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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 7 November 1986, at 10 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. CHOUDHURY	(Bangladesh)
later:	Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President)	(Cyprus)
later:	Mr. CHOUDHURY (President)	(Bangladesh)

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

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The condemnation of apartheid as an inhuman and intolerable creation of the South African white minority has become universal. Demands for its total elimination have penetrated deeper and deeper the international community. The actions - and non-action - of the South African Government, however, clearly reflect the lack of understanding of the need for urgent change. Some time ago we were offered token "cosmetic" reforms as a promise of things to come. Lately, all that South African leaders have been offering is the reimposition of a state of emergency - which now covers the whole country - and an information blackout by invoking censorship of the press and news media. What conclusion can we draw from this arrogant disrespect for world opinion? There are hardly any new visions or avenues the international community could propose to the reluctant Government to follow. The violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in South Africa are unique and exceptional - as are also the measures expected of each and every one of us, individually and collectively, firmly and resolutely to convince the South African régime to abolish apartheid without any further delay.

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

Finland has demanded that mandatory sanctions be imposed by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, as the most effective means of bringing about a peaceful change in the country. Although the international climate has changed and pressure to that end has accordingly increased, sanctions have not yet proved feasible. We strongly urge those permanent members of the Security Council who, through the exercise or the threat of veto, have obstructed the imposition of sanctions, to reconsider their position carefully. There are a number of recent national, regional and intergovernmental measures that point in the right direction. It is to be hoped that, pending mandatory sanctions, these measures will be incorporated as recommendations in Security Council resolutions, thereby encouraging all countries to comply with them.

Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid offer a solid and workable basis for international pressure. This year Finland, acting on behalf of the Nordic countries, co-operated with the African countries and the Special Committee against Apartheid in drafting the resolution on concerted action against apartheid. We look forward to the widest possible support for this resolution, which endeavours to combine the various elements of mobilized and concerted action against South Africa that are acceptable to all and would not sacrifice the efficiency and message of the resolution.

The Nordic countries have implemented all the above-mentioned United Nations recommendations. Furthermore, in 1978, they had already adopted a Joint Nordic Programme of Action against Apartheid. In October 1985 this Programme was revised and extended by the Nordic Foreign Ministers. My delegation considers the measures

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

incorporated in the new expanded Programme - which we regard as a dynamic ongoing process - to be an example to all other countries. We urge them to adopt similar measures to increase international pressure on the South African Government.

Finland has implemented internally all the measures agreed upon between the Nordic countries. Finland's scanty trade, economic and cultural connections with South Africa have, during recent months, been subjected to new concrete restrictions. On a governmental level we have introduced a new Act on measures against South Africa; it came into force on 1 January of this year and further curtails trade and economic relations with that country. Today, trade between Finland and South Africa has virtually ceased to exist.

The international community has a special responsibility to increase its moral and material support to the victims of apartheid. One of the main ways of rapidly expanding co-operation with the neighbouring and front-line States within the framework of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, is to increase their economic strength and thus reduce their dependence on South Africa. If South Africa were to resort to any reprisals against neighbouring States - and, as we know, some of these measures have already been carried out - it is the responsibility of the entire international community to take the necessary steps to mitigate their effects. The argument about the hardships that sanctions might create for the blacks in South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring States should - and could - not be an acceptable pretext.

This year, in particular, Finland increased its contributions to the United Nations Southern Africa Funds, and is their largest contributor. Our direct humanitarian assistance to liberation movements, mainly the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), has also been increased substantially. It is anticipated that this trend will continue in the coming year.

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

The malaise in South Africa, apartheid, has been described once again accurately and thoroughly in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid under the able guidance of its Chairman, Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria. The findings of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June, concur with this report. The task of the United Nations as a whole, the General Assembly and the Security Council, is to agree on an effective treatment which would completely eradicate the disease of apartheid from the world.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): Although my Foreign Minister has already extended our congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly, as this is the first time I have had occasion to speak in the course of this session, I cannot help but express my own personal appreciation for the manner in which you have guided our work.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to all delegations here present for the comfort and sympathy extended to us on the occasion of the tragic event that claimed the life of our beloved President, Samora Moises Machel. Without your support, our sorrow and grief would have been unbearable; the mantle of our sorrow would have been even heavier. I thank you all for your support and solidarity as we go about transforming our grief into redoubled strength and determination to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It gives me great pleasure to announce that the Central Committee has elected Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano President of the FRELIMO Party and consequently President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Upon him lies the responsibility of leading the Party and the people in the process of building the society of our dreams, the dreams of Samora Machel, the dreams of Mondlane. It is to him that has fallen the noble and historic duty of holding the fallen gun of Samora Machel, to continue to lead us in the combat against our enemies. It is to him that we shall all turn for guidance, courage, confidence and inspiration, for, like Machel, President Joaquim Alberto Chissano was born and steeled in our struggle for national independence. With him the Mozambican people continue to tread the path of peace, to defend their motherland and to consolidate their independence.

The General Assembly is once again seized of the question of the apartheid policies of the South African régime. My past experience of the debate on this issue and familiarity with the practice of the United Nations, authorize me to foresee the scenario of our discussions this year as follows.

Statements will be made, indeed many have already been delivered, condemning the apartheid régime for its inhuman and barbarous policies. As usual, the tone of these condemnations will range from strong, meaningful and genuine to ritualistic or formal, depending on the nature of the commitment of those that utter them to the struggle for the total eradication of apartheid. We are certainly going to hear from certain Governments more declarations of intent to consider taking some action in a non-specified future. Some Governments will recall in this Assembly the actions they have taken against the régime. Of course, they will be commended for that and encouraged to take further and effective actions.

The Assembly will naturally deplore the continued collaboration with and support for the apartheid régime by some Governments of States Members of our Organization. At the end of the debate, some draft resolutions will be introduced

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

under the item and the General Assembly will be called upon to take action on them. The overwhelming majority will vote in favour of those draft resolutions, a few will abstain on one or other draft resolution and an extremely isolated group will vote against some of them. Needless to say, we shall hear explanations of vote both before and after the voting. We shall hear the eternal counselling, which is: no to violence, no to sanctions, no to statements of fact - or, in other words, mention of those that collaborate with the régime - and so on and so forth. We shall be told that the apartheid régime is undergoing a metamorphosis, that it is reforming itself.

We have seen this scenario repeated time and again. We have seen it for the last 10, 20 or more years.

Now that I have attempted to sketch the scenario of the debate on the apartheid policy during this forty-first session of the General Assembly, let me turn to South Africa and examine what the régime has been doing while we have sat here, session after session, to discuss and adopt successive resolutions on apartheid. In other words, what has been the impact of our decisions and resolutions on the apartheid régime?

The question of apartheid has been with us for a very long time. To attempt to go back to that distant past and describe how the racist régime has responded to our resolutions, declarations and appeals would not be very helpful at this point. I will therefore limit myself to the period between the fortieth session of the General Assembly and the present session.

At the fortieth session the General Assembly adopted nine resolutions under this item.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

In the course of this year, 1986, two Conferences of particular importance were held in Paris and Vienna, respectively. A special session of the General Assembly was devoted to the question of Namibia. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in June, adopted an important declaration. An equally significant document was adopted at the end of the International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia.

All those resolutions and declarations can be summed up as unequivocal condemnation of South Africa's apartheid for its nazi-like policies, and the demand that it immediately abolish the apartheid system.

How has the régime reacted to this persuasion? Let us look into the facts.

In May 1986 the régime carried out yet another act of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States. Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe were raided. It should be noted that these acts occurred at the very moment when men and women of honour, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, were in South Africa on a goodwill mission with the aim of finding a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. On 5 June 1986 the port of Namibe in Angola was attacked. Delegations will recall that last year the apartheid régime attempted to sabotage the Cabinda oil installations in Angola and invaded Botswana.

In June 1986 the régime reimposed the state of emergency in South Africa. The state of emergency, as it is well known, literally meant that the police, including the railway police, the armed forces and any white civilian were invested with powers to arrest, detain, torture or kill the opponents of the régime. These measures also included a provision prohibiting the press from reporting on events inside the territory. As might have been expected, this led to an increase in the incidence of callous arrests, torture and the massacre of innocent and defenceless people.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

As we sit here today, the state of emergency is still in force in South Africa and continues to claim many innocent lives. Forced removals to arid, impoverished lands have been pursued with strenuous vigour. The police and the armed forces shoot at random peaceful demonstrators and mourners at funerals of those who have fallen victim to apartheid's genocidal fury. The régime-sponsored death squads and the so-called vigilantes are operating in South Africa, killing and terrorizing people.

