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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 7 November 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman)  
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique)  
(Vice-President)

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

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

Mr. CESAR (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): I should like first of all to congratulate the members of the Soviet delegation on the sixty-ninth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is a holiday for all progressive mankind. That revolution gave a forceful impulse to the national liberation struggle and an important step forward was taken. This event led to the collapse of the imperialist system, although, unfortunately, to this day we still have to deal with the vestiges of that system.

Last year no progress was made in settling the serious situation prevailing in the southern part of Africa and especially racist South Africa. Therefore, once again we have to discuss in the General Assembly one of the most inhumane vestiges of the colonial past, that is, the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

Developments in that country have shown that the apartheid régime is facing a serious crisis, to which it can find no solution. The indigenous black population

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of South Africa - more than 22 million people - is being subjected to ever greater repression and exploitation and its living conditions are steadily deteriorating. However, the opponents of the inhuman apartheid system have become more aggressive and continue to step up their opposition. The Pretoria régime is trying by all means possible to prolong its existence by responding to protests with increased brutality.

In June of this year South Africa once again declared a state of emergency. According to official data, the repression resulted in approximately 250 African deaths and the disappearance of 4,000 people, but the latter figure, could rise to 12,000. Women and children who took part in peaceful demonstrations were also victims of that repression. While imposing that growing repression, the racist minority régime has attempted to complete its system of bantustanization, which has already been condemned by the international community.

Pretoria, therefore, has not given up its racist policy. On the contrary, it has created new territorial divisions and is attempting to drive a wedge between the peoples and between the members of the indigenous African population by creating artificial distinctions. The introduction last year of so-called constitutional reforms has not affected the essence of the inhuman apartheid régime. Pretoria no longer will be able to mislead either the African people or the international community by establishing a so-called National Council, a consultative body through which the African population supposedly would be able to participate in running the country. The most eloquent illustration of the true character of that body is the fact that it includes collaborationists and is presided over by none other than President Botha himself.

No one can be misled by the measures that have recently been taken by the South African Government, under pressure from the opponents of apartheid within

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the country itself and throughout the world, with a view to eliminating the most flagrant manifestations of so-called petty apartheid. No realistic person can regard those measures as anything other than an attempt to gain time and preserve what might yet be saved. Those attempts, of course, are fruitless because whatever reforms are being prepared or may be under way, they can hardly affect the essence of the heinous system of racial segregation.

The development of events has forced the racist régime to strike a balance between the growing opposition to apartheid in South Africa and the rest of the world on the one hand and the resistance of the most reactionary forces of South African society on the other. Those forces have rejected even the slightest change in the direction of democratization. We are especially concerned about the intentions of those in South African military and industrial circles and various types of fascist political groups and organizations.

In the time that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, we have witnessed a further intensification of the aggressive policy of destabilization pursued by South Africa against neighbouring countries. The South African racists have carried out diversionary acts and have attacked the capitals of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. South African forces have systematically committed acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. In August of this year four battalions of South African forces, with artillery and transport tanks, attacked the capital of Cuando-Cubango province, Unito Cunovale, in the territory of Angola. South Africa has given direct support to the UNITA counter-revolutionaries and the Mozambican rebels.

At United Nations international conferences such as those in Paris and Vienna it was clear that the policy of the South African régime was giving rise to growing opposition among the world public. The voice of protest rang out at the last

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session of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity and at the most recent Commonwealth high-level ministerial meeting. In its final document the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare, for example, not only strongly condemned the leaders of Pretoria but also clearly expressed the demand that the international community take effective measures to bring about the final elimination of the apartheid régime in South Africa.

It is quite clear today that Pretoria could not pursue its policy of apartheid, violating the rights of the overwhelming majority of the South African population, if it were not for the comprehensive assistance given to the régime by the United States, some other Western countries and Israel. Those States often pay lip-service to opposition to the policy of apartheid, but in fact they are its protectors. They give exploitation of the country's natural resources and the cheap labour force and the protection of their military and political interests precedence over the interests of the indigenous population of South Africa.

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Another cause for serious concern is the co-operation by the Western countries and Israel with the South African racists in the military - including nuclear - sphere. South Africa, a bastion of international imperialism, today has the possibility of manufacturing nuclear weapons, and that poses a grave threat to the national liberation movements on the African continent and to international peace and security.

There can be no doubt that the only language that the South African racists understand is the effective application of the sanctions which have been adopted by the United Nations and which should be supplemented by more effective measures by the Security Council. If mandatory sanctions were imposed, if there were no supplies of oil to South Africa and no foreign investment in that country, the Pretoria régime would not be able to survive for long, nor would it be able to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia. We therefore reject the position of the United States, the United Kingdom and some other Western States that impedes the imposition by our Organization of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We strongly call for the adoption of strict measures against the South African régime. We reject the argument that the imposition by the international community of comprehensive sanctions would harm the indigenous population of South Africa. That is, of course, a fallacious argument. This is quite clear to everyone. The people of South Africa are subjected to terrorism and cruel treatment, and, in such conditions, they really have nothing to lose. On the contrary, if, with the support of our Organization, a decisive economic blow were to be dealt the South African régime, the indigenous population would have a real chance to exercise its inalienable right to the free, independent, democratic development of its country.

Czechoslovakia has always taken an unswerving, principled position on the question of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. It pursues a constant policy of boycotting South Africa. In 1963 our country broke off diplomatic, economic, cultural and all other relations with the South African régime. We

(Mr. Cesar, Czechoslovakia)

strongly condemn the bloody terror that has been unleashed against Africans since the re-establishment of the state of emergency. Similarly, we condemn the aggressive attacks by South Africa on the independent States neighbouring it and its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. We support all measures or actions designed to eliminate apartheid. We demand the unconditional liberation of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, the head of the African National Congress. Czechoslovakia expresses its unswerving solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements - first and foremost, the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). These organizations at the forefront of the struggle of the oppressed masses of South Africa must continue to be given moral, political, material and diplomatic support and assistance until the final victory over the forces of reaction and apartheid is won.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The early termination of the policies of apartheid pursued by the South African authorities and the complete eradication of that barbarous system which defames human dignity: those are the strongest demands of people all over the world, and they are also among the most pressing tasks facing the international community. The people of the world indignantly condemn this crime against humanity, and all the justice-upholding countries, committed to ending the system of apartheid in South Africa, have taken actions to achieve that goal. What is imperative today is that the international community should further co-ordinate its actions in bringing even greater political and economic pressure to bear on the South African authorities through continued and effective sanctions, so as to force them to abandon as soon as possible the system of apartheid and the policies of aggression, thus enabling the people of South Africa to enjoy the basic human rights, Namibia to gain independence, and the countries in southern Africa to live in peace and tranquillity.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

In order to eradicate the evil system of apartheid and replace it with a society built on democracy and racial equality, the people in South Africa have persisted in their struggle for years, in defiance of brutal suppression. In recent years the popular movement against racism waged by the South African people has reached new heights. Not fearing to shed their blood and lay down their lives, the South African people have protested in various ways against the sanguinary suppression by the authorities and have expanded their struggles from the cities and townships to the countryside and black "homelands". In South Africa, in addition to frequent and large-scale strikes by workers, more and more people from the intellectual, religious and business circles, as well as coloured and white people, have joined in the struggle and have fought shoulder to shoulder with their black brothers. The African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other mass organizations in South Africa are growing ever stronger in the course of struggle and are playing an increasingly important role in uniting and organizing the people. The struggle by the South Africa people against apartheid in the past few years is unprecedented in terms of its scale, the scope of the social strata involved and its abiding vitality. Their struggle has indeed entered a new stage, and the darkest reactionary rule of racism is being pounded most forcefully. Here we should like to pay our high respects to the militant and heroic South African people.

The struggle against apartheid has gone beyond national and regional boundaries and become a broad movement of global proportions. Protests against the South Africa authorities' oppressive rule and demands for sanctions against the South African racist régime: those are the common cries of the African people and the people in the rest of the world as well as all justice-upholding countries. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have adopted resolutions on numerous occasions calling for sanctions against South Africa by the



(Mr. Li Luye, China)

international community. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the twenty-second summit conference of the Organization of African Unity and the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries - which were held this year - all strongly demanded strict sanctions against the South African authorities. Many Western countries have also taken certain sanction measures, individually or collectively. The wave of protests against and boycott of the racist régime of South Africa is sweeping across the world. Here I should like to mention the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, which has done a great deal of work, under the leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Garba, in mobilizing international support for the struggle of the South African people. We wish to express our appreciation for its efforts.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Although the South African authorities have found themselves at the end of their tether and in unprecedented isolation, they cling to their perverse behaviour and stubbornly persist in racist rule. In recent years the Botha régime has not only sought to consolidate apartheid through all kinds of measures, while continuing to carry out the "black homeland" policy, but also frequently dispatched large numbers of the military and the police to engage in cold-blooded suppression of the protest movement of the South African people. Under its nation-wide state of emergency, declared last June, the South African military and police forces were given unlimited power to arrest and detain people at will.

According to the much-pruned figures given by the South African authorities, since last June more than 20,000 persons have been arrested and detained, and the killing of innocent people has become almost a daily occurrence. The beautiful, richly endowed country of South Africa has been turned into a hell on Earth. The criminal acts committed by the Botha régime have fully exposed as nothing but political deception the so-called "reform", "dialogue" and "power-sharing with the black people" played up by the régime.

The continued occupation of Namibia and the acts designed to destabilize neighbouring countries are an extension of the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African authorities. By delaying in 1,001 ways implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) the South African authorities are trying to perpetuate their illegal occupation of Namibia. At the same time they are carrying out a policy of political subversion, economic disruption and military invasion against neighbouring countries, in open defiance of the United Nations Charter and the norms governing international relations. This year has seen repeated South African intrusions into Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its troops are still occupying certain tracts of Angolan territory in the south. Recently it has

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again made threats against Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The root cause of the turbulence in southern Africa therefore lies in the racist policies of the South African authorities.

