of producing the solution we all seek. Every community in South Africa has its own genuine leaders who are capable of participating in the shaping of the destiny of their country, South Africa. They are ready to do so at

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

a conference table unencumbered by foolish pre-conditions. What they are not prepared to do, and will not do, is to accept a blueprint unilaterally produced by white South Africa and specifically designed to preserve the privileged status of white South Africans.

And so we declare here and now that our vision of the South Africa of tomorrow is an uncomplicated one. As neighbours of that tragic country, we wish for it and its strife-weary people, both black and white, what we believe is in our common interest. We want the blood-letting, the seemingly interminable dance of death in South Africa, to end. We want its people to find each other across the gaping crevasse of racial polarization and to begin the process of reconciliation in a new South Africa whose realization can only be delayed at great peril to the peace and stability of the region of southern Africa as a whole. We want peace in South Africa, and peace can prevail in South Africa only when certain conditions prevail in that country.

First, the state of emergency must be lifted and the arbitrary restrictions against the freedom of assembly, movement and speech must be removed. Secondly, the blood-letting, the killing of black children agitating peacefully for their freedom and the freedom of their people, must end. Thirdly, the brutalization of black and white political leaders, whose only crime is to seek to rid their country, their motherland, of the scourge of racial persecution, must end. Fourthly, the detention of black leaders whose only crime is to call for meaningful change in their own country must end. Fifthly, the bannings of black political leaders on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for negotiating the South Africa of the future must end. Sixthly, Nelson Mandela and his long-incarcerated comrades of all the political parties of South Africa must end, since their presence outside the confines of imprisonment can only do South Africa a great deal of good. Finally, a general amnesty must be declared so that every South African now languishing in exile can return home to live in peace in a free South Africa.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

In other words, we are calling for a new beginning in South Africa; and a new beginning in that country is a dire necessity if its drift towards the precipice is to be arrested. For no amount of official force and brutality will save South Africa. Yes, thousands of black South Africans' lives can be snuffed out so routinely and callously, but no grave, no death, no nail in the coffins of the dead can ever represent victory for the racist régime in Pretoria. On the contrary, the more inhuman and careless the brutality, the more inflamed will be the passions and the anger of the teeming millions of the oppressed. In the end, as history has shown, there will be no place for the oppressor to hide, as Mr. Ian Smith of the erstwhile Rhodesia found out almost too late a little more than six years ago.

We are calling for negotiations now and not at the end of a long process of evolutionary change designed by the régime in Pretoria and its friends in the outside world to delay the inevitable for as long as it takes. Too much is at stake in that country. The flames of anger are threatening to destroy South Africa and all around it. Black South Africans are ready to sit down at a conference table to negotiate real change. The ball is not in their court; it is in the court of a white minority which keeps lurching from one hopeless constitutional manoeuvre to another in a desperate attempt to buy more time for apartheid and racism so late in the day. In this, we must confess, it is sustained by powerful economic interests in the Western world which have often viewed the rising crescendo of agitation for change in South Africa with great suspicion, thus creating a very strong impression that the security of Western economic interests in South Africa is deemed to be inseparably bound up with the survival of racial tyranny in that country.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

Yet to us the contrary seems to be true, for we cannot see how Western economic interests can enjoy security in a South Africa that has been set on fire. Nothing is secure in South Africa under the prevailing conditions, least of all foreign economic interests, which are rightly seen as providing the resolve behind the white minority régime's intransigence. Sooner or later such interests must of necessity become the legitimate targets of the anger of the oppressed.

It stands to reason, therefore, that a Western world which places any premium on its investments in South Africa ought to become part of the struggle for change in South Africa rather than an obstacle to it. It ought to leave South Africa and its rulers in no doubt as to where it stands on an issue so vital to peace and stability in the region, not just in South Africa. In other words, we place squarely on the shoulders of the West the responsibility for persuading, if not forcing, the white minority régime in Pretoria to face its moment of truth or suffer the consequences, to negotiate with the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa a better future for that country or face the consequences, the consequences of loneliness, not simply isolation, in a dangerous world. The West has the leverage to back up such an ultimatum and South Africa is in no mood to seek refuge in a 20th century laager merely to avoid reintegration into the community of free and civilized nations.