South Africa has intensified its acts of aggression and destabilization against the countries of the region. The régime has further escalated its acts of terrorism, mainly through the use of armed bandits trained, equipped, financed and commanded by it. Hordes of bandits and mercenaries have been dispatched into my country and Angola. These bandits are responsible for causing indiscriminate death, sorrow and misery in our countries, and they destroy economic and social infrastructures.

The régime has openly imposed economic sanctions against the countries of the region and attempted to destroy the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

It is clear from these facts and others that the apartheid régime has no respect at all for the decisions and resolutions adopted by this body or any other international forum. This, however, is not a new finding on our part. Indeed, for quite some years now the régime has been correctly defined as an international outlaw and its policies and practices a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The fact that South Africa's participation in the General Assembly has been suspended attests to this fact.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It would seem, therefore, that the challenge facing the Assembly is to make its decisions relevant to the apartheid régime. However correct and far-reaching they may be, they will not lead to the desired results unless we ensure that they are fully implemented and complied with.

How does the United Nations go about overcoming these difficulties, particularly with respect to the questions of Namibia and South Africa? That, it seems, is the crucial issue we have to deal with, and deal with urgently. That is the direction in which our minds, strength, imagination and ingenuity should be working.

The fundamental task of the United Nations, namely, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, is of such a magnitude, so noble and so vital to humankind that the United Nations cannot afford to become irrelevant, whenever and wherever it is needed most.

The apartheid régime, which is the nazism of our times, is threatening to trigger a conflict of unforeseeable consequences. Terrorists - recruited, trained, organized, directed, financed, supplied and transported by South Africa - attack the front-line States, in particular my country, Mozambique, and the People's Republic of Angola. They massacre our peoples; they loot; they pillage; they burn down our villages, homes, schools, hospitals, churches, mosques, buses and trains; they sabotage the railways, roads, dams and bridges.

Over the last few weeks the racist régime has unleashed a campaign of accusations and threats against the People's Republic of Mozambique and has concentrated its forces along the border of my country and Zimbabwe. Commando units have also been infiltrated into Mozambique to carry out acts of banditry and terrorism. It was in these circumstances that our beloved President met his untimely, tragic death.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

The international community, particularly the United Nations and its individual Member States, can help to reverse the situation in southern Africa if it is determined to do so. It was with that in mind that the Heads of State and Government of the front-line States, meeting in Maputo on 12 October 1986, made an urgent appeal to the peoples and Governments of the world, specifically the members of the Security Council - its permanent members, in particular - the members of the European Economic Community, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity to use all means at their disposal to safeguard peace in southern Africa and block South Africa's race towards generalized war. I believe that this is the time for our Organization to respond to that appeal, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The response has to be forceful in nature, global in scope and urgent in its timing.

Too much blood has been flowing over the lands of southern Africa. The people of Namibia have had to consent to untold sacrifices, even death, for the liberation of their motherland. In South Africa, blood is being shed. It is the blood of the oppressed people who are being massacred for demanding their inalienable rights - the right to equality, freedom, justice and democracy; the right to participate in shaping the destiny of their motherland; the right to be recognized and treated as human beings. In the region in general, blood is being shed because South Africa is waging an undeclared war against the neighbouring countries, particularly Angola and Mozambique.

We have said time and again that the apartheid régime - and that régime alone - is responsible for what is happening in the territory. The apartheid régime has chosen a path of terror. Now it is reaping the fruits. The people of South Africa no longer fear the régime's repressive apparatus. With bare hands they march and face the police and the army. The people of South Africa refuse to

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

be treated as aliens in their own land. They refuse to be dumped into the dump-sites: the bantustans. The régime can no longer manage the critical, indeed volatile, situation in South Africa. South Africa has become ungovernable and uncontrollable. The more acts of genocide the régime commits, the more it intensifies the people's fury and resolve and their detestation of apartheid.

The solution to the problems in South Africa has to come from South Africa - and that solution is the total abolition of the apartheid system, the root-cause of the prevailing situation inside the territory. Neither the massacres of the black population nor the unleashing of direct and indirect attacks against the front-line States will save the régime. No power or force under the sun can diminish the resolve of the people of South Africa to free themselves from the tyranny and genocide of apartheid.

Peace is our sole objective. That is why we have time and again reaffirmed our desire and readiness to work together to build a free southern Africa, where all people, irrespective of their differences, can co-operate in the construction of a common prosperity.

We dream of a southern Africa that is free from apartheid, racism and colonialism, and from conflicts, violence and destruction. We want our region to assert itself as a model of peace. We do not want southern Africa or our continent to be the source of armed conflicts. We do not want, in particular, to be the ones to trigger a confrontation on a world-wide scale.

Our struggle for national independence was a struggle to achieve peace, because colonial occupation and exploitation were a negation of that objective. Therefore, our independence is very dear to us and our freedom and liberty are sacred. Peace, freedom, is what we stand for. It is what we are fighting for. We are anti-colonialists, anti-imperialists, anti-apartheid, and we extend our support and solidarity to all those who are fighting these evil systems.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It is that principle that nourishes our long-standing support for and solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization, the authentic representatives of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, respectively. Just as their cause and legitimate is their struggle.

A luta continua.

Mr. URIBE VARGAS (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): The item on apartheid reflects one of the aspects of the world situation which is becoming ever more tragic. From the very inception of the United Nations Colombia has taken part in the debates, in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies, to seek more direct action against racism, in particular to condemn South Africa for the discriminatory régime that it still maintains in the face of universal opinion.

Our delegation has in a number of statements declared that respect for human rights has the status of jus cogens and, therefore, is a pre-emptory norm in the international order.

It cannot be denied that the South African Government's persistence in ignoring United Nations injunctions has aggravated the situation to such a degree that today it is a serious threat to world peace.

As has been said on several occasions, the problem of apartheid is not how to change it but how to abolish it. The conscience of the international community is unanimous in rejecting such a policy which not only violates universally accepted principles but also, because of the violent events in South Africa perpetrated for a long time and repeated during past weeks - has demonstrated that racial discrimination is the most blatant violation of the principles that inspired the United Nations and threatens the security of the whole region.

The only way to prevent the excessive use of force that has taken place and the repetition of shameful acts of violence against human rights is by mobilizing, through the organs of the United Nations and the Governments of its Members, public opinion on all continents so that the rejection of apartheid as a crime against humanity admits no benevolent tolerance or interpretation.

The positive results achieved at the World Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa must be highlighted. That Conference, prepared by the United Nations with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the

(Mr. Uribe Vargas, Colombia)

non-aligned countries, was held in Paris at the Headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) last June. During the Conference's deliberations reports were heard from numerous delegations on the increase of mass repression and the growing number of victims which the discriminatory policy has claimed.

It must be noted that, with regard to such a sensitive matter, the majority of United Nations Members have taken a strong stand which has undoubtedly helped - thanks to the communications media - to unify rejection of the Pretoria régime's criminal policy.

However, the fundamental aim of the United Nations Charter will not be achieved until the discriminatory policy in South Africa has been abolished and it has become morally impossible to introduce it elsewhere. Our delegation, reflecting the democratic will of the Colombian nation and its rejection of all forms of racial discrimination, supports resolutions which, interpreting world solidarity, demand and impose in South Africa a régime of justice and full respect for human rights.

Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): Allow me at the outset to extend my delegation's most cordial congratulations to the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on their National Day - the sixty-ninth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The date of 7 November 1917 marked the beginning of a new era for mankind - an era free from slavery, exploitation and oppression. Thus that anniversary also has a direct bearing on the agenda item which is at present under discussion here in the United Nations.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic Republic)

The issue of the policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa is the subject of a particularly heated debate at the forty-first session of the General Assembly. The United Nations has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace, and it should be recalled that world peace is indivisible.

The hotbed of conflict in southern Africa poses an increasing threat to the preservation of peace, the most valuable treasure of mankind. Responsibility for that lies with the apartheid régime and its growing number of crimes perpetrated against the majority of the population, together with the escalation of its policy of aggression and destabilization against sovereign neighbouring States, and with the continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

New evidence is given every day that the racist régime's only answer to the growing democratic and anti-apartheid movement is brutal violence. According to incomplete data more than 2,000 persons have fallen victim to the terror of the police, the army or hired assassins since the proclamation of the so-called new constitution. In 1985 alone more than 200 children were killed and more than 500 injured.

