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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 31 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. HEPBURN (Vice-President) (Bahamas)

- Programme of work
- 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

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to make an announcement regarding the programme of work for next week as certain changes have been made since the previous announcement.

On Monday, 4 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 22, "The situation in Kampuchea".

On Wednesday, 6 November, the Assembly will take up agenda item 40, "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

On Thursday, 7 November, the Assembly will consider agenda item 30, "Critical economic situation in Africa".

On Friday, 8 November in the morning, the Assembly will resume its consideration of agenda item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

In the afternoon of that same day, the Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 146, "Solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to State Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States".

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. AL-MOSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset of my statement I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the tireless work of the Special Committee against Apartheid in preparing reports and supplying documentation to the public on the practice of racial discrimination practised by the South African Government. There is no doubt that the Committee's work has led to such results as making world public opinion fully aware of the problem. Now that we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, all speakers, whatever their political tendencies or cultural systems, have unanimously condemned the racist Government of South Africa for its hateful racist, colonialist and expansionist policies. Speakers have also condemned the acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria Government in southern Africa against independent African States. These acts of aggression clearly show that apartheid is a serious threat not only to neighbouring African States but also to international peace and security itself, and that freedom, justice, and independence cannot be achieved by the African peoples except through the elimination of the system represented by the racist authorities in Pretoria.

Despite the policies of oppression and terror practised by the racist Government of South Africa against the population, the national revolution in southern Africa is determined to continue its struggle until final victory has been

(Mr. Al-Mosfir, United Arab Emirates)

won against that hateful racist régime; but this calls for a concerted effort at the international level and political determination on the part of the international community as a whole. Moreover, Members of this Organization must ensure the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly in this year when we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The racist régime in South Africa would have no hope of remaining in power and extending its hold if it did not receive the political support that has been given it. That régime owes its strength and survival to the political and economic aid given it by certain Western countries and by the colonialist monopolies. We therefore call on the industrial nations, both Governments and peoples, to ensure that they place the national interests of the African peoples over their own selfish interests in the form of immediate material gains. They must not go on believing that the commercial firms operating in South Africa are seeking to ensure that justice and equality reign there, and to put an end to the racist régime. Any such belief is completely illogical.

In July of this year the Pretoria authorities declared a state of emergency against the black population, which is seeking to restore its legitimate right to independence, equality and freedom, but the emergency laws have strengthened the determination of the people of South Africa to continue their struggle until their legitimate goals are achieved. Despite the detention of over 3,000 Africans opposed to racial discrimination, and despite the deaths of 150 persons as a result of barbarous measures taken by the South African Government, resistance to oppression and the fight for justice continue.

In our statement we do not intend to draw up any list of the racist violations of human rights in South Africa, since we believe that the Pretoria régime is

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Arab Emirates)

inhuman and therefore all its acts are violations of human rights and of human dignity. We must all work sincerely for the elimination of this hateful racist régime.

It is strange to note that those who sympathize with the South African Government, support it in international bodies, and oppose the adoption of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime proclaim themselves the champions of the liberties of peoples and individuals, and of democracy. We might well ask how do they perceive freedom and democracy? Freedom and democracy are intended to safeguard man against injustice and oppression, without discrimination while preserving his dignity and his human character.

We would remind those supporting the Government of South Africa that the will of peoples will ultimately triumph, as recent history demonstrates.

The lessons of history include the victory of the Lebanese people over the Zionist invaders, and the victory of the people of Zimbabwe over the white minority. I therefore wish to reaffirm, on behalf of my country, our support for the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa to achieve their legitimate rights. We wholeheartedly condemn the acts of aggression and terrorism committed by the racist Pretoria Government against the African population.

We also strongly condemn the collaboration existing between the two racist régimes of South Africa and occupied Palestine. Although relations between the racist régimes implanted in South Africa and in Palestine go back to 1948, we have noted that in the last few years there has been a strengthening of the co-operation between these two racist régimes, resulting in an effective alliance that threatens peace and security not only in southern Africa and the Middle East but also throughout the world. As evidence of that co-operation, I quote from the message of 21 March 1985 from Mr. Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe to the Special

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Arab Emirates)

Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of the celebration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:

"Nothing better demonstrates, or more clearly proves, the affinity between zionism and apartheid than the undeniable, ever-growing level of political, military and economic co-operation between the Boers and the Zionists - a truly unholy alliance indeed." (A/AC.115/PV.561, p. 16)

We have reliable proof of the existence of co-operation between these two racist régimes - the one in occupied Palestine and the other in southern Africa.

(Mr. Al-Mosfir, United Arab  
Emirates)

Suffice it to mention certain United Nations documents that deal with the co-operation between those two racist régimes, in particular documents A/40/22/Add.2 of 14 October 1985, A/40/520 of 9 August 1985, and A/AC.109/825 of 7 May 1985.

When the representative of the Zionist entity spoke yesterday in the General Assembly he said that the racist Government of South Africa was dependent on oil imports from the Gulf region. As usual, the Zionists are capable of distorting truth by giving figures and dates in such a way that what they say appears to be true. They are able to falsify facts and deceive people because they spread lies through their slanted information media, and they end up by believing those lies themselves. Their move yesterday in the General Assembly and in the Committees during the past few weeks, dwelling on their lie about oil supplies, was intended solely to divert the discussion to secondary considerations in order to defend their own racist régime and that of Pretoria.

To make matters quite clear, I wish to state first that my Government fully supports the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as those adopted by the League of Arab States and the Non-Aligned Movement, calling for an oil embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa. Secondly, we fully support the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the subject. All countries which are friends of Africa are well aware of our support for those resolutions. Thirdly, with reference to information from the Shipping Research Bureau in Stockholm on which the Zionist representative bases the rumours he wishes to spread about the ports of Khorfkan and Al Fujayrah in the Gulf, are concerned, the competent authorities in my country have pointed out the inaccuracy of the facts contained in the report concerned, as indicated by the geographical facts, which show that Khorfkan is a port that lies in the Arab zone, not in the Gulf. Furthermore, this port is known to be a loading port that cannot take oil.

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Similarly, the port of Al Fujayrah lies in the Arabian seas, and thus far oil has never been discovered in the Emirate of Al Fujayrah, where there is no port that can receive tankers. Fourthly, the authorities of my country require sales and loading of oil certificates establishing the arrival of cargoes at their destination at the unloading port. The oil carrier companies that operate in the ports of racist South Africa are not authorized to dock their tankers in my country's ports.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to denounce strongly all those who deal with the racist régime in South Africa and the racist Zionist régime.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): The racial tyranny of apartheid is now cracking. A society based on a State ideology of racial discrimination and on the negation of fundamental human rights is bound to break down. It is tragic to see that the white minority, confronted with the growing internal and external opposition, seems to know no other way than repression by force.

This Assembly is well aware of the growing brutality demonstrated by the apartheid régime. The eloquent and forceful statement by Bishop Desmond Tutu last Monday should leave nobody uncertain about the realities in South Africa. The Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Garba of Nigeria, has scrupulously presented us with the facts of the situation. Killings, torture and other atrocities committed by the police and the military take place every day. Only last week the régime extended the state of emergency and arrested scores of opposition leaders in the Cape Province. The arrogant and hypocritical response by the régime to the internal and external opposition is also documented by this Organization. The statements in the Security Council by the representative of South Africa are an expression of that defiant posture.

Organized resistance in South Africa has reached an unprecedented level. The internal support for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) is



(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

increasing. The United Democratic Front (UDF) has more than 2 million members today. Trade unions are rapidly expanding. The oppressed people of South Africa seem no longer to be willing to wait for the international community to take action. The churches are actively involved in the struggle. Parts of the business community, too, now support calls for fundamental changes.

The end of apartheid is certain. The minority régime in South Africa is becoming more and more isolated.

Against that background the reasons for urgent, concerted United Nations action against apartheid are clear: first, apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security; secondly, breaches of peace and use of armed force by South Africa against sovereign neighbouring States are an increasingly regular feature; thirdly, violations of the fundamental rights laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other basic United Nations instruments are committed in South Africa on an ever-increasing scale; and, fourthly, apartheid is also a system of massive economic exploitation.

The call for effective international action is more than an appeal for decency: it is the obligation of all signatories of the United Nations Charter to take such action. The Charter confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. My Government calls on the Council and, in particular, on its permanent members not to shirk their responsibility in this context.

Sweden welcomes Security Council resolution 569 (1985) as a step in the right direction. By that decision the Security Council has accepted the concept of economic sanctions in the case of apartheid. It must now proceed along that path and increase the pressure on South Africa. Extended mandatory sanctions are necessary to achieve that.

I wish here to express our great satisfaction at having been associated with the work on the resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

apartheid, which at our last session one year ago was supported by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. The objective of that resolution was to initiate an effective, firm and constructive demand for action by the international community, primarily through the Security Council, and, pending action by the Council, through unilateral voluntary measures by individual Governments. In this spirit we sought to approach the matter without including elements that would detract from the core issue, that is, the elimination of apartheid, or elements that would bring the issue into an East-West context.

We hope that this year's resolution will be even more favourably received by the General Assembly this year, and we appeal to our friends who last year decided that they could not support the resolution to do so this year.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

The international debate on sanctions has advanced significantly. However, there are still a few but influential forces arguing against sanctions. I am sad to say that I often find their arguments hypocritical and not founded on the reality of the situation. Allow me, therefore, to comment briefly on some of the arguments.

First, it is argued that since sanctions have not been successful in the past, as in the case of Southern Rhodesia, they will not be effective against South Africa. But in fact the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had their effect. If they were not still more effective it was due to the support that Southern Rhodesia at that time received from South Africa. The effectiveness of sanctions, of course, depends on the scope of the sanctions and which countries apply them. With its advanced and sophisticated economy, South Africa is bound to be much more vulnerable to such measures than Southern Rhodesia was.

Secondly, it is argued that economic sanctions will be ignored by the apartheid régime. But, spokesmen for that régime have reacted even to the threat of sanctions, including, for instance, some measures taken by my own Government. The law in South Africa prohibits even statements in favour of sanctions.