We welcome the Accord on Southern Africa recently adopted by the Commonwealth summit in the Bahamas. We believe it is necessary that every peaceful measure be tried to persuade the white minority régime in South Africa to abandon its suicidal course. We are not unmindful of the fact that even some of the peaceful measures being contemplated in the fight against apartheid and racism will not be free of pain, particularly for the people directly involved. Some of those measures will indeed be painful to both the victim and the perpetrator of the injustice of

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

apartheid and racism, but such pain will be nothing in comparison with the enormity of the toll apartheid and racism have taken of the lives of black people in South Africa over the years.

Apartheid and racism in South Africa must end for another equally important reason. South Africa does not exist in isolation in our region. It is a powerful economic and military Power in southern Africa whose potential for mischief is almost limitless given the resources at its disposal and the seeming heartlessness of its white leaders in their dealings with their black fellow men inside South Africa and the region at large.

The whole region of southern Africa, as we all know, is in turmoil today either because of South Africa's direct acts of aggression committed against its neighbours or as a consequence of the destabilizing activities of dissident movements spawned by Pretoria. Such movements have wreaked havoc in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in terms of the fragile and precious economic infrastructure and the traditional tranquillity of African rural life. In particular, Angola and Mozambique have never tasted the peace they so much deserve and yearn for following their long and costly liberation struggles. They are today locked in wasteful, costly and endless struggles with dissident movements whose sources of war materiel have often seemed to be inexhaustible supported as they are, by powerful forces in the Western world, in addition to the assistance they receive from their godfather, the racist régime in South Africa. Indeed, the UNITA bandits in Angola may soon receive largesse of \$27 million if their supporters in Washington have their way now that the Clark amendment has been repealed. In Mozambique, Pretoria has owned up to the shamefulness of its bad faith by admitting that it has never honoured its signature on the momentous Nkomati accord.

(Mr. Legwaila, Botswana)

So the fire that is threatening to consume South Africa is also threatening to transform our entire subcontinent into a wasteland. Opposition to apartheid and racism in that part of the world has become a costly enterprise for South Africa's neighbours. Even the granting of political asylum is no longer viewed as a humanitarian act by a régime whose sense of morality has been so warped by racism that it has become impervious even to the slightest feeling of contrition for the sort of brutality with which it pursues and murders the victims of its own inhumanity in their countries of exile, as happened in the capital of my own country in June this year. Imagine the mercilessness, the sheer depravity of that dastardly act of mediaeval inhumanity perpetrated against a group of men, women and children to whom fate had already been so uncharitable. To us that is far beyond comprehension.

And yet so inexorable has become the struggle for liberation in South Africa that no misguided acts of aggression committed against innocent victims in exile will save apartheid. Apartheid must be destroyed, and it will be destroyed, for the sake of freedom, justice and peace in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole.

The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply. I would remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first statement and five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I call now on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The representative of the Zionist base of terror occupying Palestine has given certain statistics about the oil tankers that have carried Persian Gulf oil to South Africa. In his remarks he named the Islamic Republic of Iran. We too have received reports from the Shipping Research Bureau in the Netherlands claiming the same information.

As members may know, all the oil tankers carrying oil from the Islamic Republic of Iran have promised not to deliver their cargo to South Africa. Thus, all such claims have been carefully investigated by my Government, and we have come to the conclusion that in all the suspect cases evidence has been produced that the oil in question was unloaded in one of the European ports. But we also know that, from those transit ports, a cargo of oil can and actually does go, through a chain of transactions, to South Africa, and those transactions are beyond our control. We have investigated the allegations against those who buy crude oil directly from us, but not the allegations against the middle-men who transfer the cargo to South Africa.

As a matter of fact, this scheme of supplying oil to South Africa is devised by the international network of zionism and its well-known transnational corporations, which are behind so many crimes in South Africa itself as well.

We all know that the Zionist base occupying Palestine acquires its own oil supplies through the same device, because it has no oil resources in the occupied

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

territories. Thus, the Zionist base is in fact to be blamed even for these methods of supplying oil to South Africa.