The renewed nation-wide imposition of the state of emergency on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising made all fighters against institutionalized racism fair game for the repressive apparatus of Pretoria. Impressive, shocking facts are contained in the report of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/41/22. At this juncture we should like to express our deep appreciation to the Committee and in particular its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Garba, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for their committed and consistent work in the struggle against apartheid.

(Mr. Huckle, German Democratic Republic)

To conceal their crimes the South African rulers even resort to the use of paid agents provocateurs against the masses of the people in revolt. By resorting to such detestable means the régime is attempting to split the battlefield against apartheid and fraudulently convert its own campaign of murder and terror into a so-called civil war within the black population.*

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

(Mr. Hucke, German Democratic Republic)

The world public, however, cannot be deceived. The question of guilt has long since been clarified. Crimes made possible the establishment of the racist white minority rule in the south of Africa, and crimes have been the basis of its anachronistic existence to this very day.

The limited reform measures enacted by the Botha Government by no means change this indisputable fact. The liquidation of the notorious pass laws and the installation of an alleged uniform South African citizenship yielded no political rights whatsoever for the majority of the population. Now, as before, South Africa's 25 million black inhabitants can take their choice only between life in an impoverished bantustan or life in an overcrowded suburban ghetto.

The escalation of violence in South Africa is accompanied by an aggravation of the conflict in the entire region. State terrorism inside and outside the country - that is the very nature of the apartheid régime. By means of violence it seeks to halt or reverse the independent development of African States and to establish its hegemony in the region. To the independent States in southern Africa that policy causes economic damage to the amount of more than \$2 billion annually, not to speak of the untold human suffering of the peoples of those States which are affected by the acts of aggression.

The long chain of South African raids against its neighbours is being added to by more and more examples. For that reason, the Security Council has convened over 30 times since July last year and has adopted seven resolutions. However, that does not prevent Pretoria from again threatening Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other States with so-called retaliatory measures. Likewise, it is continuing the illegal occupation of Namibia, and seeks by all means available to thwart the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and to preserve that country as an object of exploitation and a springboard for further aggression.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic Republic)

At the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic explained our position on that issue, and when we come to the relevant agenda item my delegation will comment again on the question of Namibia.

As I mentioned earlier, the explosive situation in southern Africa increasingly endangers world peace. For that reason, three significant conferences have dealt with that problem in this International Year of Peace - the Paris World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the Vienna International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the General Assembly special session on Namibia. They showed both the causes of the conflict in the region and ways to settle it on the basis of valid international law.

The conclusion drawn at those conferences was unequivocal: the apartheid régime, with all its adverse consequences for the peoples of the region, can keep itself alive only with the backing of some imperialist States. Their collaboration and that of transnational corporations with the racists goes on unabated, regardless of world-wide protests. The main imperialist Power continues its policy of support for Pretoria, the policy of so-called constructive engagement. Furthermore, by rendering what has now become official assistance to the UNITA criminal bandits, it is attempting, in conjunction with South Africa, to topple the legitimate Government of Angola. This fact caused the non-aligned countries at their eighth summit meeting in Harare to call that policy an act of aggression against the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the entire Non-Aligned Movement. In addition, the co-operation between the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African civil services in spying on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which became known, has sparked off justified indignation among the world public.

(Mr. Huckle, German Democratic Republic)

There is unity among certain imperialist Governments in their rejection of what has by now become a world-wide demand for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. The United States and the United Kingdom, by misusing their right of veto, have so far prevented the Security Council from taking decisive steps to that end.

In view of the seriousness of the situation, the opponents of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime are called upon to reconsider their position and no longer to block such measures. As is well known, the majority of non-aligned countries and the socialist States have for long maintained no relations whatsoever with racist South Africa. We note with interest that a number of Western States have also taken the first concrete measures aimed at the isolation of Pretoria. However, we do not consider them to be sufficient. It is necessary to help the South Africa people to victory in its ever more powerful struggle for national liberation by launching universally observed comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist minority régime.

At their recent meeting in August this year the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, and the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, paid tribute to the courage and determination, the readiness for sacrifice and the growing fighting strength of the oppressed South African people in its hard struggle for freedom. Erich Honecker declared that the inhuman apartheid régime, which is hostile to peace, must be abolished. Only then can the policy of open aggression and State terrorism against sovereign African States and the brutal oppression of the South Africa and Namibian peoples be overcome, and peace, security and co-operation, as well as development for the peoples and States of that region, prevail.

(Mr. Hucke, German Democratic
Republic)

On behalf of the German Democratic Republic, the Chairman of the Council of State expressed the entire population's sympathy with, and support for, the struggle of the ANC and all patriots of the country aimed at a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): Let me also express my sincere congratulations to the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of their national day.

Our debate on the apartheid policies of the racist Pretoria régime is a continuation of the discussions that took place at a series of important international gatherings earlier this year devoted to problems of Africa. They were the special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris, the International Conference on Immediate Independence for Namibia, held in Vienna, and the special session on the question of Namibia. Important decisions were taken also at the summit Conference of non-aligned countries held in Harare and the summit meetings of the Heads of State and Government of the front-line States in Luanda and Maputo.

The main theme of all those meetings and events was growing concern over the dangerous development of the situation in southern Africa. We are witnessing an escalation of tension in the region which, if not contained, could lead to an explosion in South Africa itself and to the serious endangering of peace and security not only in the immediate neighbourhood of South Africa but in the region as a whole.

Developments over the past several months clearly show that the situation in and around South Africa has dramatically changed. At the same time, when not only the overwhelming majority of the population in the Republic of South Africa but the world as a whole - as has been unequivocally confirmed by the aforementioned international meetings and conferences - demand the elimination of apartheid as an anachronism and a crime against humanity, the racist régime, in contempt of world opinion, is continuing its bloody suppression of the black population and terrorist

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

attacks against its neighbours. The terror, both inside and outside South Africa, is being escalated. We have all been shocked to hear of still more detentions, more arrests, more disappearances, more tortures, more deaths. That is the response of the racist régime to the just aspirations of the majority of South African society and the population of illegally occupied Namibia.

It is an illusion that this régime can be reformed. There has been no sign that collaboration with the racist régime - in regard to which some of the Western partners of South Africa still harbour great expectations - could alleviate or even limit the criminal practices of that régime. The so-called constructive engagement policy failed; the negotiations of the contact group regarding Namibia failed; various attempts by its Western partners to influence South Africa failed; and the selective sanctions introduced by some Western countries against South Africa met with arrogance and even threats on the part of the Pretoria régime.

Those policies proved ineffective. We had warned against such policies, but to no avail. What is more, those policies created a protective umbrella for the South African Government against the pressure of world opinion, made it possible for the racist régime to undertake more brutal and bloody actions against its own society and its neighbours and, through economic co-operation, entrenched the apparatus of repression. It is high time the Western partners of South Africa drew the proper conclusions.

It is evident that the more the racist régime resists change the more violent becomes the struggle of the legitimate inhabitants of that country for their rights and aspirations. Nowadays that struggle has assumed different qualitative dimensions as far as its scope, objectives, level of organization and, unfortunately, the number of victims are concerned. A new situation in South Africa has developed which can be resolved only by the dismantling of apartheid, by

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granting full political rights to the black majority and recognizing the organizations representing that majority as legal partners in negotiations. Any further delay or any make-believe attempts which disregard the demands and the existence of the liberation movements, especially the African National Congress, which has for decades been engaged in a heroic struggle against apartheid, can only result in more tension within South Africa, endanger peace in the region and cause dangerous international repercussions. The Western partners of South Africa, especially the United States, bear great responsibility for the future development of the situation in South Africa.

Racial segregation in South Africa, bloody and ruthless, the blocking of Namibia's independence, no less bloody and brutal, and acts of destabilization and aggression against its neighbours, constantly repeated, in violation of the basic norms of international law, represent three directly interlinked aspects of apartheid policies. This means that favourable development of the situation in the whole region is closely dependent upon a change in South African policies, upon the elimination of apartheid. It will be possible only when the struggle of the African population for its rights in South Africa and Namibia, together with the resistance of the front-line States against aggression, is coupled with more international pressure on the Pretoria régime.

Therefore we consider that a very important mechanism to force the régime to depart from its policies would be the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We have always been in favour of that means of pressure. We supported such measures at the Paris Conference, and we demand their introduction now.

Arguments put forward by some Western countries that economic sanctions are undesirable because they could hurt the oppressed people are fraudulent and should

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be firmly contested. The oppressed people not only have urged the international community to end all collaboration with the racist régime but by their heroic struggle have forced foreign economic interests to reassess their involvement with it.