The South African authorities' persistence in their policies of apartheid and oppression is inseparable from the indulgent, permissive and supportive attitude of certain international forces. Developments in recent years have shown people more clearly that the policy of so-called constructive engagement has played an anything but constructive role; in fact, it has only inflated the arrogance of the South African authorities.

We suggest that, in order to exert greater pressure on the South African racist régime and establish stronger solidarity with the people of southern Africa, the General Assembly adopt the following resolute measures: first, strongly condemn the South African authorities for their pursuance of the policy of apartheid, their brutal suppression of the South African people, their continued illegal occupation of Namibia and their armed invasion, political subversion and economic disruption against neighbouring countries; secondly, demand that the South African authorities immediately release Mr. Nelson Mandela and other black leaders; thirdly, urge the Security Council to impose effective sanctions against South Africa in compliance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter and call on all countries to impose further sanctions against South Africa either individually or collectively; fourthly, call for the strict compliance of all countries with the Security Council resolution on an arms embargo against South Africa; and fifthly, call on all countries to render moral and material support to the South African people, the Namibian people and the people of the front-line African States.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the South African people in their struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination, the Namibian people in their struggle for independence, and the front-line African States in their struggle to safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity. We shall go on providing aid to them to the best of our ability. Together with the African countries and peoples and all the countries and peoples in the world that uphold justice, we shall contribute our share to the elimination of the racist rule in South Africa.

Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): Just two days ago an important delegation of Foreign Ministers from non-aligned countries, led by Mr. Witness Mangwende of Zimbabwe, and including our colleague Mr. Mudenge, the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe, visited my country and conducted in-depth and far-reaching discussions with Prime Minister Nakasone and Foreign Minister Kuranari. The non-aligned delegation stressed the importance of Japan's role in the world-wide endeavour to eradicate the system of apartheid.

Prime Minister Nakasone declared that he too considered the question of apartheid to be the key moral issue confronting mankind today, and reiterated Japan's steadfast opposition to the abhorrent practice. The non-aligned delegation then held discussions with Foreign Minister Kuranari on the measures to be taken to compel South Africa's white minority régime to abolish its racist policy. Foreign Minister Kuranari assured them that Japan stood ready to act in concert with the international community to continue to exert strong pressure on Pretoria.

I am happy to report to the Assembly that from Japan's point of view the mission of the non-aligned Foreign Ministers was extremely valuable and fruitful. I wish to express to the members of the delegation the profound gratitude of my Government and people for their efforts further to enhance our co-operation in achieving our common goal: the eradication of apartheid.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

I must concur with previous speakers that the situation in and around South Africa has deteriorated considerably since we last addressed this important question.

It will be recalled that Pretoria chose to undermine the efforts of the Eminent Persons Group, comprising representatives of the Commonwealth nations, by launching military attacks on neighbouring Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, just as the Group was about to meet the leaders of South Africa's white minority régime.

Secondly, in the face of mounting protests from the black majority, South Africa has stepped up its repressive measures. Its reimposition of a state of emergency last June only fanned the flames of violence throughout the country. In the past year the death toll has risen tragically, and the arbitrary detention of its political opponents has swelled South Africa's prison population. And in order to conceal events there from the view of the international community, the régime has imposed censorship on press activities.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

Thirdly, in addition to military incursions into neighbouring States to which I have just referred, Pretoria also harassed its neighbours by imposing so-called counter-sanctions.

These deplorable developments seem to indicate that the white minority rulers in Pretoria still refuse to recognize the crux of the problem, namely, that it is their repugnant policy of apartheid that is the source of unrest among the black majority, and that it is apartheid that is inviting the enmity of Pretoria's neighbours and the resounding censure of the international community.

The course of aggression, repression and blackmail which Pretoria seems so intent upon pursuing will lead only to a further deterioration of the situation, with more bloodshed and, ultimately, outright civil war.

Japan is second to none in its staunch opposition to apartheid.

Japan demands that Pretoria take concrete and fundamental steps to abolish apartheid completely and present to the international community a credible timetable for those actions.

Japan demands that Pretoria release unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, lift the ban on anti-apartheid organizations, such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and enter into a serious dialogue with these and other liberation movement leaders and organizations, with a view to finding ways and means of eradicating apartheid.

It should lift the state of emergency immediately and dismantle the bantustan structure. South Africa's military incursions into neighbouring States and its economic harassment of those States should cease forthwith. Namibia must gain its rightful independence.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

Pending such actions by the white minority of South Africa, Japan sees no other choice but to stick to the stringent policies and measures it has been taking against Pretoria.

We will continue not to entertain diplomatic relations with South Africa, limiting our relations only to a consular level.

We will continue to prohibit direct investment by Japanese nationals, companies and their affiliates in South Africa, a policy which we have been observing for the past 20 years.

We will continue strictly to limit sports, cultural, and educational exchanges with South Africa.

We will, of course, continue the ban on trade in arms and on all co-operation in the nuclear field with South Africa.

As in the past, apartheid enforcement agencies, such as the armed forces and police, will not be permitted to purchase computers in Japan. Krugerrands and other gold coins shall not find a way into Japan.

In view of Pretoria's intransigence and the deteriorating situation in South Africa, Japan announced additional measures on 19 September. As a result, first, we prohibit the import of iron and steel from South Africa; secondly, we do not issue tourist visas to South African nationals, and we discourage our citizens from making tourist trips there; thirdly, we confirm our suspension of all air links with South Africa; and, fourthly, Japanese Government officials are prohibited from using the international flights of South African Airways.

We have noted that other major industrialized nations, such as the European Community and the United States, have also taken additional steps against Pretoria in the face of the present deterioration of the situation. We also note that an

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

exodus of foreign enterprises from that troubled land has begun and that a trend towards divestment is under way, which reflects what Japan has been doing for the past 20 years.

We will strive to ensure that these measures by Japan, the United States, the European Community and others are enforced in a concerted manner, so as to achieve their maximum effectiveness. We will continue to watch developments in South Africa, and stand ready to strengthen our efforts until such time as South Africa truly reverses its course and takes decisive steps to abolish its system of institutionalized racial discrimination.

Japan holds the view that while, under the present circumstances, direct political and economic pressures are absolutely essential in order to send a clear political signal to South Africa, there are other aspects of the problem which we must not overlook.

First, we must not forget the plight of South Africa's neighbouring States which are constantly threatened by military incursions and economic blackmail by Pretoria. Recognizing that these States are suffering economic difficulties as the situation in South Africa deteriorates, Japan intends to step up its economic and technical co-operation with them, especially with the front-line States, with a view to strengthening their economic viability and resilience. In this connection, Japan is preparing to send a study mission for possible future economic co-operation to the front-line States. Japan also intends further to intensify its political dialogue with black African leaders, including the leaders of the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. Japan has extended an invitation to Mr. Oliver Tambo, Chairman of the ANC, to visit Japan next spring.

In this connection, I must express our profound sorrow at the loss of one of the region's most esteemed leaders, the late President Samora Machel of



(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

Mozambique. His visit to my country last May will long be remembered by my countrymen.

I wish also to express our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to Mr. Joaquim Chissano on his election as Mozambique's new President. He visited Japan twice during his tenure as Foreign Minister and has contributed to the enhancement of friendly relations between Mozambique and Japan. The leaders of my country look forward to developing further the close personal ties that were established when he visited Japan with President Machel.

Secondly, looking ahead to the day when true democracy is finally established and human rights are observed in South Africa, Japan is extending human resources development assistance to help prepare the South African black people to discharge their responsibilities effectively in their nation-building and national reconstruction efforts. We have been contributing to the humanitarian and educational funds and programmes of the United Nations for many years. In particular, under the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, we began this year to invite South African black students to study at Japanese universities and institutions. I am happy to report that some of them have already begun their studies in Japan.

Last September Zimbabwe was host to the successful Harare Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement. Six years ago that brave nation, having been torn apart by internal strife for more than a decade, as the white minority vainly attempted to cling to supremacy, finally gained its rightful independence under majority rule. Since then, under the enlightened leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe, the black majority and the white minority have been working hand in hand in the nation-building process. As a result, Zimbabwe has emerged as one of the most promising developing nations in the region.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

There is no reason whatsoever why South Africa should not follow the path taken by Zimbabwe. It should do so before it is too late. For, indeed, there is no other choice. The only alternative is utter chaos and bloodshed throughout the population. As we all know, there is no more tragic testimony to man's inhumanity to man than blood shed in violence, be it the blood of blacks or of whites.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): In 1986 unprecedented steps in the struggle against apartheid were taken, which could very well be thought of as representing the beginning of the end of this tragedy of our times. The international community began to close ranks on this evil of our civilization when it adopted the first significant decisions in that regard in a climate increasingly adverse to those who defend the nefarious system of segregation persisting in southern Africa.

The universal nature of the sanctions against the racist South African régime is simply recognition by the peoples of a shared responsibility in the struggle against what the United Nations has termed a crime against humanity and a permanent threat to international peace and security. We trust that these sanctions will be strengthened so as not to leave any viable alternative for the racist minority. That would be the best tribute the Organization could pay to the ideals of our peoples after 40 years of discussion of this problem in this forum, following the liquidation of another racist doctrine which also tried to entrench itself forever.

The Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, which was held in Paris in June, the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and, above all, the worsening of the situation in South Africa convinced even the most reluctant Governments to start imposing sanctions, as the only way of expressing their repudiation of the attitude of the racist minority in power in South Africa.