It is to be noted that the statistics which the representative of the Zionist base of terror occupying Palestine presented in his statement were furnished to him directly by those companies which are complacent collaborators with South Africa. Those statistics, therefore, are valid; they are merely incomplete. They tell the truth, but not the whole truth.

So much for the substance of the allegations regarding the supply of oil to South Africa. But why does such nonsense pour out of the mouth of the representative of the Zionist base of terror occupying Palestine? South Africa's collaborators have tried to divert the attention of the international body from the main issue, which is the apartheid régime and its allies. At this very moment - as we are trying to obtain some relief for and supporting, at least verbally, the majority of the oppressed people of South Africa - the South African people are being subjected to the most cruel, heinous policies. We are informed that today some young men have been martyred. Their only crime - and the only crime of other martyrs - was to want independence and equality, which are among the basic principles accepted, at least verbally, throughout the world.

For the cause of freedom and equality, they are sacrificing their young lives in the hope of attaining future success. At this very moment, the racist régime continues brutally to kill and destroy.

Thus, we are paying attention to the main issue. The main issue here is to take action; to take decisive, firm action not only against the hateful Pretoria régime, but also against those Western Powers whose economic interests have been feeding and nurturing that brutal régime. I am confident that the international community will never be deceived by the irrelevant issues intended to divert

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

attention from the main point which the Zionist base of terror produced today to insult international wisdom.

Mr. AL-SOGATRY (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation would not have replied to the representative of Israel, but his failed attempts to falsify truth have nothing to do with the humanitarian issue we are discussing under this agenda item, and which has been addressed by so many delegations, namely, the policies of apartheid as practiced by the Government of South Africa.

Thus, we must make it very clear that this morning the representative of Israel chose not to mention the suffering of the people of South Africa under the shameful system of racial discrimination practiced in that country. That proves the truth of the close links, and even the collaboration, between Israel and South Africa.

The Israeli statement had nothing to do with the item under discussion. The representative of Israel accused international organizations of concealing the true statistics about his country and about the activities of Arab countries. His statement this morning was a tissue of lies. We must make it abundantly clear that our country maintains no relations whatsoever with the racist régime of South Africa and will not establish relations with that country as long as it persists in its policies based on racial discrimination.

Furthermore, Oman, which, more than any other country, has spiritual and cultural ties with the fraternal peoples of Africa, affirms that what was said this morning by the representative of Israel is far removed from all truth.

(Mr. Al-Sogatry, Oman)

He attempted to overlook the fact that what applies to Oman in this case would apply to all the fraternal Arab countries which were mentioned by the Israeli representative in his statement. With regard to his attempt to glory in the opposition of his country to racial discrimination, we know that the Government of his country is based on racism, and this was proclaimed by the United Nations when it stated that zionism was no less a crime against mankind than racial discrimination.

Mr. GOSHU (Ethiopia): In his statement to the General Assembly this morning, the Permanent Representative of Israel attempted to divert attention from his country's well-known collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa. Given the record of collusion between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, the representative would have been well-advised not to have taken part at all in the general debate on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

Be that as it may, the Ethiopian delegation was totally surprised to hear the Israeli representative attempting to present as proof of Zionism's non-racial character the abduction of Ethiopian Falashas to Israel. If this piracy were to be proof of anything, it would be of the lawlessness of the Israeli Government in its scant regard for the norms and principles of international law.

The assertion by the Israeli delegation that life for Ethiopian Falashas in Israel has been a bed of roses is at best a deliberate misrepresentation designed to guide the international community, away from the actual predicament of our compatriots in Israel, and at worst a calculated dishonesty.

I would request the Assembly's indulgence to cite a few specific instances to show that things are not as bright for the Falashas as the Israeli representative has tried to portray. In fact the Falashas are rejected by Israeli society and are discriminated against. An internal document of the Israeli Immigrant Absorption Ministry revealed, on 12 July 1985, that activists of the Ethiopian community had

(Mr. Goshu, Ethiopia)

initiated violent activities in protest at the Rabbinate's decision that they undergo a ritual conversion ceremony. Last July the Jerusalem Post had written extensively on the plight of the Ethiopians in Israel. In one of its issues the Post quotes a spokesman of the Falashas as saying:

"We have lost all will; we are frustrated. Some youths have already committed suicide."