Poland expresses its full solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and Namibia and its support for all United Nations resolutions which are aimed at the speedy elimination of apartheid and the eradication of tensions in southern Africa.

Mr. KUTOVOY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Today our country and millions of our friends throughout the world are celebrating our most important national holiday, the momentous 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On behalf of the delegations of the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic I should like to express our gratitude to those delegations which, on the occasion of our national holiday, have conveyed to the Soviet delegation their warm greetings and best wishes for further successes to the people of our country.

The powerful revolutionary impact of Great October set the general course for the entire process of international development and made it possible to adopt a real approach to the problem of war and peace which V. I. Lenin had regarded, as long ago as the beginning of this century, as the corner-stone of "all policies of all countries of the world, as a question of life and death for scores of millions of people".

It is quite logical that the peoples of the world should link their hopes of achieving a lasting peace and ridding present and succeeding generations from the threat of nuclear war with the new social system born with the October Revolution and with the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Great October Revolution also created the conditions necessary for resolving the nationality question in our country. It imparted a powerful impetus to the national liberation struggle which led to the collapse of the colonial system. Since the Great October Revolution there has been a profound change in the political map of the world. Dozens of independent States have become fully fledged Members of the United Nations. This is a source of great satisfaction to us.

But it is also true that colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and racial discrimination continue to disfigure the face of the earth. Racism is apparent in

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its most concentrated and cynical form in the system of apartheid in South Africa, where it remains an essential component of the State structure and the social system and permeates that country's foreign and domestic policies. The system of State-sponsored racism poses a grave threat to international peace and security.

This is not the first time that the General Assembly is compelled to come to grips with the problem of apartheid in South Africa. This is not the first time that resolutions are being adopted condemning the apartheid system and demanding its eradication. Yet the system of apartheid, recognized by the international community as a crime against humanity, continues to exist, the aggressiveness of the apartheid régime continues to increase and the occupation of Namibia continues simply because the apartheid régime still finds some influential protectors among the Western countries, above all in the United States of America. They do not shrink from holding forth, even from the rostrum of the United Nations, on human rights and humanitarianism while conniving with the régime which has turned its country into a vast prison, where the overwhelming majority of the population are deprived of their fundamental human rights and freedoms only because of the dark colour of their skin.

The racist régime of South Africa is stepping up its bloody repression against broad segments of the population which are demanding the abolition of the apartheid system. This repression has recently assumed particularly large proportions. Six months ago a state of emergency was once again introduced and continues in force despite the United Nations Security Council's appeal that it should be lifted. Any dark-skinned African can be thrown behind prison bars without a trial, without an investigation, without any charge. At present more than 200,000 prisoners are languishing in South African torture-chambers and their number continues to grow.

Pretoria is stepping up its repressions using army units to fight opponents of the régime. Its troops occupy and patrol the settlements where the dark-skinned

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African population lives. Intensive use is being made of so-called death squads, hired killers and provocateurs to intimidate the population and physically destroy the opponents of apartheid. Pretoria's racists are trying to set some ethnic groups against others. The fundamental elements of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act, the Resettlement by Racial Groups Act, the "homelands" policy, the discriminatory Bantu education system, the segregation of people in providing them with medical and other State-sponsored services, all remain in effect in that country. The racist régime rejects the one man-one vote principle.

The Soviet Union vigorously condemns the policies and practices of apartheid, "bantustanization", constitutional reforms, repression, punitive actions and terror which are being used by the racist régime of South Africa against the black population of the country and its national liberation movement.

In spite of the state of emergency and extensive crackdowns, the opponents of apartheid inside South Africa itself are stepping up their struggle, demonstrating in practice that what is happening in this apartheid State in all spheres of social and political life is a natural consequence of the profound internal contradictions in the outmoded and vicious system of apartheid, and not the result of something introduced from outside.

The apartheid régime is experiencing a profound internal political crisis. The distinctive feature of the current stage of the struggle against apartheid is the greater organization of the participating forces and the broader involvement of the population. The South African trade union movement is growing stronger and taking a more active part in the political struggle. New social organizations are emerging in the country and uniting various segments of the population, including whites who favour the abolition of the apartheid system. Representatives of the Church are becoming increasingly involved in the anti-apartheid struggle. These are all positive developments in the political life of South Africa.

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Speaking in the general debate at the forty-first session of the General Assembly, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, stated that:

"were it not for the racist régime of Pretoria the black, white and coloured people in South Africa would have long ago found a common language - a language of equality, concord and racial peace. The dividing line is drawn not by ethnic differences but by the cruel policy of apartheid, which is hostile to everyone, irrespective of the colour of the skin. To fail to see that is to encourage, wittingly or unwittingly, genocide against the majority of the South African people." (A/41/PV.6, p. 57)

The policy of State terrorism pursued by the apartheid régime against the majority of its own people, the murders, torture, arrests and other acts of violence, committed by their security forces and army units - all are being strongly countered by various means, including weapons, by the dark-skinned population of South Africa and its vanguard, the African National Congress (ANC).

Those actions on the part of African patriots have met with the understanding and the support of the world community of States and its organizations. In that connection, the Soviet delegation would like to note the contribution being made by the Special Committee against Apartheid under the representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, Ambassador Garba, in mobilizing international efforts in the struggle to eliminate apartheid.

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The conclusion of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the people of South Africa and their liberation movements - primarily the African National Congress - have the right to use against the apartheid régime every means at their disposal, including armed struggle, is indeed relevant.

Member States of the United Nations have repeatedly from this rostrum made urgent appeals to Pretoria to lift the state of emergency in the country, to end its bloody repressions, release the political prisoners including the eminent fighter against apartheid, Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on the activities of political organizations and sit down at the negotiating table. It is important that the General Assembly adopt an appropriate resolution to that effect.

The continuing policies and practices of apartheid confirm the important conclusion of the international community that the apartheid régime cannot be reformed. None of the so-called constitutional reforms undertaken by the apartheid régime, will result in changing its essential nature. Apartheid must be immediately and totally eliminated and eradicated in all its forms and manifestations.

The international community has repeatedly condemned the criminal nature of the foreign policy of racist South Africa. Acts of armed aggression, State terrorism, subversion and economic destabilization against the neighbouring independent African countries - such are the ingredients of Pretoria's foreign policy strategy.

Apartheid is a grave and constant threat to peace on the African continent, a threat to international peace and security. Military adventurism is an inherent feature of the Pretoria racist régime. Faced with growing resistance to the apartheid system in South Africa itself and the ever-growing liberation struggle of the Namibian people, the South African rulers are trying to find a way out by means

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of external aggression. In the past decade southern Africa has become a flashpoint of armed clashes caused by the aggressive actions of the racist régime of Pretoria.

For over 10 years now, the South African military have been ceaselessly staging acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. Last June South Africa carried out yet another raid against Angola. That time the target was the port city of Namib. On 10 August this year, Angola was again subjected to aggression by Pretoria, which continues to occupy part of Angolan territory and, together with the United States, is providing assistance to the UNITA anti-government group.

We support the statement of the non-aligned countries at their eighth summit conference in Harare that the occupation of the southern part of Angola by the racist Pretoria régime is to a large extent facilitated by the policy pursued by the United States Administration in the region, particularly its support for armed criminal gangs of UNITA and its policy of so-called constructive engagement.

The apartheid régime and the propaganda machine of those who support it are trying to mislead the international community by repeating over and over again the idea that by means of constructive engagement it will be possible to achieve a settlement of the problems of southern Africa. However, no one can possibly be misled by such statements any longer. The whole world can now see clearly that the only result of that policy is the continuing existence of apartheid and the desire to break the international isolation of the apartheid régime.

The Declaration of Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity quite rightly points out that the financial and military assistance provided by the current United States Administration to the bandits in Angola is a serious violation of the 1970 United Nations Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and of the principles of the Charter.

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The South African racists are carrying out armed banditry against other front-line States as well. For example, since 19 May this year South Africa has staged armed attacks against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and here again the Security Council failed, because of the positions of the United States and the United Kingdom, to adopt a resolution imposing selective mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

There is no end to the acts of subversion against the People's Republic of Mozambique. In defiance of the Nkomati Treaty, which prohibits support for the bandit units of the so-called Mozambique national resistance, South Africa continues to supply them with arms and munitions.

Together with open acts of aggression and support for anti-government units in neighbouring countries, the South African racists are making extensive use of measures of economic pressure to promote their political ends.

There continues to be a serious threat to the independent nations of Africa posed by Pretoria's occupation of Namibia. South Africa is using Namibian territory also as a base for acts of aggression against Angola and other front-line States.