It now remains for this Assembly to redouble its efforts to implement, complement and strengthen the decisions adopted this year, and to make 1987 the year of consolidation of an international crusade for the final eradication of apartheid. We are all aware of the heroic actions taken by the oppressed people of South Africa, its increased resistance and the enormous suffering it has endured.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

These are more than sufficient reasons for us, as we give effect to the principles of solidarity and co-operation, to give due priority to the granting of assistance to the South African people and to the liberation movements in the forefront of their struggle.

The Conference of Heads of State of the non-aligned countries, held in Harare, considered the situation in South Africa to be the most serious existing danger to international peace and security and adopted two executive decisions in keeping with the urgency of the matter: the establishment of a solidarity fund for southern Africa, to which we hope the international community will make generous contributions, and the designation of a group of Foreign Ministers, including Peru's, to urge the adoption of sanctions against racist South Africa by the Governments of some Western countries in accordance with the recent appeal. The United Nations system, for its part, will also have to intensify its efforts and increase its resources in the service of the noble cause of the South African people and the neighbouring States, since a worsening of the conflict has multiplied their requirements and the present level of aid funds is inadequate.

A few days ago we lost one of our most committed militants, the legendary President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, an indefatigable fighter and one of the standard-bearers of the African cause, whose accomplishments are recognized today by all peoples that cherish freedom and justice. My Government, which has a special admiration for that leader, not only decreed national mourning over his tragic loss but also proclaimed 19 October as the day of Peruvian-African friendship, as a tribute to the African leader and statesman and to those who, like him, devoted themselves to the emancipation struggle of Africa and to the strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement. In accordance with that proclamation, every year on that date events will be arranged in Peruvian schools to highlight

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

African cultural values and their contribution to Peruvian society, to the community of interests among third-world countries and to the struggle against racial discrimination.

In this process there is no longer any room for reform. The only alternative left is the complete uprooting and total eradication of the system of apartheid, which is nothing but organized oppression, repression and discrimination.

On 21 October the foreign and other ministers of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, gathered in Lima for the twelfth meeting of the Latin American Council of the Latin American Economic System, carefully considered the international situation and adopted the Lima Communiqué, which in paragraph 10 reiterates support for the sanctions agreed upon within the United Nations against the South African régime on account of its policy of apartheid and pledges the undertaking of co-ordinated action on a continuing basis within the United Nations and other relevant forums.

In view of our strict observance of the principle of peaceful settlement of conflicts, we hope that a genuine and frank dialogue will develop in South Africa and establish bases for reconciliation. For a long time we thought that to be a valid option likely to bring about a radical change in the political basis of South Africa, making possible a just and democratic society. Today, when the African people has opted to defend its legitimate rights by every means, we recognize the valour and courage of its heroic and unequal struggle, which we admire and support.

The United Nations cannot remain aloof from that struggle, in which the authenticity of its human rights progress and agreements and consequently the legitimacy of its acts are at stake. This commitment to history is all the more imperative in the case of the permanent members of the Security Council, which are

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

thus faced with the responsibility of acting in conformity with the wishes of the immense majority of the international community who demand sanctions and total isolation for the last defenders of racism.

Mr. GYI (Burma): For more than 40 years from the time the United Nations was founded, the General Assembly has been dealing with the item on the policies of apartheid of South Africa. This continues to be an intractable problem that has defied solution. It is an anachronism in this day and age of the emancipation of nations and peoples that the majority of the people of South Africa are being denied the most fundamental of their rights. Today, as the Assembly continues this debate, the condition of the people of South Africa remains no better than when the General Assembly first became concerned with this issue four decades ago.

(Mr. Gyi, Burma)

Needless to say, the responsibility for this state of affairs lies in the refusal of South Africa to dismantle the policy of apartheid and its determination to maintain all its essential elements intact. The struggle against apartheid is a right of the peoples of South Africa and they have made it increasingly clear that they will no longer tolerate the denial of their rights. In this they need the steadfast support of the international community. We as members of the United Nations have a moral duty and obligation to render our support. This obligation arises from our commitment to the principles of the Charter, above all because we all live on the same planet and share a common destiny.

It is against this background that we have to ask ourselves: what role can the United Nations continue to play in the just cause of the people of South Africa and to bring peace and security to southern Africa? The answer must lie in the role that the United Nations has played in the past and also in the effective role that the Organization can play in the future. In this respect we can say that the United Nations has indeed played a positive and significant role in the struggle against apartheid. It has with one voice condemned apartheid. It has generated momentum in gathering support for the people of South Africa and has mobilized international public opinion against apartheid. The resolutions of the General Assembly constitute the policies and the attitude of the international community against this abhorrent system and have contributed to the multitude of actions taken against apartheid. The General Assembly has also continued to chart the future course of action to be taken.

The United Nations has repeatedly condemned apartheid as a crime, as a blemish on the conscience of mankind and as a threat to international peace and security. Yet despite this universal condemnation, the South African régime has continued to defy the will of the majority in South Africa, as well as that of the international community. Indeed its oppressive character has been intensified.

(Mr. Gyi, Burma)

That the situation in South Africa has now deteriorated to an alarming extent must surely be attributed to the apartheid régime's flagrant disregard for the resolutions of the United Nations and the United Nations Charter in defiance of world opinion. Moreover, South Africa, flouting all the rules of international law, continues illegally to occupy Namibia.

Its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States violate their independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity. This state of affairs requires a further intensification of efforts by the United Nations and the international community. Recent developments support the belief of the international community that effective concerted international action requires further measures that are comprehensive in nature. It is against this background that we should recognize the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the recommendations contained therein.

Of the many activities carried out by the United Nations in 1986 the most significant was the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held last June in Paris. The Conference met at a critical phase of developments in South Africa and in southern Africa, and emphasized the need for urgent and effective international action. The Conference also emphasized that the present threat to international peace and security posed by the South African régime arises, inter alia, from three principal causes: its ever-increasing internal repression and brutality in the perpetuation of apartheid; its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia; and its acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against independent African States. The World Conference on Sanctions held the South African régime solely responsible for the conflict and violence in South Africa and Namibia, for the constant acts of aggression and breaches of the peace in the whole of southern Africa and for the growing threat to international peace and security.



(Mr. Gyi, Burma)

In view of the extreme gravity of the situation in South Africa the Conference emphasized that it is imperative that the international community take all necessary action, with a sense of urgency, for the speedy abolition of apartheid, and to put an end to its violations in South Africa, the illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression against independent African States. The Conference also declared that the international community should decide on a comprehensive programme of action and recognized that mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, must be the central element of such a programme. In this regard it is incumbent upon the Security Council to fulfil its role.

Events in southern Africa give us little cause for optimism. Time is running out. Yet we continue to believe that there is still hope for a peaceful change in South Africa. The situation is such that it is becoming more necessary than ever for the United Nations and the international community to exert the collective political will necessary for an effective, constructive and concerted course of action.

Mr. PITARKA (Albania): During the past year, several conferences organized by the United Nations have been held in condemnation of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid pursued by the racist régime of South Africa. At the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, representatives of progressive countries stressed the need to take urgent and effective action against South Africa.

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

But the abundant facts put forth in this debate, especially by many of the the representatives of the African countries, bear witness to the fact that the racists of Pretoria are stubbornly pursuing their hateful policy of apartheid and have further intensified their racist oppression and violence. Arrests, imprisonments and torture are a common everyday phenomenon. Hundreds of innocent people have been executed in the last few months; thousands of others have been imprisoned, including children under 16. Police forces fire against demonstrators, causing numerous casualties. More than 3 million Africans have been dragged by force into the notorious bantustans, which resemble genuine concentration camps, and live in starvation, indigence and unimaginably bad sanitary conditions. The situation of the indigenous population is tragic in all regions of the country. Violence and terror are exerted equally against the Azanian and the Namibian peoples. Furthermore, the Pretoria fascists repeatedly undertake acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries.

It must be very clear to all that apartheid would already have been done away with if premises did not favour it and if it did not enjoy the all-round support of imperialism and world reaction.

World progressive public opinion, which wants to see all the links nurturing the apartheid régime cut off, is being openly challenged by the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers that enable this Fascist régime to stand on its feet and arrogantly pursue its abhorrent policy of racial discrimination and apartheid. By means of the so-called policy of constructive engagement and all-round political, economic and military support, the United States imperialists succeed in maintaining South Africa as their own gendarme on the African continent, as a bulwark to defend their interests in Africa, and as a springboard to threaten the freedom and independence of the African peoples. In the face of international pressure and indignation they make a show of condemning apartheid, but as a matter

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

of fact it is the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers that even here, in the United Nations, in various ways oppose the countries which condemn the arrogant policy of terrorism in South Africa.

This is clear because it is American armaments that the apartheid régime is using against the Azanian fighters and demonstrators; it is United States weapons that supply the bandit attacks against the neighbouring countries; it is first and foremost the United States multinationals that have their vital interests in Pretoria, and that make fabulous profits by exploiting the cheap labour of the local population and the mineral riches of the Azanian people, such as gold, uranium, chromium ore, diamonds, etc. Tens of monopolist capitalist companies of the Western countries continue to operate in various forms in South Africa, disregarding condemnation by progressive public opinion. In this way, by weakening the impact of the measures agreed upon by many peace-loving countries to impose an economic boycott on the Pretoria racist régime, they are obstructing the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples to put an end to this hateful régime of racism and apartheid.

The Albanian delegation deems it necessary to reiterate, as heretofore, that the racist régime of South Africa, in the policy it pursues within and outside the country, also benefits greatly from the conditions created by the rivalry of the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for hegemony over the African continent. While the United States makes every effort to sustain the racist régime of Pretoria and to undermine the struggle and the endeavours of the African peoples to eradicate racism and apartheid and to ensure their economic, political and social development and the emancipation of all the continent, the Soviet social-imperialists, presenting themselves as "friends" and "internationalists", are trying to make use of the tense situation created in this region of South Africa in order to expand their imperialist influence.