Thirdly, it is argued that sanctions will only further entrench the laager mentality of the white minority régime and escalate violence. But it must be remembered that sanctions are a peaceful means intended to serve as a political signal to the Government of South Africa to solve the conflict with its own people, while this can be done in a peaceful way. The alternative international approach, for instance, a dialogue with the minority régime without effective pressure, has so far not produced any clear positive results. On the contrary, there are many inside South Africa and elsewhere who have condemned such a policy for having further strengthened the apartheid régime. And there is ample evidence to support such a view.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

Fourthly, it is argued that sanctions will hurt primarily the black majority in South Africa as well as the neighbouring States. But sanctions, depending on their design, should primarily affect the privileges of the white minority, and this is a reason for that minority's strong reaction against sanctions.

As to the effects on the black majority, my Government has carefully listened to representatives of the majority of the population and found that they favour sanctions. That opinion was recently confirmed by an opinion poll among urban blacks in South Africa who expressed themselves in spite of the risk of prosecution for speaking in favour of sanctions. It would be better to suffer for a short time if it helps to get rid of apartheid than to remain under the subjugation of a brutal and unjust system. The front-line States have, partly for the same reasons, adopted a similar policy.

Fifthly, it is argued that sanctions would be in violation of international obligations. On the contrary, we as nations are, as I have already stressed, under obligation in accordance with the Charter to take action against the apartheid system. Apartheid is a unique case.

Sweden has for many years called for increased international pressure on the apartheid régime and has taken a number of unilateral measures, alone and together with the other Nordic countries. The specific aim of those measures has been to encourage other countries to apply similar measures. It is therefore of great satisfaction to my Government that during the past year several other Governments have taken steps in the same direction. We note the recent Commonwealth Accord as a significant step forward. The opposition to sanctions and other effective measures against South Africa is beginning to crumble. But more has yet to be done.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

Ten days ago the five Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries adopted a new joint programme of action against apartheid which will be a platform for new joint Nordic efforts against that policy. That programme, which is reproduced in document A/40/784, is a follow-up to and an extension of the Nordic Action Programme of 1978. In addition to strengthening the measures implemented under the old programme, for instance, in the field of new investments, and of sports, scientific and cultural contacts, the new programme contains a number of new measures such as: a recommendation to Nordic enterprises to refrain from trade with South Africa and prohibition of all government support for trade promotion in relation to South Africa; measures to prevent government procurement from South Africa; prohibition of all new contracts in the nuclear field and of the exportation of computer equipment which may be used by the South African armed forces and police; further prohibition or discouragement of leasing to enterprises in South Africa as well as of transfer of patents and manufacturing licenses to South Africa; refraining from commercial air services to South Africa.

In addition to this, the Nordic countries will increase their humanitarian assistance to refugees and liberation movements in southern Africa as well as to victims and opponents of apartheid. They will also increase their development assistance to the front-line States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) co-operation in order to reduce the dependence of these States on South Africa.

Furthermore, my Government has recently decided to propose to Parliament some further unilateral measures such as a ban on importation of agricultural products from South Africa and a tightening of the penalties in relation to the United Nations arms embargo. The Government has further carried out consultations with the Swedish shipping companies to avoid maritime traffic with South Africa. These unilateral measures are undertaken pending comprehensive mandatory sanctions

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

decided upon by the Security Council. Such sanctions in our view would be the most effective peaceful contribution to the eradication of apartheid and to the establishment of peace and democracy in South Africa.

I wish to emphasize that my Government considers it necessary that these measures be accompanied by increased assistance to the population in South Africa and to the States in the region which are the main victims of South African policy. It is an international duty to ensure that those who are already suffering from apartheid are not further victimized.

As Chairman of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I should like in this context to draw the attention of the Assembly to that Fund as well as to the other United Nations special funds for education, training, legal and other assistance to the people of South Africa and Namibia and the neighbouring States. The total Swedish humanitarian assistance to southern Africa amounts this fiscal year approximately to \$25 million. Of that amount around \$5 million are meant for civilian activities of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, a programme of direct Swedish assistance to ANC, which was started as early as 1972, and which has since then continued to grow. In addition, Sweden contributes approximately \$175 million in development assistance to the front-line States and SADCC co-operation.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

We join the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world today in calling on the Government of South Africa immediately to abrogate the existing state of emergency; cancel the high treason trials of the leaders of the United Democratic Front; unconditionally release the leader of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and all other political prisoners; establish political freedom and freedom of association and, specifically, lift the existing ban on the ANC and other political groups; initiate an unconditional dialogue with the ANC and other genuine representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, with a view to establishing equal political rights for all South Africans; and declare unequivocally that the system of apartheid will be dismantled without further delay.

The main burden of the liberation of South Africa will be borne by the South Africans themselves. Nevertheless, the international community has an important role to play. The Charter of the United Nations prescribes the instruments we have at our disposal. We have more than sufficient information giving us reason to make use of those instruments.

The challenge to the international community is now to bring about the rapid and peaceful eradication of that inhuman system while there is still time. It is an international disgrace that apartheid is not yet eradicated. There is no policy practised by any Member State that has so unanimously, so categorically and for so long been condemned by the Assembly.

In conclusion, allow me to refer once again to Bishop Desmond Tutu. He asked us pertinently whether, in the view of the world, there would be more concern and more decisive action if the casualties of the violence in South Africa were white people. He told us that the possibility of a peaceful solution might not exist for many more months. This fortieth session of the General Assembly may be the final opportunity to implement the peaceful dismantling of apartheid.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

We, the Member States, need only to exert a stronger political will. Let us, therefore, before the fortieth session is over, respond to the moral and political challenge and make our decisive contribution to the eradication of one of the most long-standing threats to international peace and security and to the end of the most flagrant violations of human rights today.

Mr. AKANGA (Togo) (interpretation from French): In speaking to the Assembly at this stage in our work, I should like to reiterate, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Togolese delegation on your well-merited election to preside over the fortieth session of the General Assembly. The remarkable way in which you have guided our work since your election confirms our conviction that the current session will be crowned with success.

My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on the odious practices of the racist régime governing South Africa. On behalf of the Togolese delegation, I sincerely thank the Special Committee for its constant work and for the steps it has taken to mobilize international public opinion and sensitize the international conscience concerning the phenomenon of apartheid.

My delegation also thanks all those who in various capacities have come here to bring us the message of the unceasing, heroic struggle that the freedom fighters are waging to recover their dignity in the land of their ancestors.

Togo pays a tribute to the courage of those who, throughout South Africa and inside the gaols of the racist régime, are firmly continuing the struggle against oppression and domination. It joins the rest of the international community in denouncing and condemning the execution of Benjamin Moloise, which was carried out despite the display of international solidarity aimed at securing the liberation of that brave martyr, who fell on 18 October 1985 as a glorious soldier on the battlefield.



(Mr. Akanga, Togo)

My delegation is concerned about the fate of many other prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, whose immediate and unconditional release it demands.

Apartheid is a vile ideology which would not have survived so long but for the complicity of certain secret, hidden interests. We Africans equate apartheid with nazism and believe that it must be made clear once and for all that Africa is determined to fight to the end against this shameful phenomenon of our century.

Today apartheid is seriously threatened with collapse within South Africa and with isolation internationally, and it is trying to mislead international public opinion by so-called reforms whose real object is to conceal the realities of a horrible, anachronistic system. Africa has not been hoodwinked. The South African leaders must themselves abolish apartheid before it is too late, because their delaying tactics could lead to a catastrophe.

Not long ago, on 11 October this year, Mr. Atsu Koffi Amega, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Togolese Republic, told the Assembly:

"Under pressure from the fierce resistance of the freedom fighters and the condemnation of the international community and world public opinion, major breaches have been made in the apartheid system. Thus, following the obvious failure of the policy of bantustanization and institutional reforms, eminent leaders of the party in power have acknowledged the serious internal contradictions in the white régime and the aberration of the apartheid doctrine ... the pursuit of this ferocious repression against the black majority and the destabilizing manoeuvres aimed at neighbouring countries in southern Africa bear witness to the panic of the racists in power, with their backs against the wall, facing despair, and aware of the fact that they have reached a turning point in their history. Either apartheid is gradually dismantled from within or it will be swept away in violence and under the impact of external factors." (A/40/PV.32, pp. 52, 53)

(Mr. Akanga, Togo)

The people and Government of Togo, for whom no sacrifice is too great when it is a matter of defending, safeguarding and preserving the values of human dignity, will spare no effort to that end. Accordingly, my country has created a national anti-apartheid committee, which each year organizes days against racism, during which many popular demonstrations against apartheid are arranged by cultural and youth groups from all walks of life.

It is obvious and a truism to say that every day international public opinion understands more clearly the barbarity of the Pretoria régime towards the black people, who are only demanding their most elementary right to dignity.

(Mr. Akanga, Togo)

We are convinced that the Pretoria Government is incapable of responding decisively and responsibly to the demands of the overwhelming majority. The so-called reforms announced by that régime are nothing but dilatory manoeuvres aimed at stifling the legitimate and courageous revolt of the oppressed and to appease its own conscience.

My delegation invites all countries sincerely to support the implementation of global sanctions so that action inside the country may lead to the dismantling of the apartheid system. All States should also support any action aimed at imposing an efficient and total embargo against South Africa in respect of oil, armaments and military and nuclear co-operation. The international community as a whole must intensify pressures because only the disappearance of apartheid will lead to the establishment of a just society in which the dignity and worth of each human being will be taken into account and respected. In order to reach that objective the international community must support the legitimate struggle of the freedom fighters in South Africa.

It is right that my delegation should express its deep appreciation to the specialized agencies of the United Nations for their efforts to set up programmes of assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

As if by chance, in South Africa itself the cycle of violence, characterized by the declaration of a state of emergency and the acts of intimidation, is continuing and expanding. My delegation considers it high time to act with energy to prove our devotion to the concept of human dignity and to convince the Government of South Africa that the knell has rung for apartheid. In this connection my delegation would wish the Security Council to envisage urgent measures in order to impose compulsory economic sanctions to compel the Pretoria régime radically to change its policy of racial segregation. My delegation is

(Mr. Akanga, Togo)

convinced that the active and general support of the international community, together with the struggle of the oppressed peoples, would inevitably lead to the elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa. This is therefore the appropriate moment for the international community to act positively with a view to influencing events.

My delegation strongly reaffirms that the apartheid system will be eliminated more speedily if those who possess the power of persuasion exert effective pressures on Pretoria. The international community would be grateful to them for having contributed to the liquidation of this odious system.