A serious threat to the independent countries of southern Africa is posed also by the military build-up in South Africa and particularly by the creation of a nuclear potential there. This has become possible because major Western countries, along with Israel, are co-operating with South Africa in developing its military industry and creating the racist State's nuclear capability. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid cites numerous instances of collaboration by those countries in developing new types of weapons in South Africa. These facts cannot fail to cause concern and call for vigorous counter-action on the part of the United Nations. In this connection, the Soviet Union resolutely supports the

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adoption by the Security Council of measures to prevent South Africa from acquiring nuclear weapons. It is also necessary for all States to implement the embargo on shipments of arms to South Africa and on the import of South African weapons, imposed by the Security Council.

For many years now, the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and other international forums, including the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Namibia held in September this year, the Paris World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the 1986 Vienna International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, have been demanding that mandatory and comprehensive sanctions be imposed on South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Unfortunately, the United States and the United Kingdom have throughout stubbornly prevented the Security Council from applying such sanctions against the racist régime. It is high time for the proponents of constructive engagement to align themselves with the just position of the whole world community, which demands that the United Nations Security Council introduce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is our firm conviction that only comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime will make it possible to eliminate apartheid. The adoption of such sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa would be an effective step towards the early elimination of the shameful system of apartheid and would help to establish peace and stability in the interest of all the peoples of the region, including the white population of South Africa. Flirting with the racists cannot produce any good results.

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I should like to conclude my statement by quoting from a message of the Chairman of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Council of Ministers, Nikolai Ivanovich Ryzhkov, to participants in the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa:

"The Soviet Union believes that the explosive situation in southern Africa requires an immediate political settlement. The course for intensifying collective efforts to find ways of defusing the conflict situation in southern Africa is the course of the twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are prepared for such an intensification. However, the Pretoria authorities must abandon their current policy and at long last grant independence to the Namibian people".

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that the full settlement of the crisis situation on the African continent must be based on the complete cessation of acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime against independent African States, on the immediate granting of independence to Namibia, and on the earliest possible elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa.

The total elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is one of the major pre-conditions for safeguarding peace and assuring world security.

We are confident that at its forty-first session the General Assembly will adopt clear-cut and concrete decisions aimed at eradicating colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa.

Mr. WIJewardane (Sri Lanka): Let me thank Mr. Garba, the Chairman, and the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for their most comprehensive report on the situation in South Africa and the apartheid policies of the South African régime. The racist white Pretoria régime, by the exercise of terror within South Africa, and aggression against the front-line States, has sought to condemn generations to suffer indignity and death merely because of

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different colour pigmentations. Since the General Assembly last considered this item, the situation in South Africa has reached a critical stage. A seeming paradox presents itself. On the one hand, the acts of repression against the majority have become more ruthless. On the other, the resistance of the majority has spread nationwide, giving rise to greater hope that the end of apartheid is at hand. Two factors emerge from this apparent paradox.

First, the minority régime has reached a stage of desperation. Its responses have been extreme and the exercise of its State power has been harsh and vicious. The report of the Special Committee and its Chairman's introduction indicate that during the two states of emergency in the period under review imposed by the minority régime, about 750 have been killed, with thousands more, including children, detained. Members of the front-line States, who have already spoken before me in the debate, have described in detail the murders, arrests, bannings, torture and harassments to which the minority régime has subjected the majority.

Secondly, despite such a ruthless campaign, the hopes of the black majority have been bouyant, their struggle more hopeful and their resistance more courageous and resolute. The political network established by the national liberation movements has been strengthened, organizing and channelling the resistance against racist domination. The trade union movement, particularly since the establishment of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and its highly successful general strike of June this year, played a major role in developing the principle of non-racialism to break down the white monolithic power of apartheid. Popular agitation has been co-ordinated and mobilized, bringing together not only the trade union movement, but also uniting in opposition to minority rule, churches, journalists, students, community groups, women's organizations, intellectuals and others of all races into a powerful juggernaut for freedom. Credit must be paid to

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the African National Congress, which next year celebrates its seventy-fifth anniversary, for its mature leadership of the South African people.

Concomitant with the surge of national aspirations within South Africa, the world at large has focused greater attention on developments in South Africa. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris in June this year symbolized the rising international consensus against apartheid and the evil philosophy of racial domination which is its perverse rationale. One hundred twenty-eight countries participated in the Conference representing an eloquent index of international opinion on South Africa. The Conference concluded by reiterating:

"... its conviction that the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid is to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. The alternative to sanctions is escalating violence and bloodshed. The situation brooks no delay. The time for concrete, immediate action has come. This is the call of this Conference." (A/41/434, para. 101)

A similar conclusion was reached by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group which, after careful study, concluded:

"It is not sanctions which will destroy the country but persistence of apartheid and the Government's failure to engage in fundamental political reforms."

My delegation agrees with the conclusion reached by this Group. Sanctions by themselves are useful only to the extent of putting sufficient and effective pressure on Pretoria now that diplomatic persuasion has failed.

I am happy that a number of countries throughout the world have taken decisions imposing voluntary sanctions on South Africa. That these measures are already having their effect can clearly be seen in South Africa itself. Many

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transnational corporations, which had lent their considerable financial support to the economy of South Africa, have announced that they will be pulling back from that country. These measures are in support of the call that has gone out from various forums, including many non-governmental groups, that the slur of apartheid on humanity must be erased and banished for all time.

The South African régime, if it is honest with its supporters, must recognize that it no longer can be carried on the back of the majority black community. It has ignored the opportunity offered to it in Nassau, Paris, Harare and elsewhere, to take basic steps, such as releasing Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng; lifting the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and all other political parties; and relaxing the Internal Security Act.

While the attainment of freedom in South Africa is primarily a process to be achieved by the efforts of the South African people themselves, the message of the international community has had an unmistakable impact on South Africa's morale. It has reacted in desperation with greater violence.

Apart from the violence which the régime visits on the people of South Africa, the régime has also launched repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours, violating their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and bringing death and destruction in its wake, to Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. I will not deal with South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia which my delegation will deal with under the appropriate agenda item. South Africa has attempted to build up minority dissident groups in several of its neighbouring States in order to destabilize their Governments. In Angola, South Africa continues to support UNITA; in Lesotho, South Africa continues to support the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army; and in Mozambique, it continues to support the

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so-called Mozambique Resistance Movement. Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries at the Summit Conference held in Harare condemned South Africa's increasing acts of aggression against, and destabilization of, neighbouring independent States. The Summit Conference also reaffirmed the view that apartheid is the root cause of conflict in the region which has already jeopardized security and peace in the sub-continent and poses a grave threat to international peace and security.

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In conclusion, when we pay a tribute to the front-line States, I am reminded once again of the words that my President, His Excellency Mr. Jayewardene, used to describe one of its most valiant sons, the late President Samora Machel. He said:

"President Machel was a fearless fighter who led his country to independence from the colonial yoke after a long struggle. His leadership in Mozambique since independence has resulted in the progress and development of the country to attain its present status as a leading nation of Africa and of the non-aligned movement."

For our part, let me categorically state that we stand firm with the front-line States in their call to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa as the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to bring down apartheid. We are convinced that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eliminated and replaced by a non-racial democratic society based on universal franchise. Anything less would only bring greater tragedy to the people of South Africa as well as the entire region.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation is speaking today before the General Assembly to give expression to the profound disquiet it feels at the situation in South Africa. Day after day that situation continues to deteriorate, causing ever greater suffering to the peoples. And yet, the South African Government persists in refusing to take the real decisions required. The measures which have been announced so far have not touched the heart of the matter. It is therefore not surprising that they have not put an end to the spiral of violence and repression. The reimposition last June of the state of emergency, this time covering the whole of the territory, demonstrates the impasse in which the Pretoria authorities now find themselves. Thus, 10 years after the tragic events of Soweto, the future appears increasingly threatening:

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frustrations are accumulating, violence is increasing and the list of victims continues to grow without respite. I should like to pay a tribute here to those who have paid with their lives or their freedom to achieve their legitimate aspiration to human dignity.

Unfortunately, the situation is the logical outcome of a policy, that of apartheid, an intolerable system of institutionalized racial discrimination. Like the whole of the international community, France is convinced that this system cannot be reformed, but must be abolished as soon as possible. In the statement made during the celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, in Paris during the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Mr. Malhuret, Secretary of State for Human Rights, declared on behalf of the French Government:

"Apartheid must disappear. France has constantly condemned the system without reservation, because it is an unacceptable system. It is unacceptable because of its very principle, indeed, because of its 'philosophy'. It is unacceptable because, as can be seen every day, it can be maintained only by force."