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

During this present debate, numerous delegations from various progressive and democratic countries have energetically condemned apartheid as an ugly blot on our century. In solidarity with them, the Albanian delegation voices its opinion that the upsurge of the struggle of the peoples against racism and apartheid calls for a strengthening of the solidarity of the progressive and democratic countries, of all those who genuinely aspire to the elimination of the system of apartheid in South Africa. We stand for the imposition of concrete and energetic measures against the South African régime and for the condemnation of the reactionary forces which continue in one way or another to support the South African racists, so that we can make it impossible for them to go on with their criminal acts. Resolutions which remain on paper, and which are sometimes subscribed to even by those forces that maintain the apartheid system, cannot bring about any tangible results.

We salute the struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples to put an end to the barbarous rule of the fascist régime of Pretoria. The resolute resistance and struggle that is taking place in Azania and Namibia, where the peoples of these two countries are clashing with the fascist forces of Pretoria, prove that from their own experience they know of no alternative other than a resolute fight on all fronts: in the cities, countryside, plants, mines and schools and everywhere else. The uncompromising struggle, the rejection of all illusions of so-called reforms and constitutional solutions offered by the racists of Pretoria and, above all, the armed struggle of the brave Azanian and Namibian fighters will undoubtedly lead them to victory. In their fight they enjoy the support and solidarity of their African brothers and of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wishes to point out once again that the Albanian people and their Government, as sincere friends of the African peoples, have opposed and will always oppose resolutely every form of racial and social discrimination. This stand springs from the fact that the

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

social-political system of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and its foreign and internal policies, categorically rule out any racist ideology and activities. The constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania enshrines the denial of any privileges derived from race and legally prohibits genocide and the incitement of national and racial hatred.

In conclusion, we confirm our resolute support for the just cause of the Azanian and Namibian peoples, and all the African peoples, in uprooting neo-colonialism, apartheid and racism. We forcefully condemn the savage acts of violence, terror and racial discrimination, as well as the apartheid policy, of the racist régime of South Africa. We are convinced that the just struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples will triumph.

Ms. NGUYEN BINH THANH (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): For 40 years now the policy of apartheid of the South African Government has been on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, but the international community has not yet been able to put an end to this scourge of mankind. The Pretoria racist régime, the only one to have made racism an official policy and to have embodied it in its Constitution, continues to act outside the law, violating the provisions of the United Nations Charter and defying resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

Far from showing the slightest desire for a just and negotiated settlement of the conflict, the Pretoria régime has intensified its acts of massive repression and violence against the oppressed South African majority. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid provides instructive figures in this regard: since the second state of emergency, between 12 June and 29 August of this year, between 12,000 and 16,000 foes of apartheid, including religious and trade union leaders, journalists, leaders of youth movements and students were imprisoned without trial. Security forces continue to fire on peaceful demonstrators and even on funeral processions. A particularly reprehensible incident took place on 21 November 1985, when the police fired on a crowd of several thousand women in the Mamelodi township at Pretoria, killing 19 persons, including an infant. Because of the police violence perpetrated by the régime, and particularly the notorious "death squads", some 2,600 people have lost their lives.

While pursuing its cruel policy of the bantustanization within the country, designed to uproot even more the people of South Africa and to deprive it of its inalienable rights, the South African racist régime is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, exploiting the natural and human resources of that Territory, and trying to stifle the struggle of the Namibian people for its

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Viet Nam)

independence, waged under the leadership of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its only legitimate representative.

Repression and terrorism always go along with subterfuge and demagoguery. In order to justify itself to international public opinion, Pretoria has increased its political manoeuvres in order to pursue its so-called constitutional reforms, which in reality leave untouched the bases of apartheid. The so-called provisional Government which it has imposed on Namibia has no other purpose but to strengthen the domination of the South African racist régime in a new form: neo-colonialism.

Flouting the many resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, the apartheid régime continues its military adventures against the front-line countries. The illegal occupation of a part of the territory of Angola, mercenary raids against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, on the eve of the Eighth Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, the present concentration of troops near the border of Mozambique and the sending of commandos to engage in sabotage in that country, are all brutal manifestations of Pretoria's policy of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against the front-line countries.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the South African racist régime would not be able to continue to exist without the support of certain imperialist and reactionary forces. Increasingly damning evidence shows that this régime is a product of imperialism and that it is the latter which protects it and provides it with renewed strength. The so-called constructive engagement of the Reagan Administration with Pretoria has been unanimously condemned by the international community. The eighth summit Conference of the non-aligned countries declared explicitly:

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"The Heads of State or Government condemned the policy of 'constructive engagement' pursued by the Government of the United States of America which they saw as giving succour and comfort to the racist régime, thus emboldening it in its brazen acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States and encouraging it in its defiance of international public opinion. Noting that the increased acts of genocide against the defenceless majority of that country by the racist South African régime were also the result of the increased arrogance of the régime which is encouraged by the policy of 'constructive engagement' the Heads of State or Government welcomed the increasing rejection of that policy, in particular within the United States itself, and called upon the Government of that country to abandon its policy whose disastrous consequences for the region have become so manifest." (A/41/697-S/18392, p. 43, para. 71)

Regrettably this appeal has not been heeded and, while condemning publicly the policy of apartheid, some Western countries, as well as some transnational corporations, banks and other financial institutions, continue to co-operate with the racist régime of South Africa and to support it actively, thereby seriously hindering the efforts made by the people of South Africa and the international community to eliminate apartheid totally.

In spite of the increase in repression and violence, the heroic struggle waged by the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO for their independence, continues and has achieved outstanding successes. In the course of that struggle, the unity of the South African people and the unity of that people with other peoples of southern Africa has been considerably strengthened; this unity goes beyond borders, social classes, religions, and races and has thwarted



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the attempts of the South African racists to divide and weaken the patriotic front in South Africa and in Namibia.

One might wonder how long apartheid, this cancer in the body of Africa, will continue to eat away at it? When will this blot on the conscience of mankind be done away with? In the face of the explosive situation now prevailing in South Africa, one thing is necessary, to wit, we must concentrate all our efforts in order to eliminate this scourge without delay. In order to do this we must give more energetic support and more effective assistance to the heroic struggle of the South African people waged in various forms, including armed struggle. The same support and the same assistance should also be provided to the Namibian people struggling to regain their independence and freedom, as well as to the front-line States which have made great sacrifices in order to remain faithful to the principle of militant solidarity with the peoples victims of apartheid and which thereby deserve our admiration and respect.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reiterates its militant solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle, under the leadership of the ANC, in order completely to eliminate apartheid and to exercise their right to self-determination in a free, democratic South Africa not based on racial prejudice.

My delegation welcomed the holding in Paris of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa last June, and supports its conclusions, namely, that:

"the Governments and peoples" - are in agreement in affirming - "that such sanctions against South Africa are the most appropriate and effective peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of apartheid, the liberation of Namibia and the maintenance of peace in southern Africa." (A/CONF.137/5, chap. IX, p. 27, para. 47)

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Viet Nam)

We strongly support the position of African countries and that of the non-aligned movement, as well as the resolutions of the General Assembly asking the Security Council immediately to impose mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is high time for those who use fallacious pretexts, according to which sanctions would have harmful consequences for the black population, to get in step with the international community.

Together with all of mankind, which has recently shown a great upsurge of support for anti-apartheid movements the world over, in Western Europe, in North America as well as in the South Pacific, we demand from certain Western countries, transnational corporations and international financial institutions that they end immediately any political, economic and military co-operation especially in the nuclear field with Pretoria.

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Viet Nam)

Furthermore, we demand the immediate, unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and of all other political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. We are convinced that the just cause of the South African people and that of the Namibian people will triumph.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid and, in particular, its Chairman, Ambassador Joseph Garba, for his energetic leadership and dynamism, which are a source of inspiration to us all as we work together for the elimination of apartheid from our world.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): Almost from its very inception the United Nations has been seized of the racial policies of South Africa. It has adopted numerous resolutions, declarations and decisions condemning the repugnant policy of apartheid in the strongest possible terms and calling for its total elimination. Year after year Heads of State or Government, as well as other representatives, have made statements from this rostrum stressing the need to dismantle what has now become not only a threat to international peace and security but also a crime against humanity.

All this notwithstanding, the Pretoria régime continues with impunity to disregard the repeated call of the international community for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. Indeed, the racist régime, stubbornly refusing to show any respect for the will of the international community, continues shamelessly to trample underfoot the dignity, freedom and equality of the masses in South Africa. The architects and soldiers of apartheid, the Gestapo of the South African Reich, are wantonly killing and maiming innocent men, women and children of the country. Tens of thousands have been killed in cold blood on the streets, in the schools, at working places and in their homes. Many

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others have been arrested, detained, tortured, banned and treated in other brutal ways. The great freedom fighter Nelson Mandela and numerous gallant representatives of the people still languish in prison. Indeed, hardly a day passes in South Africa without the racist high priest sacrificing an African on the altar of apartheid.

Apartheid is the denial of life, liberty, dignity and justice. Apartheid is the negation of the human person, the degradation of humankind. Apartheid kills and even prevents the living from ensuring the peaceful burial of the dead. The massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto and the continued heinous crimes of the racist régime all testify to this. This inhuman system cannot be tolerated, it cannot be reformed; it has to be done away with.

In the circumstances, therefore, one cannot but wonder for how long the rivers of blood and tears in South Africa will continue to flood the conscience of mankind.