The better world to which we aspire implies the building up internally of democratic societies founded on respect for human worth and tolerance. It is such a society that the overwhelming majority of States Members of our Organization would like to see set up in South Africa. It is therefore important for the General Assembly, at this session, to study ways and means of reaching that goal.

Mr. RABGYE (Bhutan): At first glance reports from southern Africa would seem to indicate an improvement in the political climate of the area. South Africa negotiates various non-aggression treaties with the neighbouring front-line States. South Africa indicates willingness to grant independence to Namibia. Furthermore, we hear that South Africa has announced plans to modify apartheid. South Africa, it appears, is presenting a new face to the world. Why then, in spite of seemingly encouraging signs, is there greater cause for alarm?

The consternation of the international community is due to the fact that the fundamental policies of the South Africa Government have not demonstrated any real desire for constructive change but that the Government continues to pursue the

(Mr. Rabgye, Bhutan)

same objectives, only more aggressively. Frustration and conflicts are increasing on all sides. We must not allow a clever public relations campaign to confuse the issues. South Africa remains actively engaged in three wars simultaneously.

First, not content with reducing its neighbours to a state of economic dependence, South Africa has attempted to destabilize the front-line States through a series of military adventures. Angola and Mozambique have borne the brunt of this destructiveness, but Lesotho also has suffered an invasion by South Africa. The territorial integrity of all States must be respected at all times, but recent events show how little the non-aggression treaties to which South Africa is a party mean in real terms.

Secondly, the South African Government has continued to wage a brutal war against the people of Namibia. General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted in 1966 terminated South Africa's Mandate over the Territory, then known as South-West Africa, so that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal in the first place. But South Africa's grip on this colony is a tenacious one, and while it and its partners, the transnational corporations, continue to exploit the riches of the land, it has stepped up its war against the freedom fighters recognized as such by the United Nations. The scheme to hand over power to the multi-party conference is a fraudulent one. It would not mean independence for Namibia at all but would assure Pretoria's continued rule. We must work together for the eradication of colonialism, whether in Africa or elsewhere. Nor can we allow ourselves to be deterred in this fight by irrelevant issues, such as linkage, which are mere excuses for continuing policies of aggression.

(Mr. Rabgye, Bhutan)

Thirdly, perhaps the most tragic and brutal of the three wars being carried on by the Pretoria Government is that waged against its own people and written into its laws as apartheid. Under that system, over 22 million Africans are completely excluded from the political process and have virtually no rights whatsoever in their own country. Peaceful demonstrations are met by gunfire, mass arrests and the laying-off of thousands of workers. The same rigid policy has created implausible bantustans and ghetto areas for the blacks, known as black spots, which has made possible the violent uprooting of 3 million blacks and threatens to cause the deportation of 2 million more. The new constitution does nothing in the way of dismantling this system of violence but further entrenches it. We cannot rejoice over the removal of a few "Whites Only" signs here and there and call that progress.

The three wars are interconnected and all stem from South Africa's inflexible ideology of racism and colonialism. It is part of the legacy of such atrocities as the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and it is a doctrine which should have been discarded, in shame, long ago. Since, however, the Pretoria Government persists in its same course, I must reiterate my country's position on the issues.

We call upon South Africa to withdraw, totally and unconditionally, from Angola and we call for an immediate halt to South Africa's acts of aggression and other forms of interference in the affairs of neighbouring front-line States.

We call upon South Africa to halt its war against the Namibian people. We recognize the right of the Namibians to independence and we support the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the national liberation movement, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Rabgye, Bhutan)

Furthermore, we call upon South Africa to take steps immediately to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which embodies the United Nations plan for Namibia and remains the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. It is imperative that this plan is not modified or circumvented in any way.

On the issue of apartheid, the unflinching position of my delegation is that there can be no compromise with that totally unjust system. The issue is a simple one. Apartheid is blatantly evil. It is a form of exploitation, backed by the legal system of that country, which degrades the vast majority of the people there and treats them as less than human merely because of the colour of their skin. Laws such as apartheid laws are a perversion of justice and a direct violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Abraham Lincoln, speaking out on a similar issue - the slavery of black Americans - once said:

"Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

That cunning tyrant in South Africa today is fear; that divided society is a society of fear, where apartheid's emblems are Sharpeville and Soweto, where funeral mourners are shot in the back.

We support Security Council resolution 554 (1984), which rejected South Africa's so-called new constitution as a further entrenchment of apartheid and therefore declared it null and void. Furthermore, we fully support the General Assembly resolution stating that the elimination of apartheid is one of the major imperatives of the United Nations. We are committed to working towards the establishment of a non-racial society in a united South Africa.

(Mr. Rabgye, Bhutan)

One aspect of apartheid which perhaps has not received enough attention is the difference in health care for blacks and whites in South Africa. In the urban areas, the risk of death for black children is 14 times greater than that for white children at ages one to four. Furthermore, in the rural areas where most blacks live, malaria, cholera and poliomyelitis are rife and in some areas reaches epidemic proportions.

Some people expressed the hope that constructive engagement would make South Africa more flexible and more willing to negotiate. As this has not been the case, what more effective approaches can the international community take?

First, we must make all possible efforts to ensure implementation of the various United Nations resolutions that have been adopted. Consensus must be backed by the requisite political will. One such resolution, Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which instituted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, must be strictly enforced. South Africa has not become the tenth largest arms producer today without outside help. Feeding the military machine further creates greater security risks for all of southern Africa.

We join in calling for the institution of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa. We also call for the isolation of South Africa in the sports, cultural and technological fields.

We call upon Governments to accede to or ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

It is also important that the international community support those working for change within South Africa by providing assistance to liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, such as the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

We call upon the international community to provide assistance to the



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front-line and other neighbouring States for their defence against South African aggression and for the protection of refugees.

We appeal to the International Monetary Fund to stop providing credits and other assistance to South Africa.

We commend Mr. Garba for his work as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. He has laboured tirelessly in that cause and the result has been a greater awareness world-wide of this issue, its urgency and what actions need to be taken with regard to it. He has been aided in this by an excellent staff.

We commend the students, trade unions, religious groups and individuals acting on their own who have organized disinvestment campaigns and protested against various forms of co-operation with South Africa. Those people represent the conscience of the countries of which they are citizens, even if their Governments take a shortsighted view in doing business with South Africa. Those dedicated protesters represent the hope of the future.

We cannot welcome South Africa into the civilized community of nations until it renounces the twin evils of racism and colonialism. Not until then can its isolation be ended. Nelson Mandela, the great leader of the African National Congress, once said that there is "no easy walk to freedom". The majority of South Africans cannot be denied their human rights any longer - they have purchased their freedom many times over through many years of bitterness and struggle. South Africa is today faced with an unprecedented choice: it can heed the will of the international community and acknowledge the rights of all its citizens or it can slide into a conflagration which threatens the whole of southern Africa.

By reversing its present policies South Africa stands to gain everything. It would win friends all over the world, defuse the present crisis and tap the untold

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human potential of all its peoples, so much of which is now wasted. It would be a glorious opportunity.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): Once again we are assembled for an annual ritual, as it were, at which brilliance of speech and intensity of human emotion spell out the common sense of universal outrage and Africa's frustration at the cruelty, immorality, brutal murder and defiance brought upon our generation by the system called apartheid.

Two decades ago that system seemed to the Cameroon delegation to be a monstrous disaster waiting to happen. Reports today demonstrate not only that the disaster has exploded but that its vibrations have begun to be felt well beyond the subcontinent. We have been told of the cries of fellow mortals caught in an outlandish crescendo of violence and destruction. Bishop Desmond Tutu and others like him, whose abhorrence of violence is unquestionable, have been here to tell us of what is happening. We have heard the cries of the legitimate leaders within southern Africa asking for no more than that there be restored to them the same fundamental rights enjoyed by other citizens in their fatherland.

In the past this universal Assembly has responded with mountains of resolutions, and we have made the point that we have a tremendous reservoir of words and sentiments to draw upon. We have encouraged the racists of South Africa to continue to wear their sardonic smiles in mockery and defiance, confident of the indolence that we jointly demonstrate after the adoption of resolutions.

Thus, each year brings more pain to the majority of the population. Mothers must die with their children or else be driven by desperation to accept the inevitability of their death. Fathers must be compelled to accept separation from loved one, bullied by poverty and unemployment. We have been called upon merely to look on, each passing day reminding us of the scope of our joint evil.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

This commemorative year must not join with others past in underlining that evil. Men, women and children are dying senselessly in South Africa. Their noble blood shed in a historic struggle for freedom tells us that apartheid cannot be reformed, that our indolence tends to strengthen the will of the racists to attempt to suspend the march of time, that by that indolence we may collectively be contributing to further bloodshed in southern Africa as a whole.

The time is long overdue for us to do more than fan emotions of hate and worthless condemnation. International public opinion has been sufficiently informed of, and in many instances mobilized against, the atrocities in South Africa to demand new, decisive measures at the United Nations. Thousands - in fact, millions - of people in all walks of life across the globe - legislators, including senators, teachers, scientists, rich, poor, white, black, the noble and ordinary folk, all have joined in calling for radical change in South Africa.

We owe it to them, and mostly to the immediate victims of apartheid, to undertake united actions to stop the senseless killings there. Most of the leaders of South Africa have recommended to us the best way to do this. None of them has so far advocated the retaliatory killing of so-called whites. The weapons of death and destruction are in the hands of the oppressive régime. A cease-fire must come from them, a "cease-oppression" must come from them, a "drop-apartheid" must begin with them, a return to civilized conduct must be undertaken by them.

What we all must constantly not fail to remember is that change is prescribed by history and by the nature of God's creation. No arms of mass destruction, no human alliances can stop that. Our concern is that we may be doing too little and, perhaps, too late. We may be reaching a point where destruction among races would block reconciliation in the future. The racists are insisting that freedom and the elimination of apartheid will happen only over their dead bodies. They must know that the blacks are willing to die to attain that freedom, because the enslavement

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involved in the present options is dehumanizing. Given the increasing interest of world opinion, victory in those circumstances can only come to those who fight for freedom.

That type of freedom does not make for a truly multiracial society which alone would give sustenance and well-being to the South African nation. Children are being born and growing up in an atmosphere of bitter human conflict fought on racial lines. They know neither love nor the quality of understanding that enhances nation-building. They will inherit a country torn apart by racism and counter-racism, with an entrenched divisiveness and the provoked lawlessness of the frustrated felt by vanquished and victors alike, with such bitterness overflowing from the mistrust of a past in which cruelty and injustice could find expression only in a souring of the joy of existence.