My Government wishes to contribute to the search for a solution. In the course of the past year contacts have been maintained with the political movements in South Africa, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, and recently our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jean-Bernard Raimond, held in Paris a constructive exchange of views with the ministerial delegation from the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The dismantling of apartheid is the goal that we wish to achieve. France advocates that to this end pressures be exerted on the South African Government to persuade it at last to establish a dialogue with all the forces opposed to

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apartheid. That dialogue is indispensable, because it is the last chance for the non-violent transition of South Africa to a democratic, non-racial society. The conditions for an authentic national dialogue are known: the unconditional liberation of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the lifting of the ban on, in particular, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the abolition of all forms of restriction on the activities and free expression of the anti-apartheid movement.

So far the South African Government has refused to adopt this course. It is wrong.

It is in this context, in the view of my Government, that the problem of sanctions against South Africa must be considered.

France has taken several initiatives, at both the multilateral and the national level. Immediately after announcing the suspension of all new investment in South Africa, the French Government, it will be recalled, advised the Security Council, which adopted resolution 569 (1985). That resolution urges Member States to adopt a series of measures against South Africa. The Government of my country went even further by deciding, shortly after that, not to renew coal contracts with South Africa. Those measures are extremely costly for our economy.

Within the European Community a programme of positive measures has been adopted following a French proposal. That programme should make it possible to develop assistance from the Community and on a national basis to the black community and the political victims of apartheid. With regard to the restrictive measures, France does not object to extending the scope of their application and will support the adoption by the 12 member States of the European Community of new sanctions whenever we believe such action to be appropriate.

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However, we are opposed to the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The question of sanctions is a very complex problem which France wishes to consider without dogmatism and dispassionately, with a precise goal in mind: to exert effective pressure on the Government of South Africa while keeping the chance of dialogue open and avoiding overwhelming human and social repercussions for both the population of South Africa and the population of neighbouring countries.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal once again to the Government of South Africa and to show political courage and the necessary foresight in the search for a solution and to begin to take the only possible course - that of the abolition of apartheid.

Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Since it was founded, the United Nations has been dealing with the situation resulting from the policy of apartheid institutionalized by South Africa. That policy, based on the alleged superiority of the white race and the denial of the fundamental rights of the black population, has been universally rejected and condemned, in terms both of its principle and of its manifestations.

The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights: all those organs, and others, have unanimously and clearly repudiated the system of apartheid, because it violates not only the principles of the Charter and fundamental human rights, but also the laws of international morality and ethics that unite us all, whatever our ideological, political or religious differences.

Much ground has been covered since 1946 by the United Nations in informing international opinion in all continents about the tragedy of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and in calling upon the largest number of Governments to take the measures against the Pretoria régime that are needed to make it put an end to this shameful system of apartheid.

In that context, we must congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on the outstanding work it has done in making people more aware of the real nature of the policy of apartheid, its pernicious consequences and the danger it poses to international peace and security. Those efforts have been rewarded by the decision of an increasing number of Governments to strengthen and supplement the measures designed to isolate the South African régime and deprive it of the means to consolidate its system of apartheid.

The Kingdom of Morocco welcomes also the measures taken by legislative bodies, municipalities, universities and other institutions that have done so much to promote decisions for disinvestment in South Africa and the ending of co-operation

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in certain spheres that are of strategic importance to the South African economy. The effective application of these measures and their adoption by all States remains the most effective means of swaying the intransigent Pretoria régime and of contributing to the restoration of the dignity of the black population of South Africa. But that cannot be done if South Africa does not recognize and guarantee the right of all the segments of the population of South Africa to exercise - without discrimination as to race, colour or political opinion - the political, social and economic rights and the fundamental freedoms laid down in the Charter and the 1966 Covenants.

We cannot but note, however, that instead of heeding the repeated appeals by the international community to abandon the policy of apartheid and open the way to the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society, the South African Government is maintaining and stepping up its measures of repression, imprisonment, torture and murder of all those opposed to the abhorrent practices of the apartheid system.

Faced with that situation, the South African people have intensified their resistance by all the means available to them, in spite of the proclamation of the state of emergency and the manoeuvres by South Africa to sow discord and hatred among the black people. In this legitimate struggle that they are waging to recover their freedom and dignity, the black people of South Africa have every right to expect the material assistance necessary to hasten the end of apartheid.

The strengthening of South Africa's military power and nuclear potential, thanks to decisive foreign assistance, remains a source of concern to the international community, because of its consequences both inside and outside South Africa. Indeed, despite the general condemnation by the international community, the racist régime has abandoned neither the brutal repression of the South African black population nor the illegal occupation of Namibia, which it is using as a

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springboard for its many acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization directed against the neighbouring African States.

The international community must now, on the one hand, adopt the most appropriate measures among those recommended by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris in June 1986, and, on the other, increase that Government's isolation and thereby prevail upon it to put an end to apartheid.

The Kingdom of Morocco has always unambiguously expressed its strong condemnation of the apartheid system and has supported the right of the black population of South Africa to freedom, justice and dignity and to build a democratic and non-racial society. On the basis of that position of principle, Morocco continues to make its modest contribution to the United Nations Fund for South Africa, designed to provide legal assistance to persons prosecuted under discriminatory laws, and to subsidize the education of such persons and their families. Furthermore, the Kingdom of Morocco was among the first countries to sign the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which has now joined other, similar international instruments to which my country is already a party.

Finally, the Kingdom of Morocco will support any international action that could lead the South African Government to abandon its immoral policy of apartheid, to remove the remaining obstacles to the immediate and inevitable independence of the Namibian people and to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the African States of the region.

Mr. TEP KHUNNAL (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French):

More than 40 years ago the international community rid itself of nazism by ending the Second World War and establishing the United Nations. One of the fundamental purposes enshrined in the Organization's Charter is to achieve international

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co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

But racism and racial discrimination persist in various parts of the world, hampering social progress and the establishment of better living conditions and endangering international peace and security. Having endured indescribable suffering and humiliation, the peoples of the world are entitled to demand that racism and racial discrimination be rapidly eradicated throughout the world; they are anachronistic and shameful in our times.

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The most odious form of racism is the policy of apartheid of the Pretoria régime in South Africa where the political and social system is based on skin colour and gives all privileges to a white minority at the expense of millions of blacks who live in poverty and are denied their fundamental rights. According to the Pretoria régime's inhuman legislation, any black African can be arrested, expelled or hanged without trial or sentence. Furthermore, the régime remains in a state of emergency. Not a day goes by without a black African being tortured, arrested or killed. From September 1984 to last August alone almost 3,000 persons were killed as a result of military violence committed against the indigenous population. The number of innocent victims continues to increase daily. An unprecedented campaign of terror is being carried on throughout the country.

In fact an undeclared war is being waged by the advocates of the apartheid régime against the overwhelming majority of the South African population, whose only crime is to want to establish democracy, justice and equality in the land of their birth.

Everywhere - be it in South Africa, Namibia, Afghanistan or in Kampuchea, my own country - oppression prompts resistance. Despite the bloody brutality perpetrated by the Pretoria régime, the proclamation of a state of emergency throughout the whole country, and the adoption of other unprecedented draconian measures, the oppressed and exploited South African people continues its obstinate and heroic struggle in all forms that is continually increasing in scope. Faced with the intransigence of the apartheid leaders who continue to turn a dead ear to the initiatives taken by a number of States and organizations aimed at a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the problem and who stop at no crime, however monstrous, the South African people has no choice but to fight with every weapon it has, to regain its legitimate right to human dignity and to survival. Indeed, this is a legitimate struggle of self-defence being waged by the South African people.

(Mr. Tep Khunnal, Democratic
Kampuchea)

The people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are also struggling for their sacred right to self-determination now being trampled underfoot by the foreign occupying forces, as everyone is aware, and they welcome the encouraging development of the struggle being waged by our South African brothers and sisters under the leadership of their legitimate and authentic representatives. The struggle is progressively becoming a people's war, despite savage repression, and beginning to undermine the power of the military and police forces of the apartheid régime, which has itself admitted that this struggle is now spreading rapidly. The struggle is being aided by vigorous and co-ordinated action by black workers, students, churches and other community organizations against the iniquitous apartheid system; furthermore, the people's resistance against apartheid has been intensified throughout the country. This determined struggle is clear proof of the resolve of the oppressed and exploited South African people to make whatever sacrifice is needed in their fight to bring about justice, freedom, equality and human dignity.