The struggle of the oppressed South African masses, which has been an ongoing process for more than a century, has today reached a crucial stage. The flame of freedom has been set ablaze throughout South Africa, and the fury of the deprived has exploded into popular action. The true children of South Africa, whose ancestors have passed through the untold horrors and misery of colonialism and racism, are engaged in a resolute life-and-death struggle for freedom.

The subjugated people of South Africa are well aware that freedom and justice cannot be won without making sacrifices. They know that it cannot come as manna from heaven, much less as a gift from the fascist régime. Despite the heavy sacrifices to be made in blood and life, therefore, they are more determined than ever before to dismantle apartheid so that future generations of South Africans will be assured of freedom, equality and justice. The brutality of the apartheid régime cannot and will not stop this march to freedom under the banner of the African National Congress and other democratic forces.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

As is well known, the oppressed people of South Africa are not the only victims of the ruthless atrocities perpetrated by the apartheid régime. Indeed, the peoples of the front-line States have also become the targets of acts of aggression and destabilization, as well as economic blackmail by the apartheid régime.

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid makes clear, in the last 12 months the racist régime has escalated its genocidal violence throughout southern Africa. The mercenaries of apartheid have committed acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, killing innocent civilians and destroying socio-economic infrastructure. The intensification of these bellicose acts continues to endanger the security, peace and stability not only of southern Africa but of the entire continent.

The international community, therefore, has a moral and political responsibility to put an end to this threat by supporting the struggle against apartheid. No Member of the United Nations can be indifferent to the impending bloodbath in apartheid South Africa. In this regard, while commending the valuable efforts made by most Member States of the Organization, we feel that more forceful and concrete measures must be taken by the international community. Ethiopia, in line with the position of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is firmly convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa offers the only peaceful path towards the speedy elimination of apartheid. The alternative to this is the continuation of violence and terror, with incalculable risk to the region and indeed to world peace and security. As we have stated many times, the responsibility for this danger must be shared by those Western States that continue to extend covert and overt assistance to the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

We therefore call once again upon those Governments that continue to maintain relations with the fascist régime to desist from and terminate forthwith all forms of collaboration with apartheid South Africa. This is our call and it is also the call of the oppressed South Africans; indeed, this is the call of all peace-loving peoples the world over.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

History has repeatedly proved that the policies of appeasement - or constructive engagement, as some prefer to call it - cannot and will not stop fascist régimes from committing crimes against humanity. They did not stop Hitler and Mussolini and they certainly will not stop Botha. It is therefore incumbent upon all nations that uphold the principles of freedom, equality and justice to assist the struggling people of South Africa by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

As far as Ethiopia is concerned, I should like to reaffirm our position, expressed by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, General Secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, at the recent Organization of African Unity and non-aligned summit meetings, that within its limited resources Socialist Ethiopia will continue to assist the liberation struggle and to support the campaign in all its forms to isolate the Pretoria régime until a just and democratic society is established in a united and unified South Africa.

Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (interpretation from French): The time is past when the tragedy daily experienced by the people of South Africa only sporadically attracted the attention of the public and of the Governments of certain countries. Condemnation of the policy of apartheid seemed then simply to make good humanitarian sense. In the meantime, the minority racist régime has perfected its art of oppression and aggression and has become no longer theoretical but a real threat to international peace and security. Intervening too late to propose alleged reforms to apartheid, the South African régime is now trapped in a suicidal logic which it believes can assure its survival. Undermined from within by the courageous struggle of the majority population, that abject régime has only succeeded in giving rise, at the international level, to stronger and more

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(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

committed awareness of the need to eradicate it. This is thus a major challenge and its impact spares no political force of national or universal scope. That is what was stated from this rostrum by His Excellency Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of Congo and Acting Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), when he indicated that the African continent was faced with a situation of persistent war.

Characterized internally by widespread exceptional measures stemming from the state of emergency proclaimed many months ago, the South African situation offers a tragically eloquent picture. The international media report that in the last five months more than 2,000 people have been killed by the South African police and army and more than 20,000 have been arrested and imprisoned.

The fighting spirit of the black population has not weakened, however. We must give it all the assistance and support necessary for it to succeed in its struggle, which is imbued with the dignity and ideal of freedom which form part of the inalienable human rights.

At present, following the guidelines of the twenty-second summit meeting of the OAU, Africa is advocating a number of measures to maintain pressure and provide the struggle against apartheid with all the guarantees of the expected success. Thus, a Committee of Heads of State has been established to monitor the situation in southern Africa on a continuing basis and adopt the necessary initiatives. The General Assembly has already considered document A/41/569, which expresses the concern of the OAU and its interest in making youth aware that it is its imperative mission to eradicate apartheid. Thus our Heads of State decided for Africa and recommended to all Governments and teachers in the rest of the world that the first lesson of the school year 1986-1987 should be devoted to apartheid and that, on that occasion, the sentence "Apartheid is a crime against humanity" should be written on the blackboard in every classroom and discussed.

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

Essential though such measures are, particularly in mobilization of international public opinion, they are only support measures, given need to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris in June, expressed views on that point, as did the eighth summit Conference of non-aligned countries held in Harare.

In this context, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries urged the United Nations Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities and meet in order to agree upon and adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Aware of the sacrifices which such measures might entail for front-line countries, the Heads of State or Government of the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement decided to set-up solidarity funds to support the efforts of those countries to reduce their dependence on South Africa, strengthen their defence capabilities and ensure their economic viability and independence.

Several possible forms of action to promote peace in southern Africa are thus available to Governments and the international community. Far from being mutually exclusive, those possibilities taken together would be likely to promote a democratic outcome in southern Africa. We also believe that assistance to the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) or the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is as positive a measure as would be the imposition of sanctions under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter or assistance to the front-line States.

There is at present a positive attitude on the part of a certain number of Governments in the western hemisphere, such as Canada and the Scandinavian countries, which have adopted selective sanctions against South Africa and begun

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

to implement them. This makes it all the more deplorable that certain other Western countries which claim to be among the best friends of Africa reject all idea of sanctions and even receive with every appearance of dignity the rebel Savimbi from Angola and the Prime Minister of South Africa himself, Mr. Botha.

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

In this connection, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso expressed to those Western Governments his own concern as well as that of his African peers at such inopportune and, to say the least, unfriendly initiatives.

At a time when the régime led by Mr. Botha is distinguished by its contempt for mankind and the methodical genocide that it has organized against the black South African people it would, to say the least, be incongruous to see that neo-nazi chief participate in a ceremony which is normally reserved for people who respect peace, justice and freedom, namely, the commemoration of 11 November in Europe.

It was in this very forum as well that the then Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Denis Sassou-Nguesso, stated on 30 September last:

"To those who maintain that the use of force should be prohibited even within the framework of the struggle against apartheid, we advocate as a minimum the imposition, under Chapter VII of the Charter, of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions which would contribute to the peaceful eradication of apartheid if the entire international community supported it."

And President Sassou-Nguesso added that, even for the oppressed people of South Africa, there was certainly no worse suffering than that inflicted upon it by the oppressor masters of Pretoria.

However, concerted action against apartheid requires that the participation of the international community in all stages of the struggle should be as intensive as possible. At a time when the apartheid régime, foreseeing its inevitable isolation and end, spreads terror and despair in seeking by all means at its disposal to destabilize its neighbours, we must consider all possible responses to such a policy.

One of the tragic aspects of South Africa's machiavellian policy is the massive displacement of people, who are either sent by the thousands to neighbouring countries which are unable to receive them all immediately or shifted

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

from bantustans to other reserved areas, thus creating indescribable trauma in families and personal lives.

President Samora Machel paid with his life in that situation formented by South Africa as part of its well-known plan to make any peace impossible in southern Africa.

As part of the heroic epic of all freedom fighters who, in South Africa itself, in Namibia and in the neighbouring countries, are shedding their blood to bring about an egalitarian world, governed by the universal principles of justice and equity, the loss of the late Samora Machel, to whom the General Assembly paid a moving tribute a few days ago, will only serve, we are sure, to galvanize the courage and resolve of all African patriots determined to bring to the southern part of our continent the peace and freedom which they have been so unjustly denied.

Southern Africa is living through the most critical moments of its development. The international community, bearing in mind that peace and security have become indivisible in the world today, must persuade the South African Government to ensure that such development can take place in a controlled and responsible manner by proceeding without further delay with the complete abolition of the apartheid régime.

By establishing a state of emergency and maintaining all the fundamental laws of apartheid, by refusing, despite the repeated appeals of international public opinion, to free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners so that they may play their rightful role in the process of the democratization of their country, the South African Government is deliberately going against the course of history.

We know that the system of apartheid can only bear bitter fruit. But let us hope that, if there is still any good will on the part of the authorities there, it will prevail over the odious instincts that created the apartheid monster which, in the final analysis, is a challenge to mankind.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): We feel deeply concerned and indeed indignant whenever we consider the question of apartheid. The apartheid system practised by South Africa is not only a political issue that may ultimately jeopardize international peace and security; it is also a moral issue. Our stand on apartheid and the sincerity of our opposition to it must be regarded as the measure of our intellectual and cultural values and the extent of our commitment to the essence of the principles of the Charter. We feel particularly concerned when we find that the unanimous international rejection of that odious policy has not convinced the white minority to abandon it and to desist from its attempt at subjugating and repressing the black majority in South Africa. For this reason we must state that our deeds and concrete actions must match our words and convince the racists in Pretoria that they are at loggerheads with the logic of history and challenging the whole world.