We must take steps to avoid that threatening state of affairs before it is too late. Future generations must not look to our efforts with rejection, because we permitted the protraction of the evil. Let us block apartheid and then proceed urgently to destroy it. Let us enable the peoples of South Africa to spend the years of their lives in a dynamic technological age, building the unity and development of their country and contributing to world peace and security like everybody else. South Africa now has nuclear capability. That should remind all nations, great and small, that the situation in the subregion is of concern to all.

We cannot successfully meet the attendant challenges with mere rhetoric, by apportioning blame and making diversionary references to external factors. Let us address the serious situation in South Africa. To those who claim to fear that the African or so-called black will be most hurt by sanctions, we invite them to listen to the voices of the victims of apartheid. They are asking how much longer, how many more deaths we prescribe for them. They are asking what is the scope of our interest in removing this curse from mankind. They are not interested in philosophy

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and explanations. Patience unto death is for the slothful, not for those long deprived of a right to decent life and freedom. The pain of the aged and of the youth is the same.

Even the racists need quick change to save their children and future generations from the rage of the retributive process. They must be forced out of the shelves on which they slumber, seemingly filed away from civilization and the norms of the Christian religion they claim to profess. If this is not to be done through physical violence to which those defending themselves may feel compelled to turn, we must now, through a show of unity here, devise a workable, productive and efficient alternative to save South Africa as a nation before it is too late.

We call upon the United Nations Security Council to make its decisive contribution, but even more we call upon the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to remove confrontation in their mutual relations in addressing the desperate situation in southern Africa. It is not in the front-line States that a solution may be found. It is within South Africa itself that a challenge exists for those two giants and their allies to demonstrate a real capacity to lead, not merely bully or menace the rest of mankind.

We do not fail to recognize the contribution of industrialized countries like France, New Zealand, Canada and Australia, among the ranks of others before them. What we do ask of them is that they press the contemporary power structures of the world to save that subregion of Africa from the continuing horrors and scourge of conflict and disaster.

Mr. FELIX (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again in this Hall a discussion is taking place of the cruel and inhuman system of political oppression that dooms millions of human beings in South Africa through the action of the white minority and that we all know as an institutionalized régime of racial segregation called apartheid.

(Mr. Felix, Dominican Republic)

My country's position with regard to the unjust system of apartheid has been repeatedly and clearly made known in this society of nations, and our view and position were voiced unequivocally during the general debate in the General Assembly on 7 October of this year by my country's Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He said:

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"Every year the Dominican Republic reiterates its total condemnation of the abhorrent practice of apartheid. In this regard we must express our concern over the worsening and growing deterioration of the situation in South Africa, where the absurd policy of apartheid is producing untold human suffering, arbitrary mass arrests and forced displacement of great sectors of the population." (A/40/PV.24, p. 66)

The racist minority régime of South Africa cannot continue to spurn the will of the international community as repeatedly expressed in the United Nations Security Council. That is why the Council and the General Assembly must continue to apply the international measures agreed upon to eliminate the hateful system of racial oppression. Thus Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 558 (1984) must be complied with and implemented in every detail. The Dominican Republic, which is a country that includes blacks, whites and, as a majority, citizens of mixed race, must necessarily condemn racial discrimination, especially if that discrimination is institutionalized and constitutes a threat to peace, mutual coexistence and understanding among peoples and among the inhabitants of the region.

The Pretoria Government is trying with impunity to keep alive a political system that is denying human beings the exercise of their most elementary rights, rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The universal principles of human dignity cannot be violated by a minority that turns a deaf ear to the constant appeals of the international community that there should be an end, once and for all, to the racial system known as apartheid.

My country has constantly proclaimed its faith in the United Nations and its institutions, and believes that the bases provided by its resolutions are the most feasible means of putting an end to the serious obstacles that are depriving

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millions of South Africans of the achievement of their most deeply felt aspirations, which basically amount simply to the enjoyment of their civil and political rights and of the material benefits with which the earth abounds.

We demand that South Africa immediately liberate the great nationalist fighter Nelson Mandela, who has been suffering in prison for more than 20 years, and all the political prisoners in South Africa, whose sole crime is that they have fought for the just and noble cause of equality, freedom, social justice and the enjoyment of the prerogatives that flow from them. The Pretoria régime has the inescapable duty of repealing its discriminatory and racial legislation and ending the political repression with respect for the lives of those who are fighting for South African freedom.

Therefore from this rostrum we affirm our total support for the oppressed people of South Africa and their vanguard, the African National Congress.

We are firmly convinced that on this fortieth anniversary of the foundation of our international community as embodied in the United Nations, the white minority of South Africa will at last understand that the calls of the black majority for the eradication of apartheid are just and full of the highest human dignity, and that at some forthcoming session of the General Assembly we shall all be able to comment on the fact here that in South Africa the dearest and most beautiful dream of Nelson Mandela, Benjamin Moloise and Bishop Desmond Tutu has become a reality, since in South Africa, in accordance with our wishes, blacks, whites and those of mixed race will enjoy full equality in accordance with the principles and rules of law as set forth in our own founding Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I laud the noble cause of the Africans, and I laud the martyrs who have fallen in that noble struggle in defence of South African liberty.



Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (interpretation from French): This year the debate on the apartheid policy of the South African régime is being held at a time when the crisis caused and maintained by Pretoria has reached an unprecedented level to the consternation of the international community, which is searching for ways of putting an end to it. .

Naturally the world is looking to the United Nations, whose basic role is to promote and defend peace, liberty, equality and justice in the world. Aware of its responsibility, it has striven since its creation to oblige the racist régime to respect, while there is still time, the legitimate claims of the majority with a view to eliminating the apartheid system and establishing a democratic society based on equal rights and duties for all citizens. Nothing could be more unacceptable for the partisans of a régime based on racial superiority and exploitation. It is therefore easy to understand that the many resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other international bodies have not been implemented. On the contrary, contemptuous of a United Nations that seems powerless, and of world public opinion, Pretoria is not only pursuing its criminal apartheid policy but is intensifying it through terror and repression of the indigenous population.

However, the spirit of resistance has never been stronger. It is unconquerable, and can be seen everywhere: in the mines, in the workshops, in churches, in places of employment and in the streets, where defenceless demonstrators are killed in cold blood, thus increasing the number of names on the impressive list of victims who, from Sharpeville to Uitenhage, have boldly shown their opposition to apartheid.

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

At the same time, to appease its allies Pretoria engages in all sorts of manoeuvres which have no effect on the substance of the problem and which, although they are described as constructive changes, are in fact designed to maintain the racist régime and perpetuate white domination.

Its desperate attempts to break the resistance of the oppressed people, against whom it uses not only police forces but even the army, under the state of emergency, the measures to strengthen its illegal occupation of Namibia in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and even its attempts to pacify or intimidate the neighbouring States, leave no doubt, if there ever were doubt, of its true intentions. This has been confirmed by the leader of the racist régime himself, Mr. Botha, who, embarrassing his main apologists, stated in the course of a most provocative speech last August that he would never accept majority rule in a united South Africa, since that would lead to domination of the minority by the majority. Of course we completely reject such an argument, the purpose of which is to justify the contrary situation.

In any case, we wish to stress that the impostor could not have persisted in this hopeless cause, continued to ignore appeals to reason and common sense and refused to negotiate with the authentic representatives of the people if it had not been actively assisted by countries whose high moral values can only be tarnished by such associations. We fully share the concern of the Special Committee against Apartheid when it stresses in its annual report

"the regrettable moves of certain Western Powers to accord respectability and greater co-operation to the apartheid régime as a partner in a so-called 'peace process' or as an agent of 'reform'"

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

or when it insists on the need

"to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people and to exert all influence to dissuade the few Powers concerned from continuing their disastrous policies of collaboration with the apartheid régime."

(A/40/22, para. 309)

The total commitment of all of us to concerted action to deal with this situation is more than ever necessary. We welcome the recent decisions by some Western countries, notably Canada, New Zealand and France, whose courageous initiative in the Security Council last July led to the adoption of resolution 569 (1985), in which the Council for the first time urgently requested Member States to impose specific economic sanctions against South Africa. Although those measures are inadequate, we nevertheless welcome them and exhort those countries to co-operate with us to ensure the adoption of the comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions which alone can lead to a solution in southern Africa.

While we were encouraged by the positive development in the recent attitude of Western countries, we are very disappointed by the position of three of them, which, to quote once again from the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid:

"bear a tremendous responsibility for the situation in South Africa, in the light of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to isolate the apartheid régime and to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people." (para. 346)

This is no time for recriminations, however, and we are ready to forget the past in spite of what I am tempted to call their collusion with apartheid, provided that they admit that they do not possess a monopoly of wisdom. We are ready to forget everything if they finally listen to the voice of the suffering people, if

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

they finally decide to act, together with the rest of the international community, to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa. The choice is theirs.

Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French): It is in the name of justice, freedom, independence and human dignity that my delegation feels compelled to take part in the debate on the policies of apartheid of South Africa.

The United Nations has had the question of the disastrous situation prevailing in that part of the world on its agenda for 40 years. In spite of the efforts made to put an end to it, it seems as if apartheid, which all of us, or at least an overwhelming majority of us, have identified as a crime against humanity, is constantly rising from the ashes of the many resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

In the light of this, we are confronted with a number of questions. One of them, the most basic, in our opinion, is why and how a system as abject as the one which has been unanimously condemned and rejected by all the Members of the United Nations without exception has been able to survive for so long despite our common will.

Those who believe that the attention devoted by the General Assembly and the Security Council to the policy of apartheid of the racist Pretoria régime over this long period of time is only an annual ritual are right. Forty years have gone by without any change in the situation of millions of human beings who live in ghettos, with a status barely superior to that of an animal.

From day to day in South Africa the situation becomes worse. The repeated acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against the neighbouring States and its determination to persist in and consolidate the odious system of apartheid threaten regional and international peace and security a little more each day.

(Mr. Bassole, Burkina Faso)

Therefore, we cannot but be surprised that, despite this threat, the measures capable of isolating that régime are those that are spoken of least or that no one wants to hear about.