While popular resistance is growing, the lethal brutality of apartheid has aroused the condemnation and anger of the whole world. The policy of apartheid has long been condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity and a direct challenge to the United Nations. For more than 25 years the General Assembly and the Security Council have called on the Pretoria régime to end its criminal policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. In its resolution 569 (1985) the Security Council has strongly condemned that anachronistic system and reaffirmed that:

"only the total elimination of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a free, united and democratic society on the basis of universal suffrage can lead to a solution".

(Mr. Tep Khunnal, Democratic
Kampuchea)

Faced with the increased popular resistance and the world's verdict, the Pretoria authorities have resorted - as could be expected - to tricks and intimidation both inside and outside the country.

The Pretoria régime has announced that it is prepared to improve racial relations through constitutional reforms. It even declared last August that apartheid was gradually disappearing and that it would abolish the pass laws. But, while carrying out those false reforms, the Pretoria authorities announced that in future the citizens of the so-called independent homelands would need authorization to work in South Africa. That is tantamount to a new pass-law system. These changes are simply delaying tactics aimed at allaying world indignation and thus perpetuating and even consolidating apartheid. It is only normal and completely understandable that the black population of South Africa rejects those cosmetic changes, which do not meet their deep-rooted and legitimate aspirations. What they have called for and what the international community consistently calls for are the dismantling of apartheid, the abrogation of all segregation laws, the abolition of Bantu education and the establishment of a multiracial, democratic and united society.

The evils of apartheid extend beyond South Africa's frontier into Namibia, where the Pretoria régime continues, despite world condemnation, to maintain its illegal occupation and its unbridled exploitation of that territory's population and natural resources. Those evils have spread to the neighbouring States, the front-line States accused of giving aid, support and sympathy to the black population of South Africa fighting apartheid. In the vain hope of stemming the irresistible tide of popular resistance, the Pretoria régime has stepped up its acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against those States, thus increasing tension in southern Africa and threatening international peace and security.

(Mr. Tep Khunnal, Democratic
Kampuchea)

My delegation wishes to reaffirm here the fraternal solidarity of the Kampuchean people with the peoples which are the victims of Pretoria's criminal acts, and vigorously condemns the violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States. The Kampuchean people and its Coalition Government joins the international community as a whole in welcoming the initiatives and praiseworthy efforts of the States members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, and will do all they can, within their modest means, to support this just and valiant fight.

Experience increasingly demonstrates that the arrests, arbitrary detentions, changes in tactics, attempts at reforms - and even less the acts of aggression against the front-line States - can never solve the problem. Only the complete elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society in a united South Africa can provide a solid basis for a just and lasting solution to the problems in the region.

The continuing intransigence, the intensification of the reign of terror, and the total contempt for the principles and rules of international law shown by the Pretoria authorities require the international community to co-ordinate and redouble its campaign for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, which is the only available means not only to end apartheid, but to free Namibia and maintain peace and stability in that part of the world.

(Mr. Tep Khunnal, Democratic
Kampuchea)

Indeed, as Nelson Mandela said in 1962,

"The very centre and corner-stone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa are to be found in South Africa itself".

But the active support - moral, political, economic and diplomatic - of the international community can contribute to the speedier eradication of apartheid. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the holding in Paris of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, and fully endorses its final Declaration. We also welcome the adoption of the Declaration against apartheid of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in September.

Aware of its moral and historic obligations, Africa has firmly committed itself to the heroic, stubborn struggle against the inhuman, despicable system of apartheid. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has on many occasions reaffirmed its unshakeable determination in that regard. The international community as a whole is convinced of the imperative need to take the most effective concrete measures to end the inequitous system of apartheid. We must all, responding to the Declarations of Paris and Harare, support the determination and courage of the oppressed and exploited South African people struggling heroically for democracy, justice, equality and human dignity, which are the goals of our Charter.

I do not wish to conclude without paying a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his clear report and statement, which are a valuable contribution to our debates, and for his untiring efforts to reach a consensus in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. We also reiterate our deep satisfaction over the untiring, dedicated efforts of the

(Mr. Tep Khunnal, Democratic
Kampuchea)

Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in carrying out the mandate entrusted to him under the Charter, particularly in defence of the noble ideals of peace, justice and equality throughout the world, and especially in southern Africa.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): The question of racial discrimination in South Africa has been before the United Nations since 1946 - that is, since the creation of our Organization. Racial discrimination and apartheid have been unanimously held by Member States to be in violation of the Charter as well as of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all other international instruments on human rights.

Yet the South African régime continues to defy the United Nations and the international community, to the extent that it has created a war situation in South Africa and in the region. The situation created by the apartheid régime has been steadily deteriorating. Unable to govern the struggling people of South Africa under ordinary laws, the Pretoria régime has twice in the past two years imposed a state of emergency. Equipped with draconian powers given them under the emergency, the so-called security forces have detained thousands of opponents of apartheid, including leaders and activists of trade unions and grass-roots organizations opposing apartheid, a system which has been declared by the United Nations to be a crime against humanity. Over 2,000 of the political detainees were children.

Many of the detainees were tortured, and some have even died as a result of torture in police custody. The use of widespread torture on political detainees has been attested to by prison doctors and others. In their frantic efforts to suppress the rising resistance to apartheid, the security forces have, arbitrarily and with impunity, shot and killed protesters and demonstrators against apartheid. The army has been deployed in and around black townships, curfews have been imposed and press freedom has been heavily restricted to conceal the régime's brutal repression from world public opinion. Yet the news of oppression has managed to come out in one way or another.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

The repressive and vengeful character of the racist régime's measures against opponents of apartheid is exemplified by what happened just a few days ago, when Mr. Oscar Mpetha, a 77-year-old black nationalist, who is in prison suffering from diabetes, and with one leg amputated, was refused permission to attend his wife's funeral.*

Treason charges, disappearances and missing children have become commonplace in South Africa. Freedom fighters are being severely sentenced and even executed. Many opponents of the system are being subjected to political trials. Measures of suppression against the people's struggle have intensified. The régime has recently declared the huge grass-roots organization known as the United Democratic Front an affected organization, in order to prevent it from receiving funds from abroad.

But this unprecedented level of repression has failed to suppress the freedom struggle. On the contrary, resistance to apartheid has grown to new heights. The struggle has begun reaching white areas, and incidents of armed action against the régime have greatly multiplied. Unless the apartheid régime begins to dismantle the evil system and talk to the true representatives of the oppressed and struggling people, violence is bound to escalate. This is precisely what the international community has all along wanted to avoid. It was also the goal of the recent initiatives of the Commonwealth and the European Community. The international community's verdict is that apartheid is the cause of the evil and should go. There can be no peace in South Africa so long as apartheid is maintained. The acts of aggression, sabotage and destabilization committed by South Africa against the neighbouring African States also emanate from apartheid. There is no doubt that the sharing of political power by blacks in South Africa is inevitable.

*The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

Yet, instead of heeding the calls of the United Nations and the international community, South Africa has sunk deeper into a posture of defiance. It is resorting to every trick and manoeuvre to maintain apartheid and to delay Namibia's independence.

The so-called reforms which the régime has proposed in South Africa are clearly too little and too late. The changes are in fact designed to perpetuate, not to eliminate, apartheid. The régime has caused worldwide dismay with its persistence in maintaining the pillars of apartheid, such as the homelands policy, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and segregated education. Even the policy of forced population removals, which the régime some time ago promised to discontinue, still goes on.

The illegality of apartheid has international legal consequences. It creates international legal responsibilities for States. The United Nations has an obligation to take action to end apartheid. Article 55 of the Charter provides that the United Nations

"shall promote ...

"universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

And under Article 56, all Member States

"pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55."

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

Moreover, under Article 2, all Member States must fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. We do have a responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa who are struggling for their basic human rights. We should not go down in history as an inactive and ineffective Organization in this matter. We must be on the side of humanity, not of oppression.

In view of the apartheid régime's continued defiance, the United Nations has no alternative but to take the strongest possible action to compel it to comply. As concluded by many international meetings and conferences, particularly by the recent World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime would be most appropriate. It is indeed very encouraging that sanctions are being increasingly adopted against South Africa by many Governments and organizations; but there is a crying need for our Organization to take stronger action against a Member State which has long been violating our Charter.

This Assembly should once again call upon the Pretoria régime in the strongest possible terms urgently to lift the state of emergency, release all political prisoners and detainees and enter into meaningful talks with the true representatives of all sections of the population with regard to the future of the troubled country. The sooner the apartheid régime heeds the calls of the United Nations, the better for all concerned.