If there is still anyone who fondly believes that it may be possible to convince the leaders of South Africa to give up the policy of apartheid voluntarily, we wish to say to them that they are mistaken. Such fond hopes have been put to the test and those who cherish them have always managed to make that régime more effective, more immune to pressures and more viable. The proof is to be seen in the cosmetic measures adopted by the racists in South Africa, namely, the promulgation of the so-called "new constitution", enabling some coloureds to vote, or engage in a dialogue with "elected black leaders". When the real nature of these so-called reforms was exposed by popular opposition, the repressive machinery was promptly brought into play. Detention, imprisonment and merciless killings became the order of the day under the umbrella of the state of emergency and martial law.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

South Africa has been developing its economy in readiness for the possibility of an international economic boycott. We have to be clear in our minds regarding two self-evident facts in this respect. The first is that the policy of apartheid is not acceptable and must be opposed. The second is that there cannot be a good acceptable or preferable racist policy.



(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

We have reaffirmed those two facts time and again in this forum. This world body has declared racism and apartheid crimes against humanity. But now we have realized the futility of verbal denunciations and condemnations: we must act. Strict, mandatory sanctions must be imposed on South Africa if we are to make it abandon its heinous policy.

Everyone - both inside and outside the United Nations - has condemned the policy of apartheid. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions calling for an end to apartheid and the establishment of a sound system of democratic government. Those resolutions, however, have been consistently flouted by the rulers in Pretoria. They have been encouraged to do this by the lack of unanimity on the effective measures that must be taken in order to translate our words into concrete actions. South Africa still capitalizes on the gap between our unanimous condemnation of its racist policy and the absence of any such unanimity when it comes to sanctions and a comprehensive economic boycott.

In keeping with our stand against apartheid, foreign occupation and colonialism, we in Jordan are committed to the implementation of all United Nations resolutions on the policy of apartheid. We also participate actively in all conferences, activities and efforts aimed at putting an end to that arbitrary policy. We call for implementation of the recommendations adopted by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June.

The white minority régime in South Africa must begin negotiations immediately, without any pre-conditions, with the representatives of the black population of South Africa, with a view to dismantling the policy of apartheid peacefully and setting up a democratic, non-racial society in which everyone enjoys equal rights and has equal duties. To generate the necessary climate for successful negotiation, the Government of Pretoria should release all political detainees,

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

including the national leader Nelson Mandela. It should also abrogate the ban on political organizations, as well as all racist legislation, and should put an end to the practice of detention without trial and the forced repatriation of indigenous inhabitants.

The aggression by the white minority régime has not been confined to the black population of South Africa. It has spilled over into the neighbouring countries, where South Africa occupies parts of the territories of those countries, and bombs civilian areas and economic installations, in an attempt to terrorize those States, destroy their economies and impose on them a policy of fait accompli. It has also put into effect an economic boycott of the front-line States.

We condemn all the military actions by the white minority régime against the front-line States. We declare our solidarity with the efforts of those States to strengthen their development and independence and laud their support of the liberation movements in South Africa. We are in favour of giving moral and material support to those States to help them face up to the long-arm policy of terrorism pursued by South Africa against them.

My country participated in the Eighth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, at the beginning of last September. It was a summit of support for the struggle of the people of South Africa. In its Declaration on Southern Africa the Conference recommended that all the non-aligned and other countries of the world should take effective practical action to eradicate the apartheid system. Other declarations of the Conference called for support of the African front-line States, the tightening of economic sanctions and the imposition of an oil embargo against the Pretoria régime. We welcome those declarations and expect them to be implemented.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/41/22 and Add.1) contains facts about the strategic relationship and alliance between Israel and the

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

white minority Government of South Africa. The information contained in the report exposes the many aspects of the increasing co-operation of Israel with South Africa in the military, nuclear, economic, political, cultural and sports spheres. Many representatives who have already spoken in this debate have referred to this relationship and expressed their deep concern about it, especially with regard to its devastating effects on stability and security in the Middle East and South Africa.

We must pay more attention to this relationship between the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes, which have so much in common. We must exert pressure to put an end to that relationship. We also request the Department of Public Information and the Centre against Apartheid in the United Nations to continue to disseminate information on the increasing co-operation between the two countries and to expose the inhuman and illegal policies and practices of both régimes.

We stress the need for the United Nations to redouble its efforts and maintain the momentum of international efforts to achieve a complete commitment by all to boycott South Africa in all spheres and ensure the effective implementation of all the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions aimed at dismantling the policy of apartheid. If all the States Members of this international Organization make such a commitment, apartheid can be brought to an end soon, and the international community will have succeeded in ridding the world of this scourge. Until then, the Security Council must play its full role. We must continue to condemn the policy of apartheid. There must be a comprehensive mandatory boycott of South Africa. All countries must commit themselves to such a boycott and must put into effect the voluntary economic boycott measures. They must support and assist the front-line States, which are the first line of defence of the oppressed majority in South Africa in its efforts to challenge the policy of apartheid and shake its very foundations.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Since we have been considering the policy of apartheid of the South African Government in this forum, the situation in that country has continued to deteriorate alarmingly, and despite the iron-clad press censorship imposed by the racist authorities, the press has day after day been reporting the number of innocent persons who die under the fury of the new Nazis.

The insistent calls of the international community for peaceful negotiations following which racial equality may be recognized and all South Africans may have the same social prerogatives have met with only one response from the racist Pretoria régime: increased repression, more arrests and incarceration and cold-blooded murder of the heroic sons of the oppressed people of South Africa. In their feverish minds, the racists leaders feel utter contempt for the feelings of the others; they believe they are the genuine representatives of a superior race. In that deranged belief, they do not hesitate to resort to terror within and outside the borders of South Africa to impose their dirty system.

Thus apartheid, which has rightly been declared a crime against humanity and an affront to the universal conscience, violates peace in southern Africa every day. It repeatedly finances any and all bandits in the area in order to destabilize front-line countries, which clearly entails a serious danger to peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the continent.

In paying tribute to the heroic black people of South Africa and its valiant freedom fighters, we must say that what they expect of us today is effective and practical solidarity that will allow them to speed up the liquidation of the appalling system of apartheid. Moreover, it would be a major contribution to the true liberation of the human race.

It is too late for the apartheid régime to save itself from its crisis. The African National Congress and its devoted fighters, men and women of the mettle of

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

Nelson and Winnie Mandela, have earned the glory of having inspired the relentless struggle of the South African people and are showing the world that today - as yesterday, tomorrow and always - nothing can halt the march of history, and no force in the world is capable of keeping human liberty and dignity in chains.

The international community is morally obliged to do everything within its power to end the suffering of the martyred South African people. This Organization's attitude and the action of the Security Council will to a large extent determine the amount of suffering and the number of innocent lives that will be sacrificed before the final liquidation of the apartheid régime and the creation of a democratic multiracial society in South Africa.

It is illogical that certain Western nations which in the 1940s were victims of fascist aggression should continue to help the apartheid régime economically, financially, politically, diplomatically or militarily or to cover up for it, or for them to hesitate to adopt measures provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter under the hollow pretext that the black masses would suffer as a result.

Is it not enough for those gentlemen, when they hear the testimony of the dead of Soweto and the representatives of all black South African organizations calling for the adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa to know that such action is the urgent assistance they need to pave the way to freedom? No one any longer doubts that it is the support and encouragement it receives from certain Western Powers that explains the intransigence and aggressiveness of the South African racist régime.\*

We salute those Western countries which have imposed selective sanctions against South Africa. The policy of so-called constructive engagement followed by

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\* Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Vice President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

the present American Administration encourages the Pretoria authorities to develop their ferocious, repressive policy at home, systematically to attack neighbouring African countries, to continue the occupation of Namibia and prevent the independence of that colonized country in flagrant disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and many other international forums.

The Government of the United States absolutely refuses to accept comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, the leader in human rights violations. Not only does Washington veto Security Council draft resolutions on this subject; it tries to do the same with decisions of its own Congress.

Furthermore, in open connivance with the racist Pretoria authorities, the United States Government has extended financial and military support to the mercenary gangs of UNITA, which try to destabilize the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

Finally, we wish to state the position of the Government of Cuba in the words of President Fidel Castro, who in his keynote address at the Eighth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned said:

"The true key to the question is that so long as apartheid exists in South Africa and that country is ruled by a racist, fascist Government, there will be no security for Angola or for any other country of southern Africa, and Namibian independence will be a figment of the imagination."

From this rostrum we confirm our decided support for and solidarity with the courageous South African people who are faced by the bloody apartheid régime. We call for the immediate and unconditional freeing of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. We pay tribute to the men, women and children who have lost their lives fighting for freedom and independence in South Africa.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

In approaching this issue we cannot but pay a heartfelt tribute to the man who was one of the fighters for African liberation and against apartheid:

President Samora Moises Machel. From this rostrum we express our feelings and tell him that his tragic death was not in vain, and that the best tribute to his memory will be given the day when we all go to his tomb to tell him that apartheid has been eliminated.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

Apartheid has the odors of death about it. Men who sincerely believe in human freedom and dignity must pool their efforts and give the heroic South African people the means to finish the task of liquidating the odious system of apartheid. Everyone bears a historic responsibility to take all necessary steps at the international level to establish a cordon sanitaire that would help to speed up the work of those who desire to bring racial equality to South Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to quote something reflecting profound human insight that the Cuban national hero, José Martí, once said:

"Nothing is more evil or irresponsible than being in a position to do someone a good turn at one's own expense and yet of not doing it because of selfish complacency."

Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): My delegation fully associates itself with the views expressed here by the representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the 12 States Members of the European Community, in condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. My purpose now is to underline certain aspects of the Irish Government's approach to apartheid, which have been voiced by successive Irish representatives over the years.

I need not catalogue the various aspects of apartheid in all their dreadful details. The countless elements of political, economic, social and cultural discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa against the majority population of that unhappy country are well known to every delegation in the Assembly. It is a society where a small but dominant group monopolizes power, where practices of discrimination have been consolidated and systematized over the years, where control has been maintained by a vast and complex system of repression, where government has been imposed and the consent of the governed has never been sought, and where, for the majority of the population, inequality and disadvantage are not incidental but central to every aspect of human life.