These Ethiopians, forcibly taken to Israel, are confronted with an alien physical and social environment, a culture with which they have nothing in common and living conditions difficult to cope with. They are settled in the most unstable areas to serve as cannon fodder in the event of hostilities. They are discriminated against in housing, and the most menial jobs are reserved for them. They are compelled to perform strange rituals which constitute an act of self-denial and an abrogation of their historic black culture and practices. In effect, the entire exercise amounts to forcible Judaization of a population with an entirely different culture, social and economic background.

The experience has been most humiliating to these proud Ethiopians who were duped into that situation by coercion, intimidation and outright deceit. Their disillusionment in, and rejection of, their new social and political status in Israel has found expression in the growing number of deaths by suicide.

In view of the realities I have tried to point out, I am amazed that the Israeli representative should try to atone for his Government's crime of abduction by invoking an issue which has no relevance to the question under consideration. Perhaps it is his sense of guilt that continues to bother him.

Finally, the attempt by the Israel delegation to raise this matter of utmost national importance to my country in order to serve its diversionary argument and to escape from international condemnation for its policy of collaboration with apartheid, is not only misleading but is also in bad taste.

Mr. AL-NAJJAR (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): The representative of the Zionist racist entity claimed today that my country is one of the countries exporting oil to South Africa. Therefore, I wish to affirm here that the United Arab Emirates is totally and fully committed to the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council, and the resolutions and decisions of the non-aligned countries and the Arab League, with regard to the embargo imposed on the racist Government of South Africa.

What I wish to say here is the following. First of all, the Zionist representative is inventing figures, and he believes those figures himself. However, my delegation was dealing with the item on the agenda. We will come to the point where we shall be able to prove the falsity of those figures. The purpose of the Zionist representative is to divert the discussion away from the real item before us in order to cover up the collaboration between Zionism and racist South Africa.

Mr. RAZZOQI (Kuwait): My delegation is duty-bound to explain the following. The representative of the Zionist entity alleged that Kuwait and other sisterly Arab countries supply South Africa with oil. He made these allegations from his own reading and personal interpretation of the information published by the Shipping Research Bureau. These are simply baseless allegations. Nowhere does the report of the Shipping Research Bureau contain such information. In fact, in its latest report the Bureau stated the following:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations has, with an overwhelming majority of the world's nations in favour, repeatedly urged all countries to impose an oil embargo against South Africa. Many Governments have responded. Nearly" - and I stress here the word "Nearly" - "all countries exporting any

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A/40/PV.55
184-185

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

significant amount of crude oil, including all members of OPEC and OAPEC have now a policy that their crude oil should not be sold to South Africa. But despite this embargo South Africa manages to obtain crude oil.

"Many oil and shipping companies have made it clear that they are not prepared to take the risks involved in violating the embargo policies of the oil-exporting countries."

Moreover, the Bureau has confirmed in an official communication that no company known to be linked with any of the 57 tankers that delivered crude oil to South Africa is based in Kuwait and none of the 57 tankers sailed from Kuwait to the racist régime of South Africa.

Not only is the Zionist representative misinformed but he persists in his disinformation campaign. Kuwait has no relations with the racist régime of South Africa. Kuwait has worked actively with other concerned Member States to continue to apply and strengthen comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. Kuwait presided over a Group of Experts to study ways and means to implement effectively the oil embargo against the racist régime of South Africa in compliance with the General Assembly mandate in its resolution 37/69 J. Let me add that the Group of Experts realized that the opposition of major Western Powers prevented a mandatory oil embargo by the United Nations Security Council.

The South African racist régime has been able to continue to obtain oil supplies by secret and illicit means. The Group has noted that South Africa continued to obtain oil through various means and mostly through an international network of transnational oil companies, especially those with vested interests in South Africa which have participated in heavy investments in its energy and oil industry.

Finally, one thing is clear: the Zionist Israeli allegations are aimed at diverting the attention of this Assembly away from the special relations of the Zionist entity with the racist régime and the increased co-operation between them. That unholy alliance is well documented in the special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/40/22/Add.2.

The meeting rose at 9.35 p.m.