(Mr. Bassole, Burkina Faso)

In fact, as Captain Thomas Sankara, the President of the National Council of the Revolution and Head of State of Burkina Faso, said at this very rostrum a year ago:

"The unbelievable insolence of [South Africa] with respect to all nations of the world, even those that support the terrorism which it has erected into a State system designed physically to liquidate the black majority of that country, the contempt that it has shown for our resolutions, are among the most serious and overwhelming concerns of the world today.

"But the most tragic factor is not that South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community because of its apartheid laws, not even that it continues to occupy Namibia illegally and keep it under its colonialist and racist boot or that it continues with impunity to subject its neighbours to those laws of banditry. No, what is most abject and most humiliating for the human conscience is that it has made this tragedy a matter of everyday reality for millions of human beings, who have only their own body and the heroism of their bare arms to defend themselves." (A/39/PV.20, p. 21)

That has been and continues to be possible only because throughout these years there have been some who have deliberately - although perhaps without realizing it - introduced into this issue a link between the question of apartheid and other questions that actually have no link, direct or indirect, with it. With the passage of time it has become clear that those who stubbornly refuse to fit their deeds to their words are trying to make us lose sight of the real nature of the Pretoria régime's policy of apartheid; they do that by insinuating that the real question is the East-West confrontation. Such a view of the situation can only lead to the conception and application of a policy that takes everything into account except the fundamental interests of the South African people. Here, that view of the situation is called the "policy of constructive engagement"; in other places they prefer not to give it a name.

(Mr. Bassole, Burkina Faso)

My delegation has not come to this rostrum to make a ritual statement. The indescribable suffering of the black southern Africans, victims of the colour of their skin, obliges us to make neither concessions nor compromises in ensuring that the final goal is achieved: the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic society without any racial distinctions, a society based on the principle of government by the majority, through the full and free exercise of the right of vote by all the adults, in a united and unfragmented South Africa.

And it is possible to eradicate apartheid - the only solution that can be just, lasting and acceptable to the people of South Africa, backed by the international community. Through untiring efforts, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have defined the framework for such a solution. From the statements made by many preceding speakers here, we see that the paths to that solution have been clearly traced.

In other words, let us not waste time in trying to invent something which already exists. Its conduct for the past 40 years shows that the Pretoria régime has chosen to remain deaf to all our demands. In that way, it makes clear what treatment should be meted out to it. And that treatment can only be, in these circumstances, the application of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The overwhelming majority of the State Members of our Organization have called for that, and they continue to be absolutely in favour of it.

But the expression of this common will has been met with the categorical refusal by certain States that are so well known that it is unnecessary to name them. It is that refusal which comforts the Pretoria racist régime and encourages it to maintain its position. It explains the systematic recourse to terrorism and repression against the national liberation movements of South Africa, and against all those struggling for the elimination of racial discrimination and the apartheid system. It is that refusal, also, which motivates Pretoria in committing acts of

(Mr. Bassole, Burkina Faso)

aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring African States and in engaging in all kinds of manoeuvres to strengthen the apartheid system, particularly the establishment of so-called bantustans.

Despite all that, however, we are witnessing today the birth of a new phenomenon: a sort of barely disguised paternalism that claims concern about the fate of these millions of black southern Africans - these persons "who had such flat noses that in former times it was very hard even to feel sorry for them". But it is only and simply the form, not the substance, of the speech that has changed. Today the very Powers that have been putting obstacles in the way of the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria seem to be concerned about the impact - which they say will be harmful - that such measures would have on these blacks. They are absolutely silent, however, about what would happen to the Pretoria racist régime and their own selfish interests.

Perhaps we should remind them - for they are supposed to be more aware than anyone else of the price of freedom and human dignity - that there could be no more cruel or humiliating suffering than that which the blacks of southern Africa have been enduring for many long years now. Perhaps we should call their attention also to the fact that elsewhere in Africa and in Latin America and Asia there are peoples that are suffering, and their suffering cannot necessarily be linked to the imposition of any kind of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Another condemnation of South Africa by the General Assembly for the crime of apartheid, another demand that it abolish that system and free all the political prisoners, will not suffice to change the situation in that country. Today the peoples of southern Africa expect each of us and the international community as a whole - if we cannot demonstrate our will to serve their just cause - at least to stop placing obstacles in the path of their emancipation, for which they are prepared to make so many sacrifices, including even the final one.



(Mr. Bassole, Burkina Faso)

If we want to meet their expectations, which are quite legitimate, we should speak less and do more - those among us who understand that at the present stage of the development of the situation in that part of the African continent, only action is appropriate; all the rest is just weakness or complicity. To that end, we must stop all this subterfuge and speak the language of firmness and determination to the racist régime, for whom the knell will soon toll. That would be one of the most beautiful gifts that the States opposed to the application of Chapter VII of the Charter to the racist régime of South Africa could offer the United Nations on its fortieth anniversary; it is a gift which the international community would so much like those States to give. If it could help those States to take such a decision, Burkina Faso is prepared to extend its co-operation to them at any time.

We in Burkina Faso pledge to give our constant support, by all possible means, to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and elsewhere, in their just struggle to see liberty, equality, justice and human dignity triumph.

Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (interpretation from French): The apartheid policy of the Pretoria régime has been on the agenda of the United Nations for 40 years and it is sad that on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations which we are so widely celebrating, this violent, barbarous and fascist apartheid régime should still exist.

There is no need to recapitulate for the benefit of this Assembly the gross violations of international law and the crimes against humanity daily practised by the racist régime. Surely the world knows of the atrocities committed by that régime. Resolutions denouncing the racist Pretoria régime are legion. What more do we need to prove that the racist apartheid régime holds international public opinion in contempt.

While we discuss the apartheid policy, the Pretoria régime is continuing to repress in blood the oppressed people of South Africa with the weapons that are supplied to it by its allies in violation of the arms embargo.

The escalation of the repression practised by the Pretoria apartheid régime against the oppressed population of South Africa culminated in the proclamation of a state of emergency in many parts of the country and bestowed on the army and police unlimited powers to search without warrant, to detain people, to declare curfews and to fire without warning on the population. Thousands of those opposing apartheid have been arrested and more than 100 have been killed out of hand.

Every appeal by the international community has been met with stubborn intransigence and disdain by the Pretoria régime. But they must know that the state of emergency will not lead to peace, nor will it solve the fundamental problems of the black population of South Africa.

(Mr. Ogouma, Benin)

The tragic events that for some weeks have been taking place in South Africa through widespread demonstrations and struggle savagely repressed by South African soldiers clearly demonstrate, if further demonstration is needed, that co-operation, dialogue and constructive engagement with the Pretoria régime, far from helping to solve the problem of apartheid, only help to strengthen its policy of genocide and repression of the oppressed black people in South Africa.

Protected by its allies, acting with impunity, the racist Pretoria régime is extending its apartheid system to Namibia which it illegally occupies and is pursuing its military aggression against the other countries of southern Africa. Has not the Pretoria régime for some 20 years now persisted in its arrogant defiance and its refusal to apply the decisions of our Organization by continuing illegally to occupy Namibia and exploit its immense resources? Has it not launched 10 armed aggressions against the People's Republic of Angola since its proclamation of independence in 1975? Has it not launched aggressions against Mozambique, Seychelles, Lesotho and Botswana? Is it not that same apartheid régime of Pretoria that arrogantly admits having given aid and support to UNITA, despite the Lusaka agreements of 1984? Has it not publicly vowed that it would continue its acts of destabilization in Mozambique by supplying the MNR outlaws with weapons, medicine and so on, in violation of the Nkomati accords?

The daily strengthening of the system of apartheid within South Africa by force of arms, by genocide and by bloody repression, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the shameless exploitation of its resources, as well as the intensification of barbarous acts of aggression against the sovereign and independent front-line States are so many additional crimes that create a particularly dangerous situation in southern Africa and constitute a grave threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Ogouma, Benin)

The racist Pretoria régime, by its shameful crimes, radically opposes and dangerously violates the sacred principles enshrined 40 years ago in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those contained in paragraph 4 of Article 2. It constantly spurns and rejects the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 and it also scoffs at the declaration on South Africa in resolution 34/93 of 12 December 1979.

Defining the apartheid régime in the Committee holding hearings on item 35 of the agenda, a speaker quite justly said:

"It is well-known that the architects of apartheid were admirers and supporters of Adolf Hitler and that their evil system was consciously inspired by nazism. It is no mere coincidence that nazism and apartheid have both been labelled crimes against humanity. Is there any real difference between Hitler's master race ideology and apartheid, between his invasion and occupation of Europe and the racist régime's invasion and occupation of Angola and aggression against the other independent States in the region, between the genocide committed against the Jewish people and the massacres which are daily occurrences in South Africa?" (A/40/SPC/PV.13, p. 58)

That is why the trial of the South African Government's apartheid policy is also the trial of all those who give assistance to it and thus allow it to continue to exist, the trial of those who bolster it in its arrogance and in its refusal to comply with the decisions of our Organization and with the wishes of the whole international community.

It is also the trial of those whose main concern is to preserve the privileged trade, military and scientific relations which they maintain with Pretoria and who in so doing have contributed, not only to the plundering of the natural wealth of

(Mr. Ogouma, Benin)

the country, but also to the acquisition by the illegal South African Government of a nuclear weapon which allows it to intimidate and terrorize its neighbours.

The trial of the South African régime's apartheid policy is also the trial of those who, through greed and for their own sordid interests, are South Africa's accomplices in its illegal occupation of Namibia. In fact, South Africa's obduracy in its constant refusal to abide by the unanimous decisions of our Organization can only be explained by the complicity of certain Powers which, conniving with South Africa, shamelessly exploit the Namibian people and implacably plunder its resources.

The trial of the South Africa Government's apartheid policy is also the trial of those who do not dare to speak out in opposition to the acts of aggression, of massive destabilization, of terrorism and economic blackmail perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against its neighbours.

What the oppressed people of South Africa seek, what the black population want is simply the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the inhabitants of South Africa regardless of their race, their colour or their creed. That is also what the United Nations requires in its 1979 Declaration on South Africa, in which it affirmed that:

"all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, should be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination". (resolution 34/93 O)

(Mr. Ogouma, Benin)

The Security Council also demands that in its statement of 21 August 1985, according to which

"The members of the Council believe that a just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united, democratic society in South Africa."