(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

South Africa under apartheid has the appalling distinction of being the only society in the world today which openly, explicitly and as a matter of public policy has built its political system on race. It is a society where skin pigment alone determines destiny. It offers the black man no hope, since a man cannot change the colour of his skin.

Indeed, the information on the current situation in South Africa provided to the Assembly in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and in the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, appears to confirm that there is little ground for hope of any sort.

These reports provide chilling reading indeed. During the greater part of the past year South Africa has been under a state of emergency, imposed twice by the apartheid régime, partially from 21 July 1985 to 6 March 1986 and nation-wide from 12 June 1986 to the present time. I quote from paragraph 6 of the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, as follows:

"During the first period of emergency, over 500 persons were killed in political violence, and nearly 7,800 were detained without charge or trial, including more than 2,000 children under 16 years of age. In addition, 3,600 persons were held under the security legislation. Two months after the second state of emergency was imposed, by South Africa's own admission, 8,551 people had been detained without charge or trial. According to human rights monitoring organizations in South Africa, the actual number may be closer to 13,000, with another 2,200 already detained since January 1986, under the Internal Security Act. Many of the detainees are women and children, church and trade union leaders, journalists, youth, student and community leaders. Detained people are often reported to be ill-treated and tortured. ... In the ongoing confrontation, 754 persons were killed during the period from January to May 1986 alone." (A/41/638, annex, para. 6)

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

Indeed, estimates provided last month by the Detainees Parents Support Committee put the number of detentions so far this year at over 23,000.

Clearly, the so-called state of emergency is no more than a cover for the application of a range of brutal and repressive measures. A central element in that cover is the black-out on news, which means that the graphic realities of the situation are largely barred from our newspapers, our radio reports and our television screens. I quote again from the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, which said:

"Current emergency regulations, far more extensive and harsher than the previous ones, give the police, army and security services sweeping powers to search without warrant, detain without charge or trial, impose curfews, ban publications, meetings, outdoor funerals, etc. As part of these regulations, constraints have been put on reporting by the local and international press, leading to a virtual blackout of any independent reporting of strikes, arrests, boycotts and protest actions." (A/41/638, annex, para. 7)

It is difficult to see how we can disagree with the assessment in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid that

"The new and harsher repressive measures adopted in June, the heavy censorship, the isolation of black townships from world view, mass arrests without habeas corpus, and the continued and increased police violence and killings represent a tacit acknowledgement by the régime that it can no longer govern except by military means and police state methods." (A/41/22, para. 83)

The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa have been considered by this Organization in one form or another now for 34 years. As we listen to the statements in this debate we cannot help but hear echoes of other debates over the years, in which delegations have consistently expressed abhorrence at, and condemnation of, the racial policies of the Government of South Africa.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

Year after year, we have denounced, condemned, exhorted, pleaded, implored. Our words, often vehement and trenchant, springing from a well of strong emotion and deep resentment, now gather dust in the records of previous sessions of the Assembly. The apartheid system remains. Its implacable, obdurate and defiant face continues to offend all human decencies.

It is true that the system has been changed in some respects. But those changes must be set against the stark reality of the whole apartheid edifice, built on hundreds of different laws, enforced in thousands of different ways. In our view, the changes have been designed to change the appearance of things, and not the reality. They have not affected the central issue, the policy of separate development. One might perhaps better speak of adaptations than of changes, because their aim seems to be to ensure the survival of the old policy in new circumstances.

There has certainly been no evidence to suggest that any fundamental change in racial ideology has influenced the Government or that the basic concept which makes race the central principle of all social and political life in South Africa has been abandoned. Apartheid today remains exactly what it has been from the outset, a political system based on colour. Countless numbers of black South Africans have lived out their life spans under its dark shadow and have never known what it is to be treated as a human being, fully equal in dignity and worth. Countless more will be born into that same situation, to face the same dismal prospects, unless South Africa can be brought to abandon its deplorable policy. Speaking from this rostrum last year, Bishop Desmond Tutu put the situation in moving terms when he said:

"God give us eloquence such that the world will hear that all we want is to be recognized for what we are - human beings created in Your image."

Within the limits of its modest possibilities, Ireland has tried to respond to the pleas of Bishop Tutu and the countless others before him who have implored the world community over the years to repudiate the system.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

As a matter of policy, Ireland does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. There is no Irish public investment there and the Government does not encourage trade or other economic relations with it. There are no Irish companies with subsidiaries in South Africa and therefore none reporting under the European Communities Code of Conduct. There are no cultural agreements between Ireland and South Africa and the Irish Government has acted firmly to discourage sport links.

In order to promote humanitarian and legal assistance to those who suffer under South Africa's discriminatory legislation and to give assistance to their families and to refugees from South Africa, Ireland contributes on a regular basis to the United Nations Funds for southern Africa and to the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Asingeni Fund of the South African Council of Churches. We are also concerned about those countries in southern Africa which have suffered as a result of South African aggression or which, because of their geographic location, are burdened by an unfortunate degree of economic dependence upon their large and frequently hostile neighbour. Ireland therefore includes three of South Africa's neighbours among the priority countries for its development co-operation.

It is, however, the firm belief of my Government that only collective action by the international community will eventually persuade those holding power in South Africa to make a real commitment to abandon apartheid. As a member of the European Community, therefore, we have consistently supported the introduction of joint measures to pressure South Africa to accept fundamental change, and we shall continue to act with our partners in the Community in the interest of a further strengthening of its measures.

Beyond this, however, Ireland is among those that favour the imposition by the Security Council of a set of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In this context, we have been pleased, over the years, to co-sponsor, together with

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

like-minded delegations, draft resolutions on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid, which, inter alia, urge the Security Council to consider the adoption of effective mandatory sanctions. From past experience we know that it is not always easy to achieve results through sanctions; but, if properly handled and carefully directed, the international pressure we might bring to bear on South Africa in this manner can, we believe, be made effective. Ireland believes that mandatory sanctions should be carefully chosen, selective and graduated. They must be properly imposed by the Security Council and fully implemented by all in order to ensure their effectiveness.

With each year that passes opportunities are lost for a peaceful transition to a just and equitable society in South Africa that puts all its people on an equal footing. More and more there is talk of armed struggle. Although apartheid itself is the essence of violence, we must fervently hope that its ending will not be left to violence. The South African régime remains obdurate, but black South Africa is determined. From outside we can exhort and we can exert pressure, but we cannot finally determine what will happen in South Africa, when it will happen or how it will happen. That depends ultimately on South Africans themselves, both black and white. The main responsibility, however, lies with white South Africa, which set itself 34 years ago to construct and institutionalize the present system of racial discrimination and which has maintained it in place over the years. If the South African authorities continue to ignore what may be their last possibilities for introducing peaceful change, they will without a doubt find themselves paying the price of their own folly. All of South Africa's people will suffer, all will lose, and the disastrous effects may spread far beyond South Africa itself. For apartheid, like all forms of tyranny that have passed through the pages of history, must ultimately come to an end. It need not end with South Africa in ruins if the South African Government allows reason, compassion and vision to prevail.

Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): The international community has been called upon once again to consider the anachronistic and endemic scourge of apartheid, the rapid elimination of which is vitally necessary.

It is comforting to note that the present exceptional upsurge in the international campaign for the elimination of this crime against mankind and the isolation of the South African Government because of its inhuman policy against the oppressed people of South Africa. My delegation commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for its efforts to promote and intensify this crusade. We believe that its programme of activities should have the active support of the international community.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, like the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, has no relations with Pretoria's illegal racist régime. We have condemned and continue to condemn with the utmost vigour the apartheid policy of Pretoria's illegal racist régime, which the international community has quite rightly declared a crime against humanity.

The Lao Government approves and applies scrupulously all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Unfortunately, it must be noted that some Western countries, including the Power that is carrying out a policy of so-called constructive engagement with South Africa, as well as its transnational corporations, continue to maintain and develop relations in the economic, political, military, nuclear and other fields with Pretoria's illegal racist régime. It goes without saying that that policy of appeasement and active collaboration, which my Government strongly condemns, encourages the racist régime to persist in its intransigence in the face of world public opinion, which demands the abolition, pure and simple, of apartheid. Strengthened by such immoral collusion, Pretoria has been able to intensify with impunity its barbarous

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

repression of the defenceless black South African majority by means of the illegal imposition of a state of emergency last June. The report of the Special Political Committee tells us that approximately 20,000 persons, including 8,000 young children, have been imprisoned without trial by the South African security forces and that a large number of them have been tortured to death.

Pretoria's machinery of repression has now been on the conquered people of Namibia, which the illegal racist régime continues to occupy with impunity. Pretoria has intensified and continues to intensify its criminal policy of destabilization, through subversion and economic blackmail, of independent neighbouring African countries. The Lao Government and people joined in the international condemnation of the criminal acts committed in May and at the beginning of June of this year by Pretoria's colonial, racist régime against Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola. In this regard, we must recall that two draft resolutions proposing selective sanctions against South Africa were blocked in the Security Council by the vetoes of two Western permanent members of the Council. Quite recently the international community mourned the tragic death of President Machel of Mozambique; a large segment of the world public believes that the criminal activities of Pretoria were somehow involved, and this cannot be excluded.

That is the major obstacle to the abolition of apartheid. It can be found, I repeat, in the obstinate refusal of Pretoria to implement an impressive number of relevant resolutions and decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It can be found also, and above all, in the immoral and criminal collusion with that demonic régime of which certain Western and other countries are guilty.