The people of Cyprus, themselves victims of invasion and occupation, express their brotherly solidarity with and support for the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid.

Dame Nita BARROW (Barbados): One week from today the representatives in this Assmby will elect new members to the International Law Commission. As we follow the accustomed political ritual that attends such events we are apt to forget that this election is one of a most solemn significance. It addresses the fundamental principles from which emerged the United Nations system; the principles which provide the legal underpinnings of the Organization and without which all that we do here would be rendered useless.

It is an irony that these foundations were laid in one of the darkest hours known to modern man, a period in which one State took upon itself the right to remove from this earth an entire race of people whose only crime was their ethnicity and their religious belief.

It is now 40 years since the commencement of the Nuremberg trials, when those responsible for the atrocities which some now call the holocaust were made to assume responsibility for their heinous acts. The Nuremberg Tribunal reiterated the principle that no State, on the claim of sovereignty, held the right to treat its citizens as it chooses and that to do so would be a crime against humanity, an international crime.

It is an even greater irony that almost before the books of Nuremberg were closed there arose another régime whose doctrines and laws were identical with those which shaped the behaviour of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. Perhaps worn out by war, the world in 1948 seemed unable to note the public commitment to racial terror that was proclaimed by the Nationalist Party of South Africa. Or perhaps it was disbelief, a refusal to accept that the horrors of Europe, so vivid in all minds, would not serve to discourage a repetition of the same. We now know better. Not since the fall of the Nazi establishment has the world witnessed such boundless cruelty as that now institutionalized by the rulers of South Africa.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

In defiance of the outraged opinion of all civilized people, the Government in Pretoria continues its policy of systematically dehumanizing its captive black citizens, as has been reiterated more than once in this chamber.

We hear every day reports of black men, women and children murdered by the agents and enforcers of apartheid. But apartheid aims at more than the destruction of bodies; its aim is to break the human spirit.

Black people cannot decide now where they will live; they cannot choose where they will work; where their children will go to school. They are now not even allowed to bury their dead with reverence. In such a scheme as this human life loses its worth. But there comes a time when men will lose the lives they have for greater living. It seems to us that that time has come to South Africa. The indignities with which they have been forced to live have now forced black South Africans to take up arms against their oppressors.

While the Government of Barbados applauds the courage of those who are now prepared to sacrifice their lives for freedom, we nevertheless regret the tragedy of this waste of scores of young men and women whose efforts should have been channelled into the building of a country.

The tragedy is reflected not only in quantity, but in the quality of life wasted. No one who has sat face to face with Nelson Mandela can help being inspired by the qualities of leadership with which he has been endowed and by the vision he holds of a truly sovereign South Africa whose citizens, regardless of their race, enjoy in freedom the resources of their land. Mine was the privilege, in early 1986, of meeting and talking with Mr. Mandela. I saw a man whose statesmanship and vision would, if allowed free rein, transform South Africa from the pariah of the world into a State which would be a paragon of multiracial harmony.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

The Commonwealth Group of which I was a member travelled throughout South Africa in the hope of initiating a productive dialogue between the rulers in Pretoria and the obvious leaders of the African people. But the idea of fraternity has not yet impressed itself on the rulers of Pretoria. Instead of fostering brotherhood among the several groups which comprise the population, the South African Government deliberately sets group against group in a wicked scheme to perpetuate the system of minority rule.

The policy of provocation is not confined to the borders of South Africa. The Government in Pretoria has embarked on a programme of deliberate destabilization against neighbouring States. In a desperate reaction against growing economic pressure to end apartheid, South Africa, like a contemptuous bully, is using force in its many forms against what we have come to know as the front-line States.

The leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement at their eighth summit meeting, held in Harare, this year took a decision to establish a fund to assist those States in surviving the consequences of South Africa's threats to blockade access to their entry ports. We wish to appeal to the international community to join the Non-Aligned Movement in taking all the steps necessary to ensure that the people of the front-line States are not starved and destabilized as a result of South Africa's wanton misuse of its power and of its strategic position in southern Africa.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

In this regard we are heartened by the generous provisions of those States which have assigned financial assistance to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the African National Congress (ANC) and the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Government of Barbados wishes to note the courage of those States which have taken economic measures against South Africa and exhorts them to continue this pressure by ensuring that the people of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique will not stand alone in their determination to rid their continent of the poison of apartheid. This would indeed be fitting tribute to one who devoted his life to the eradication of the politics of exploitation and oppression. I speak of none other than the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

There is no question that, whatever the circumstances, his untimely death is directly attributable to the politics of apartheid. Let us here resolve that his life should not have been given in vain.

The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the League of Arab States has requested to make a statement. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950.

Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): The actions of the apartheid régime and its practices have reinforced the resolve of the League of Arab States to continue, persevere in and redouble its commitment to the struggle of the South African peoples for their ultimate liberation. We salute all the members of the African National Congress (ANC) and of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as well as all forces struggling against racial discrimination.

The League of Arab States, in its councils on foreign relations and ministerial meetings has repeatedly reaffirmed its commitment to this struggle and

(Mr. Maksoud, League of Arab States)

its rejection of the apartheid system. It has also imposed through the Arab States the embargo and sanctions against South Africa. We consider this to be not only a practical way of deterring the apartheid régime from persisting in its disenfranchisement of the people of South Africa but a moral historical commitment on the part of the Arab peoples. Furthermore, the League of Arab States, on behalf of the Arab nation and the Arab people, has at all times asserted its commitment to the struggle against racial discrimination wherever it emerges.

Today we find certain apparently new converts attempting to associate themselves with denouncing apartheid, while they at the same time continue to exercise another form of apartheid in Palestine and other occupied territories. The diatribe to which the General Assembly has been subjected in the last few days in connection with the Arab world and its position on apartheid is one of the most deplorable outbursts, especially since everybody knows that the Arab States have imposed an injunction and sanctions. If there have been any violations, they have been by companies on the high seas. Furthermore, they have been penalized and cannot continue to function with the various Arab States.

Moreover, let me state that the Pretoria régime of apartheid, along with Israel, are the only two entities in the world community that are in persistent, sustained, and systematic contempt of all the United Nations resolutions. They have defied the United Nations. They have made its resolutions impossible to implement. They have sought to marginalize the debates and the deliberations of the United Nations.

A pattern has evolved whereby the practices and the attitudes of both of these remaining violators of the United Nations Charter and of its resolutions continue almost to the letter to speak the same language, to behave in the same way, to develop identical attitudes.

(Mr. Maksoud, League of
Arab States)

Let me give a few examples. The apartheid régime of South Africa has attacked neighbouring States under the pretext of attacking "terrorist bases". Israel has attacked neighbouring States under the identical pretext of attacking so-called terrorist bases. Liberation movements in South Africa have been denounced as terrorist organizations. The Palestine Liberation Organization has repeatedly been denounced by the Israeli delegation as a terrorist organization. The same pretext, the same language, the same attitude, the same rejection of human equality.

Therefore apartheid is a system of institutionalized discrimination. Zionism is a régime of institutionalized discrimination. Both régimes are in defiance of human rights and of the right to self-determination for the peoples of Palestine and the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Both are in a state of continuous, consistent co-operation in the economic, nuclear and military spheres. There is a great deal of proof and evidence to verify that. Yet we will not discuss that at this particular moment.

What we are trying to say is that any régime which is structured on the basis of continuous institutionalized discrimination does not believe in the ultimate victory of human equality, of human integration. It is in this context that we are faced with a mindset of two racist, exclusivist régimes. The large majority of the people of South Africa are denied equality precisely because of their colour. They are denied the right of self-determination precisely because of their ethnic origin and colour.

The people of Palestine are denied systematically their right to self-determination. They are subject to oppression in the occupied territories, to discrimination inside Israel, since 1948, precisely because they do not belong to an exclusive Jewish State and Jewish background.

(Mr. Maksoud, League of
Arab States)

That is why, if I may say so, it is not that the apartheid system dehumanizes the blacks, as the representative of Barbados said in her most eloquent statement. They depersonalize, but they dehumanize themselves. Apartheid practitioners dehumanize themselves.

Zionist practitioners dehumanize themselves. That is why the element of conscience inside the Jewish people and inside the apartheid régime are beginning to take corrective measures. That is why we support the struggle of the ANC in its movement for liberation. We salute them. We salute their struggle. On behalf of the League of Arab States, we commend the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We consider that the pursuit of sanctions is one of the most important weapons in helping the national liberation struggle to achieve its ultimate objectives.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.