(S/17413)

That same demand is made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), whose current Chairman, President Diouf of Senegal, speaking in the General Assembly a few days ago, said:

"Over and above the combat imposed on them by the apartheid régime, those leaders" - that is, the South African liberations movements - "have a clear vision of post-apartheid South African society, a multiracial, egalitarian and democratic society guaranteeing freedom and justice for all." (A/40/PV.42, p. 20)

It is for such an egalitarian society for all that the oppressed people of South Africa daily fight and shed their blood. It is for such a society, in which apartheid is eradicated, that the national liberation movements of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia struggle indomitably, weapons in hand.

It is high time for the United Nations to ensure that concerted measures are taken to assist the people of South Africa to eliminate apartheid. Our Organization must take all possible steps to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa.

(Mr. Ogouma, Benin)

In this context, my delegation, while expressing its satisfaction to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Mr. Garba, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, with the very comprehensive report submitted to us, wishes to stress three of the recommendations of the Special Committee by quoting them here, as follows:\*

"The Special Committee considers that Governments which oppose the strengthening and effective monitoring of the mandatory arms embargo, as well as corporations which supply equipment and expertise for military and police use in South Africa, bear a grave responsibility. (A/40/22, para. 374)

"It urges that the Security Council take urgent measures to strengthen the arms embargo, prohibit all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field and ensure the effective monitoring of such measures in accordance with the report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) ... and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In this connection, it attaches special importance to the prohibition of supply of 'dual purpose' equipment, computers and technology for military and police use in South Africa. (para. 376)

"The Special Committee notes with great concern the stubborn refusal of major Western Powers to recognize the situation in South Africa and southern Africa as a threat to international peace and security - even when the apartheid régime continues to commit acts of genocide and has repeatedly committed acts of aggression against the front-line States. It hopes that they will be persuaded to facilitate action under Chapter VII of the Charter." (para. 384)

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

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French):

Mr. President, the Head of the Zairian delegation has had an opportunity to offer you his congratulations on your well-deserved election to conduct the work of the present session.

Our consideration of agenda item 35, entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", is taking place at a particularly critical and decisive moment for the black population of South Africa, which is undeniably and undisputably the majority in that country.

Several debates have been organized within the United Nations system, at the level of both the General Assembly and the Security Council, leading to many resolutions, as well as at innumerable international conferences, on the policy of apartheid carried out by a handful of white racists in South Africa. Unfortunately, these debates have so far been mere oratorical contests.

At a time when the United Nations is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of its founding and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is unthinkable and inadmissible that the whole international community should be, practically speaking, incapable of exercising any influence on the racism, slavery and other manifestations of the unjustified superiority complex imposed on the original, indigenous population of the South African territory.

The fundamental rights of the black peoples of South Africa derive from history and from the fact that those peoples belong to that territory, which is occupied and exploited by a white minority which in the main have come from certain countries to implement systematic segregation and make a government policy of a form of discrimination leading to the extermination of the indigenous population.



(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Since 1948 apartheid has been applied in South African territory by means of the law on residential segregation, which makes it possible to regroup people by race and keep them in areas reserved for them. The promulgation of that law, in 1948, represented in the eyes of the international community an alleged legalization of a de facto situation which was created at the time of the occupation of that territory by the Boers in 1652.

In fact, since 1487, when the Portuguese Dias sailed round the South African coast for the first time, there was a very large black population - estimated to be far larger than the present-day black population - composed of Bochimans, Hottentots, Zulus and Bantus, who were and remain to our day the real owners of the South African territory.

Despite the policy of extermination pursued by the invaders from outside that territory, which was aggravated by the slavery that developed there in about 1685, the black population of South Africa has always resisted and always will resist the systematic attempts to liquidate it physically.

Throughout the history of colonization the territory of South Africa has constituted a bastion where defenceless black people have been massacred with impunity, tyrannized over, humiliated and kept under the heel of an obnoxious policy which denies them any civil or political rights, while other races have enjoyed flexibility and amenities, as if they had more rights than the black original inhabitants of the territory.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Although the victory won by the United Nations in the field of decolonization has since 1960 led to the liberation of more than 60 countries, the territories of Namibia and South Africa continue to be subject to illegal occupation by white racists in spite of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

For we should no longer consider the Territory of South Africa as the so-called Republic, on the one hand owing to the belligerent character of that régime and its refusal to comply with the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and, on the other, because of the fact that the so-called Republic of South Africa was created against the wishes of the colonial administering Power with which no political link exists any longer. That confirms the illegal character of the régime which was imposed without any succession of authority.

The assassination of Verwoerd in 1966, the grave disturbances that took place in 1976 in the areas reserved for blacks, not to mention the 1960 Sharpeville massacres and Vorster's resignation in 1979, were only the precursor of a long liberation struggle of the black people of South Africa the climax of which was reached in recent months by greater violence, virulent reactions and a sense of determination among the black peoples bent on recovering their fundamental rights and freedom.

Representing more than 73 per cent of the population, the black people of South Africa can no longer be excluded and left out of South African political life. More than ever, the United Nations General Assembly should take advantage of the peoples' reaction noted throughout the world and the various manifestations in favour of the struggle being waged by the black people of South Africa for the systematic and complete elimination of apartheid.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

In this regard, we should stress that the uprising of the black people of South Africa was favourably received and supported by democratic and mass movements throughout the world. As a result, the General Assembly should at this session prepare a plan of severe concrete measures that could bring the Pretoria régime to heed reason and dismantle the apartheid system.

The heroic struggle waged by the black majority of South Africa, while its uncontested leader Nelson Mandela continues to languish in South African prisons, is one of combating the hateful régime of apartheid, which disregards the fact that all human beings are born equal in dignity and rights and that any doctrine of racial superiority is scientifically false, morally reprehensible, socially unjust and dangerous. Apartheid has been denounced many times by the international community as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

The delegation of Zaire is convinced that all peoples and all human groups have contributed to the progress of world civilization and culture which constitute the common heritage of mankind. That applies even more to South Africa where the white minority has grown rich, thanks to the hard work and the results of the forced labour of the black working masses, as well as the shameless exploitation of the resources of both Namibia and South Africa by that minority.

The Zairian delegation rejects and condemns the inhuman policy of the creation of bantustans which is designed to dispossess the black African inhabitants, deprive them of their citizenship, and consolidate the political and economic domination of the white minority population of South Africa.

The Zairian delegation will support all proposals made at the end of this debate on agenda item 35 aimed at the adoption of comprehensive measures and sanctions in all possible areas - diplomatic, economic, cultural, sports, social,

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

trade, technological and so on - against the racist régime of South Africa and at giving increased assistance to the black people of South Africa struggling for its freedom, independence and dignity.

Mr. KATEKA (United Republic of Tanzania): The United Nations has been seized of the problem of apartheid since the founding of our Organization. Because this most shameful and abhorrent policy has existed for so long, some have tended to take it for granted. That is a dangerous and untenable situation.

For apartheid reflects adversely on all us all. Whether we are the perpetrators of this obnoxious system, its victims or indifferent bystanders, we all stand condemned for tolerating this strange but unique phenomenon ever created by man. While it humiliates its victims, apartheid equally debases its proponents. It is a vote of no confidence in those who merely regard it as a moral issue. It is more than that. It is a fundamental trampling on human rights and a denial of the black majority of its inalienable right to determine its own destiny. It is systematic and institutionalized racism whereby a white minority arrogates to itself the role of controlling the fate of the majority, by denying the latter their humanity owing to the pigmentation of their skin.

Thus there can be no question of peaceful coexistence with the apartheid system. One cannot coexist peacefully with such a vile system. The policy of live and let live cannot be extended to a bully that behaves like a rogue elephant to its own people. The regime's plethora of apartheid laws, its so-called homeland policy, its ever-increasing military and police repression of the majority population are a clear manifestation of its unwillingness and inability to bring about change on its own.

(Mr. Kateka, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

Because of its unjust nature and abominable character, the South African system lives and feeds on fear - fear of its hollow creation, fear of the people, and fear of the day of reckoning - hence the declaration of a state of emergency in a country already operating in a permanent state of siege. Hence its xenophobia by refusing admission to some foreigners it considers its enemies and restrictions against foreign journalists. Such a system is doomed to failure and contains the seeds of its own decay and undoing. What the international community needs to do is to help the South African people to bring about the demise of the system.

(Mr. Kateka, United Republic  
of Tanzania)

In this connection, we in Tanzania become concerned when we hear some countries paying lip-service to the abhorrence of the apartheid system while in reality they are doing nothing to end it. Those in certain quarters which outwardly oppose apartheid support, condone and collude in the same policy by advocating so-called peaceful change and power-sharing, which are in fact code words for the perpetuation of repression in South Africa. When some Powers try to reason with and appeal to the good sense of the white minority, Botha arrogantly slaps them in the face by threatening to wreak the havoc of unemployment in the benefactor countries. What a fitting way to express gratitude!

Equally, we cannot understand the sermonizing regarding the suffering that would be unleashed on the black majority and on neighbouring States if economic sanctions were to be imposed on South Africa. The same detractors would have us believe that sanctions cannot work. Naturally, it does not need great imagination to realize that sanctions do not work because there are sanctions busters. And, unfortunately, as experience has shown, the sanctions busters are usually the same countries as argue that sanctions can never succeed. Yet those Powers have successfully imposed sanctions on their adversaries elsewhere. I would refer the doubting Thomases to the report of the Secretary-General on economic measures taken by developed countries for coercive purposes, including their impact on international economic relations (A/40/596). It is a quite revealing document. Only in the case of South Africa, it would seem, do sanctions not work.

It would be much more honourable and honest if those Powers were openly to admit that they are opposed to sanctions because of their economic interests in South Africa. They should accept responsibility for their lubricating and funding

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of Tanzania)

of the apartheid economic machinery, which in turn is used to oppress the majority of South Africans. Furthermore, they should accept their share of the guilt for providing arms with which South Africa kills blacks.

We are not impressed by statistics on employment for blacks created by foreign investments, on the higher wages than are paid in neighbouring States and on the alleged better performance of the South African economy. What we are talking about is not some slight improvement in the economic well-being of the people but the right to self-determination for the majority in a free South Africa. As has been correctly said, we are talking about removing the shackles from the majority and not merely polishing them.

What is needed is concerted and meaningful action by the international community to isolate South Africa. The oppressed majority has already suffered enough in that unhappy land. The daily killing of blacks by the white minority régime should not be accepted as routine and part of life. If it is, the immense sacrifice which has been made by those gallant freedom fighters will be wasted. But, as we have seen on our television screens or read in the press, the young of South Africa are no longer afraid to die for freedom. No amount of intimidation, random violence or organized terror will cow them into submission. Here I can do no better than quote from the address of my President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, when he addressed the Assembly on 27 September:

"For the people of South Africa have protested against apartheid, have demonstrated, been arrested, tortured and died, year after year. And, despite a few incidents of sabotage, the intensified struggle is still basically that of an unarmed people rejecting apartheid angrily and courageously. They are rejecting it with their blood, fighting bullets with stones and the sheer force of numbers. They no longer seem to care about dying. And they are no

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of Tanzania)

longer interested in concessions or reforms announced by a white Government. So apartheid is clearly doomed, and the longer it takes to come to an end, the greater will be the misery and the more devastating the chaos."

(A/40/PV.13, p. 13)

For our part, we can help shorten the suffering by fulfilling our internationalist duty. We can play our part by invoking the following measures.

First and foremost, we must apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In this regard, we deplore the breach of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), on an arms embargo. We are grateful to the Governments of third-world countries, socialist countries and some Western Powers which have applied selective voluntary sanctions against South Africa under General Assembly resolution 39/72 G, of 1984, and Security Council resolutions 566 (1985) and 569 (1985). We believe that their actions are a step in the right direction towards invoking comprehensive sanctions. Indeed, only a handful of die-hard Western nations remain opposed to sanctions, but their short-sightedness will prejudice their long-term interests in a free and democratic South Africa.

Secondly, we call for material and financial assistance for the South African liberation movement in carrying out its struggle against the apartheid régime. While we agree that it is for the South African people to liberate themselves, we disagree with those who say that an armed uprising is not the correct way to bring about change in South Africa. Those Powers did not hesitate to take up arms to end the Third Reich.

Thirdly, an end should be put to military collaboration between certain Western Powers and South Africa. They should be made to realize that the apartheid régime poses a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. In



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fact, it is their connivance that enabled South Africa to acquire nuclear capability, which threatens independent Africa. Instead of handling the real threat, those Powers always appeal to us to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Those appeals are addressed to the wrong people; they should be addressed to the threshold countries, especially South Africa, otherwise the concept of denuclearization of Africa will be an empty prospect.

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Fourthly, States should terminate cultural and sporting links with South Africa, which desperately values such contacts as a certificate of respectability. We applaud the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which has prepared a draft convention after many years of work. We welcome the inclusion of the third-party principle in article 10 of the draft. We trust that the Assembly will adopt the draft convention at this session and that it will come into force as soon as possible.

Fifthly, we join others in calling for the release of all political prisoners, starting with Nelson Mandela, and for the lifting of the ban on political parties fighting against minority rule.

Last, but not least, we ask the few Western Powers that resort to divisive measures when it comes to consideration of decisions on the apartheid resolutions to desist from doing so. Already they are in action. They are trying to obfuscate the issues by a maze of resolutions to compete with our own drafts. It might have been thought that those Powers, having opposed tangible and effective measures against apartheid South Africa, might at least do nothing to impede political and diplomatic action against the South African régime.

We also resent the injection into the debate of extraneous matters. The seriousness of the issue under consideration should be respected, just as Africa respects that of issues that are of major concern to others.

Let there be no mistake; the people of South Africa shall be free, with or without our assistance. As has rightly been observed, freedom can be delayed, but it cannot be denied. External assistance can shorten the period of suffering. But, should freedom be delayed, the South African people will surely not forget those responsible for the delay. Let us, therefore, work together for the speedy

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of Tanzania)

demise of apartheid and the achievement of justice, peace and freedom in South Africa.

Before concluding, I wish to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for its excellent work since its inception. I pay a tribute to its able Chairman, Ambassador Garba of Nigeria, for his dynamic stewardship of the Special Committee. The Special Committee has performed in a sterling manner in its campaign to make public opinion aware of the evils of apartheid and to mobilize international opinion against that despicable policy.

Mr. BELYAEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): My delegation considers it noteworthy that in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the peace-loving forces over fascism and militarism in the Second World War, a victory which begat the United Nations, this forum, immediately after the solemn celebration of the fortieth anniversary of its birth, has moved on to consider the question of the elimination of apartheid in southern Africa, which is the most odious and cruel form of inhuman racist ideology and is the spiritual heir of fascism.

The present situation in South Africa is justly causing indignation and alarm throughout the world community. The racist régime of that country, with the madness of a condemned man, continues to violate massively and in the harshest manner the elementary human rights of the vast majority of its population, exclusively on the basis of colour of skin. The aim of its criminal policy of bantustanization, the forcible resettlement of Africans and control of the influx of people by means of the infamous and inhuman pass laws is to perpetuate the system of apartheid and ultimately turn the overwhelming majority of the indigenous African population into aliens without rights in their own country.

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Action by the Africans to defend their human dignity meets with increased repression by the despotic Pretoria régime, which resorts to the shooting of unarmed people, the torture and execution of patriots, prohibition of activities and the elimination of organizations of the indigenous population. Recent events in South Africa are clear testimony to the fact that the policy and practice of apartheid pursued by the racist minority is in deep crisis.

The so-called constitutional reforms, widely touted by the South African régime, are, as was to be expected, just another political trick to create the illusion of the possibility of positive change while maintaining apartheid. The essence of the apartheid system, a policy of aggression that inflicts suffering on the peoples of Africa, as stressed in several United Nations decisions, remains unchanged, to the detriment of the fundamental interests of the people of South Africa and neighbouring States.

The Security Council, in the statement of 21 August this year, stated directly that in its view a just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa. The international community now has sufficient incontrovertible proof that the inhuman system of apartheid cannot be transformed into any kind of system compatible with the basic norms of justice, freedom and human dignity - the favourite theme of certain historical allies of the South African racists. Apartheid must be eliminated fully and finally.

In its many decisions the United Nations has long stigmatized apartheid as a phenomenon that is profoundly hostile to peoples, a crime against humanity, incompatible with the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law, and a violation of international peace and security. The Security Council has

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often called for an end to the policy and practice of apartheid, which is intolerable and unacceptable in the world of today, the abolition of the system of bantustanization and majority rule on the basis of justice and equality.

This year alone the Security Council has adopted several resolutions in connection with the acute deterioration of the situation in the southern part of the African continent. Those resolutions again condemn the policy and practice of apartheid and the mass arrests and murders, and demand the lifting of the state of emergency and the immediate release of all political prisoners in South Africa. The Pretoria régime, however, flouting those United Nations decisions and ignoring the appeals of other international forums and of the world community, not only continues but is stepping up its acts of terror and repression against the indigenous population. Striving to save itself from the inevitable collapse and to maintain its colonial domination in occupied Namibia and restore it in neighbouring African countries, the racist régime of South Africa applies brutal pressure and uses open blackmail; it carries out perfidious acts of aggression and uses other subversive methods from the arsenal of its policy of State terrorism.

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It is quite clear that the South African racists would not be able to act so insolently and provocatively if they did not have the mutual understanding and constant support of their Western protectors, who have proclaimed and implemented a policy of constructive co-operation with Pretoria. Maintenance of the hotbed of colonialism and racism in the south of the African continent is the long-term goal of the imperialists, chiefly the United States and its closest allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, who consider South Africa as a stronghold and base for the struggle against independent Africa and also as a strategic bridgehead in that part of the world. To those ends they use various means, including transnational corporations, to support or even strengthen relations with the apartheid régime.

Particularly dangerous is their existing and expanding co-operation with the South African racists in creating and developing Pretoria's nuclear potential. The so-called partial sanctions recently announced in the West are measures to protect their own interests in South Africa and have no visible effect on the racist régime's policy. They are merely yet another manoeuvre to protect the apartheid régime from the most severe and effective actions against it and hold back the swelling wave of protest, chiefly in their countries, against continuing co-operation with Pretoria. One of the guiding spirits of the policy of constructive co-operation has openly stated that the announced sanctions merely give shape to the existing relations with South Africa.

The coincidence of the interests of the imperialists and the racists and the economic, political, military, nuclear and other kinds of co-operation with them are still the main obstacles to the adoption in international organizations of effective measures against the apartheid régime. The Western Powers' attempts to strengthen and support the racist régime in South Africa by every possible means are undoubtedly a part of wider plans of imperialism, to recover the positions it

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has lost in Africa and to deprive the African peoples of the gains achieved in the national liberation struggle and bind them in new ties of neo-colonial dependence.

The discussion which is now coming to a conclusion clearly confirms that it is high time that the United Nations adopted new, more effective and active measures to carry out the practical implementation of its decisions aimed at eliminating the dangerous hotbeds of colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa, which has doomed millions of the indigenous population of that region to a state of slavery in their own country.

The international community cannot continue to condone the existence of the apartheid régime. In this connection my delegation fully supports the demands of the African and other non-aligned countries, and also the appeals of the General Assembly, for the Security Council to apply against South Africa comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, including the introduction of an embargo on the supply of oil and petroleum products to the racist Pretoria régime, and in favour of the stricter observance by all States of the decisions already adopted by the Security Council in this area.

Our delegation also supports other measures proposed in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/40/22) aimed at eradicating apartheid, granting immediate independence to Namibia and unconditionally halting the aggressive actions of the racist régime of Pretoria against neighbouring African States.

We consider that at its present session the General Assembly should exert every effort so that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples may be marked by decisive and more important effective action to ensure the final eradication of colonialism and the elimination of racism and apartheid.

Mr. SUMBI (Kenya): The question of the apartheid policies of the racist régime of South Africa has been before this Assembly for many years since it was first inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It has been debated continuously and resolutions deploring and condemning the practice of apartheid have been adopted, but so far not a single one has been implemented by the racist régime.

The Security Council also has on many occasions discussed the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa and urged South Africa to abandon apartheid. Likewise the Council's decisions have not been heeded and complied with by the racist régime.

The racist régime, defying those resolutions of the General Assembly and decisions of the Security Council, has put itself on the path of confrontation with the international community. Moreover, the régime has shown that it does not respect the will of the international community, nor does it mind whatever the world thinks about its racial policies. This attitude of the racist régime is manifested in the way the régime has continued to entrench and strengthen apartheid regardless of the repeated world-wide calls for the dismantling of the evil system of apartheid.

Over the years the oppressed people of South Africa have made their demands and their opposition to this evil system abundantly known the world over. To date their demands are still denied by the racist régime. The oppressed have all along demanded to be treated as equal to all the other people of South Africa. They have also demanded the abolition of apartheid. As a result of the refusal by the régime to grant these demands, the oppressed have rebelled and the rebellion has become a sustained revolt. Despite the severe suppressive and oppressive measures being taken against them, they have persistently defied the structures of apartheid and



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that defiance has escalated from the local to the national level. These people are simply seeking the fulfilment of their demands for the total eradication of the diabolic policies of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic government that is representative of the will of all the people of South Africa.

(Mr. Sumbi, Kenya)

In addition to those demands, they want a South Africa that is united and not fragmented into so-called bantustans or homelands. My delegation supports those legitimate demands and aspirations. We in Kenya believe that it is only through the complete fulfillment of those demands that there can be peace and tranquility in South Africa.

As the oppressed people of South Africa continue to wage the struggle against apartheid, the racist régime continues to intensify the application of its institutionalized policies of apartheid. The régime has devised and embarked on a variety of repressive measures to suppress and oppress the black people and all other opponents of apartheid. Consequently, it has unashamedly resorted to large-scale killing and the detention of thousands of opponents of that system. Under the recent declaration of a state of emergency in some districts of South Africa, the police and the army have been given sweeping powers, which they are using to take punitive measures against black people and other opponents of apartheid. This has resulted in daily killings, detentions, torture, assassinations and the disappearance of persons. Brutal incidents of repression against freedom fighters, students, trade unionists, religious leaders and other opponents of apartheid have similarly increased.

My delegation unreservedly condemns the imposition of those measures, including the declaration of the state of emergency. We demand the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and other repressive measures. We also demand the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, as well as the removal of the ban on the liberation movements operating both inside and outside South Africa. We further condemn the racist régime for having carried out the execution of Benjamin Moloise despite world-wide appeals to spare his life.

(Mr. Sumbi, Kenya)

The repressive measures that are characteristic of the apartheid system being applied against the black population of South Africa are not limited to that country alone. The racist régime has exported the same measures to the Territory of Namibia, which it occupies illegally. We demand the evacuation of the racist régime from Namibia, along with its apartheid policies, and we condemn its continued illegal occupation of the Territory. In its efforts to defend and maintain its apartheid policies, the racist régime has embarked on naked aggression, terrorism, sabotage and destabilizing activities against neighbouring African States. We condemn those destabilizing activities by the régime and demand that such activities cease forthwith.

In the struggle against apartheid, the oppressed people of South Africa have not been left alone. The international community has increasingly been made aware of the evil of apartheid and has risen against its continued existence. Various intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals have also spoken against apartheid. In our view, that is a healthy development and my delegation wishes to express its appreciation.

The racist régime has acted in defiance of the will of the international community by refusing to dismantle apartheid. It has continued to suppress and oppress its black population and other opponents of apartheid. It has carried out aggression with impunity against its neighbours, particularly Angola, Lesotho, Botswana and other front-line States. My delegation feels that the South African racist régime could not have carried out all those activities without assistance from external sources. We therefore appeal to all those countries that assist the racist régime in the economic, military, technical and nuclear fields to cease such assistance and collaboration. We are aware that some countries have already taken measures in that direction and that others have threatened to do likewise. We

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appreciate that line of action, for the racist régime does not appear to be prepared voluntarily to take any measures towards the dismantling of apartheid.

The current situation in South Africa is growing more explosive every day. Political riots are taking place and social violence is escalating daily. At the same time, the racist régime is continuing to fuel antagonism between itself and the opponents of the system. The régime continues its frequent acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. A point has been reached where innocent and defenceless people, including schoolchildren, are daily being massacred by the police and the army.

My delegation strongly deplores the brutality of the régime and would like the Assembly to recommend to the Security Council that it find ways and means to force the racist régime to cease its wanton killing and to dismantle the policies of apartheid without delay. In our view, the Security Council should now agree to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We believe comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions imposed and implemented faithfully by all would force South Africa to dismantle apartheid and embark on a democratic course for the benefit of all its inhabitants.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that Kenya condemns the racist régime for its continued refusal to dismantle apartheid. We want the racist régime to know that it cannot suppress and oppress people forever. We pledge our full support to the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the 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.

(The President)

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia): Yesterday, the Israeli representative, in a display of arrogance and demagoguery, made false and baseless allegations against the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other brother States in a futile attempt to deflect the attention of the Assembly from the undeniable reality of the full and extensive collaboration now taking place between the two racist, colonial, settler régimes of Zionism in Palestine and apartheid in South Africa, two régimes which, as the whole world knows, have deep ideological affinities rooted in the oppression of the Palestinian people and the black people of South Africa.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The most repugnant part of the Zionist representative's statement was his attempt to depict racist-Zionist colonialism as a freedom movement, just as apartheid, too, has been proclaimed by its perpetrators to be a freedom movement. Freedom for whom, I should like to ask. For the Zionists, it is freedom at the expense of all the freedoms of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, freedom to invade the land of Palestine, the national home of the Palestinians, freedom to occupy the West Bank and Gaza, the Golan Heights, southern Lebanon and Jerusalem, freedom to attack countries and peoples in all directions, freedom to break all laws and conventions - in short, it is freedom to occupy and plunder, to kill and maim, to steal and pilfer, to terrorize and enslave other peoples, their lands and their homes.

That is the freedom movement of Zionism, a movement that defies every fundamental principle of the United Nations Charter and every civilized norm of humanity. It is the ugliest form of racism and the towering twin of apartheid for, like Zionism, apartheid too has been proclaimed by its white minority practitioners to be a movement for freedom, freedom at the expense of all the freedoms of South Africa's black majority population. How many crimes are being committed today in the name of freedom!

The Zionist representative even had the audacity to talk about what he called "the outlawed practice of slavery." The whole world knows that these slanderous allegations are false and baseless. If he thinks that he can divert the attention of the Assembly from the very real slavery-like conditions that the Zionist settlers are trying to impose upon the Palestinians and other Arab peoples who are valiantly struggling for their freedom and livelihood in the occupied territories, he is totally mistaken. The reality has been fully exposed by the overwhelming evidence documented in numerous studies and reports of the United Nations and of

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

other respected international bodies. The facts contained in those reports speak louder than all the rhetoric and demagogy of the Israeli representative.

In a further misguided attempt to refer to Saudi Arabia, amongst other brotherly countries, as an elite supplier of oil to the racist régime in South Africa, the Zionist representative yet again sought to deflect the attention of the Assembly from wide economic collaboration that continues to grow between the Israeli Zionist establishment and the racist régime in South Africa, a collaboration which the Zionist representative himself admits and has now put on record before us, ranking Israel as the seventeenth fully trading partner of South Africa - seventeenth on the open list, first on the actual list.

Unlike the Zionist entity, in whose establishment leading white South Africans participated, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is firmly committed to maintaining a strict economic embargo against South Africa in all sectors, most particularly in the oil sector, and has abided by all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations in this respect. By so doing, the Kingdom has also fully conformed with resolution 25/5 of 6 May 1981 of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, which imposed a comprehensive oil embargo against racist South Africa. It is a strict policy of the Kingdom. We require from all buyers of Saudi oil a certificate of delivery to the point of its destination, as well as the necessary guarantees that it will not be resold to international outcasts such as racist Israel and racist South Africa. By this means, both the purchasers and the shippers of Saudi oil are prohibited from transferring their quota of crude oil or any of its derivatives to the racist South African authorities.

Indeed, as a matter of principle, the Saudi Arabian Government has always given serious and careful consideration to any report originating from a credible and responsible agency concerning a possible breach of the Kingdom's requirements

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

by a buyer of Saudi oil. In this respect the Government of Saudi Arabia will continue to stand ready to impose the necessary penalties should any such breach be fully proved.

In the light of these considerations it might prove worthwhile for the General Assembly to look more deeply into the extensive, over-all collaboration existing between the two racist colonial régimes of Zionism and apartheid, which now stretches from nuclear proliferation across to security co-operation and police oppression, as documented in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/39/22/Add.1.

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): In his statement yesterday before the Assembly the representative of the Zionist entity attempted to cast doubts on my country's position regarding the boycott imposed against the other racist régime in South Africa. While my delegation is absolutely certain that such lies will deceive no one, since the international community is well accustomed to such provocations from that representative, we nevertheless wish to affirm that the allegations contained in that statement are untrue and baseless.

My country is fully committed to the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the League of Arab States and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries. My country condemns all dealings with that régime. It is the Zionist mass media that knowingly propagate and disseminate such information in hopes of misleading public opinion and of deflecting attention from the unlimited collaboration and co-operation between the two racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria in the political, military, economic and nuclear fields.



(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

United Nations documents unequivocally bear that out. Our position towards the two racist régimes is one of principle. We make no distinction between the two.

One of the objectives of the representative of the Zionist entity in propagating these false allegations against Arab States is to cast aspersions on the close relations between the Arab countries and the African countries, which provoke his hatred and anger.

We wish to confirm to all that these Afro-Arab relations are strategic and principled and are indispensable to both partners. They will not be affected by such cheap methods because they are based on a spirit of solidarity and mutual awareness of their importance.

Consequently these lies will go with the wind.

Mr. DAVIS (United States of America): The representative of Nicaragua has contrasted United States support for the freedom fighters of the united Nicaraguan opposition with our alleged lack of support for the people of South Africa and Namibia.

The United States does not take instruction from a Government whose policies have wrought havoc to the economy and liberties of its own people and which is bent on spreading the blight of war and the discredited doctrine of Marxism-Leninism to its neighbours.

By its policies, including the measures announced in President Reagan's executive order of 9 September, the United States has again clarified and amplified its implacable opposition to apartheid.

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union has described the United States policy of constructive engagement as hypocritical. What could be more hypocritical than supplying arms and advisers to certain countries in Africa and elsewhere while piously calling for peace?

(Mr. Davis, United States)

The United States policy towards South Africa remains crystal-clear: to facilitate a peaceful transformation of that unhappy society from a State dominated by a minority to one based on the active consent of all the governed. Constructive engagement offers no accommodation with apartheid whatsoever. "Constructive" is the opposite of "destructive".

The United States will persevere in its determined goal of effecting peaceful change to a truly just society in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

I understand that a number of draft resolutions will be submitted under this item and that some of them may have programme budget implications. The voting on those draft resolutions will therefore take place at a subsequent meeting.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.