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

Those countries fail to comply strictly with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, including those of the Security Council, imposing an arms embargo and an oil embargo against South Africa. Worse still, those same countries are developing and strengthening Pretoria's nuclear capacity. The international community must adopt rigorous measures to end the increasingly active nuclear co-operation between South Africa and Israel.

We welcome the fact that the United States Congress, and certain other Western countries, have adopted selective sanctions against Pretoria, but those measures are insufficient. The only truly effective and deterrent measure is still, we believe - and this is the view of the overwhelming majority of Member States - comprehensive and mandatory sanctions pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. That view was strongly supported by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in June and July in Paris and Vienna, respectively, as well as by the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia.

The recommendations found in the declarations and final resolutions of those important conferences should be implemented fully and without delay. In that connection it is also interesting to note that during the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Harare, Zimbabwe, at the beginning of September 1986, high priority was given to the consideration of the explosive situation in southern Africa caused by the policy of apartheid of the illegal racist Pretoria Government. The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries severely criticized those responsible for this diabolical system, as well as those who are guilty of an immoral and even criminal collusion with that system.



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

In a special declaration on southern Africa the Heads of State or Government, speaking of the scourge of apartheid and of an effective way to abolish it, stated:

"We the Heads of State or Government, reaffirm our decision and conviction that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, remains the only peaceful option to compel the racist Pretoria régime to abandon apartheid. Consequently, we endorse the call of the Organization of African Unity for the early convening of the United Nations Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter." (A/41/697, p. 147)

Thus until such time as comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are adopted, the international community, and especially those Western countries which have not yet done so, should adopt and implement a range of selective measures, as enumerated in the special declaration adopted during the Harare Conference.

My delegation welcomes the spirit and the letter of the draft resolutions now before the General Assembly that are in accordance with the special declaration of Harare.

The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic joins in the international community's appeal for the immediate freeing of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the great leader of the African National Congress (ANC), who has been illegally imprisoned for 24 years by the racist Pretoria régime, and of all South African political prisoners.

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

The Government and the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic reaffirm their active solidarity with and support for the oppressed South African people in their heroic struggle, under the resolute leadership of the ANC, against the oppressive and repressive apartheid régime, and for the exercise of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence in a unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We firmly maintain our support for the conquered Namibian people who are fighting with great determination under the firm leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole legitimate representative, against the scourge of apartheid and for self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the spirit and letter of resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council.

We should also like to reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the peoples and Governments of the front-line countries in their just struggle to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity from the acts of aggression and destabilization perpetrated against them by South African soldiery and other bands of mercenaries in the pay of Pretoria.

My delegation remains convinced that in the foreseeable future the just struggle waged by the international community for the abolition of the scourge of apartheid will be crowned with final victory. We earnestly hope that the work of the current session will make a decisive contribution to that end.

Mr. JARRETT (Liberia): Participating in the debate last year, my delegation registered its grave concern about the continuous and unabated deterioration in the social and political conditions of the black people in South Africa, brought about by the repressive and oppressive policies of the white minority racist régime in Pretoria.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

Regrettably, that situation remains unchanged. The apartheid régime continues its defiance of the international community, intensifying with impunity and contempt its brutality against and harassment of the majority non-white population.

My delegation believes that this obstinacy of the white minority racist régime has been encouraged by the reluctance of some Members of this Organization to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations with a view to applying comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Months of persistent unrest, upheaval, imprisonment and killings of non-white South Africans have reached intolerable proportions. Yet, Mr. Botha and his cohorts continue to introduce harsher and more repressive measures which, needless to say, will not break the resistance of a people armed with confidence not merely in the justice of their cause, but in the inevitability of their victory.

South Africa has been under a state of emergency imposed twice by the apartheid régime: partially from 21 July 1985 to 6 March 1986 and nationwide from 12 June 1986 to the present time. During the first period, over 500 people were killed in police violence and nearly 7,800 were detained, including more than 2,000 children under 16 years of age.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

Many were assaulted and others were tortured during interrogation. The security forces were given a free hand to act as they wished without any criminal or civil responsibility.

The second period of emergency is even more oppressive than the first. This time, the apartheid régime has introduced press censorship. Under the rules of that restriction, the press cannot publish what the apartheid régime considers to be subversive reporting a term which according to their definition has wide and vague interpretations. For instance, it is an offence to publish reports that promote the objectives of liberation or notices to take part in strikes, to support boycotts, to demonstrate or to participate in processions, even funeral processions. The names of political detainees cannot be published, nor can the movements and actions of the racist security forces.

In spite all of these and other repressive measures being taken by the apartheid régime to gag the non-white population, violence in South Africa has continued and even increased. The heavy censorship, the isolation of black townships from world view, mass arrests without habeas corpus, and the continuous and increasing police violence and killings are manifestations of the régime's bankruptcy and its inability to govern except by excessive military force and police brutality.

In this connection, Liberia thanks the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group for its very valuable report, which states in part:

"In the Government's thinking, there were a number of non-negotiables: for example, the concept of group rights - the very basis of the apartheid system - is sacrosanct; the homelands created in furtherance of that concept would not disappear, but be reinforced with the emergence of an independent KwaNdebele; the principle of one man, one vote, in a unitary State was beyond the realm of possibility; the Population Registration Act would continue;

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

and the present tricameral constitution, which institutionalizes racism, must be the vehicle for future constitutional reform."

In addition to internal pressures, the apartheid régime engages in State terrorism and has continued to commit acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring independent States. South Africa's acts of aggression against Angola last October and December were condemned by the Security Council in its resolutions 574 (1985), of 7 October 1985, and 577 (1985), of 6 December 1985. Its aggression against the port city of Namibe in Angola in June of this year was considered by the Security Council, which failed to adopt a resolution because of the use of the veto by certain Member States. Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe have at one time or another either been attacked or threatened with or subjected to economic blockade imposed by the racist régime. South Africa also continues to undermine the economy of Mozambique and to give military support to the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, which is fighting against the legitimate Government of that country.

The Government of Liberia will not support any cosmetic reform designed to divert attention from the heroic struggle of a people that is bravely resisting a police force armed with the most modern and sophisticated instruments of war. Apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be eradicated, and the sooner the better for peace and stability in the South African region.

Apartheid is contrary to the principles which are enshrined in the Charter of the Organization. It is a crime against humanity and its elimination offers the only prospect for peace in southern Africa. Apartheid must be uprooted and make way for the establishment of a just and democratic society embracing all the peoples of South Africa and based on the equality of civil and political rights and respect for the individual.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

It is in this light that the Government of Liberia notes with interest the increase in international revulsion against the policy of apartheid. It is a fact that this revulsion is gaining momentum, particularly in those Member States which, because of their significant economic relations with South Africa, have resisted the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that State. However, my delegation gives recognition to those States which have supported and imposed selective sanctions against the racist minority régime, and wishes to urge all those States Members of this Organization which are opposed to sanctions against South Africa in one form or another to consider the implication of their action.

My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for its report and its valuable work towards bringing to an end this obnoxious system of apartheid.

Mr. AL-SOWAIDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic):

Consideration by the General Assembly of the policy of apartheid in South Africa at this time in particular is an indication of the significance of that issue, which is rightly considered one of the most important items before the General Assembly. The United Arab Emirates, its Government and people are gravely concerned about the deteriorating situation in that part of the world. We are fully aware of the extent of the grave consequences which this racist policy has for international peace and security. For a long time now, the United Nations has been seized of this problem of apartheid, which the international community has declared a crime against humanity.

The United Nations has spared no effort in promoting the principle of equality and the brotherhood of man, in the search for world security and peace. The racist régime in South Africa has stopped its ears to all international appeals to renounce its heinous policy. It seems determined to defy the whole world in pursuance of that policy. The crisis has thus worsened.

(Mr. Al-Sowaidi, United Arab Emirates)

The lives of 24 million people, the indigenous black population of South Africa - that is to say, 75 per cent of the population - have been turned into an unbearable hell by repression, terrorism, expropriation of land and property and various other means of systematic persecution. The same has happened to the so-called Coloureds - in other words, the non-whites.

(Mr. Al-Sowaidi, United Arab Emirates)

At a time when the international community is trying to bring greater pressure to bear in an attempt to put an end to those racist practices, the ruling régime in Pretoria is trying to hoodwink world public opinion by pretending that it has started a process of reform, just as it did in 1983 when it introduced its so-called constitutional amendments. Those amendments, as we all know, were no more than a ploy. Their real purpose was the entrenchment of the policy of apartheid by disfranchising the black population and preventing their political participation through their absence from the three legislative chambers.

It was only natural that popular resistance and the struggle for liberation should intensify even in the face of repression by the State. Consequently violence escalated. When that ploy failed, the Pretoria régime resorted to another one. It tried to keep the internal turmoil under cover through the use of force and a general media blackout. It declared one state of emergency after another. The first was from 21 July 1985 through 6 March 1986. During that rampage 500 people or more were killed. The security forces, which detained about 7,800 people, were empowered to resort to unrestrained violence with complete impunity. In other words, they had carte blanche to engage in repression.

The second state of emergency was declared on 12 June 1986 and is still in force. This time the racist ruling régime in Pretoria tightened even further its restrictions on the media as a whole. It no longer allows foreign correspondents to cover events, and indeed many of them have been expelled.

The aggressive racist policy of the Pretoria Government has not been limited to South Africa, it has spilled over its borders through acts of aggression against its independent African neighbours in a series of diabolical military adventures.

In view of all this, my delegation shares the grave concern of other peace-loving delegations concerning events in South Africa.



(Mr. Al-Sowaidi, United Arab Emirates)

This problem has now assumed very serious international dimensions from one day to the next the problem is becoming more serious and complicated due to the escalation of violence on the part of the racist Pretoria régime.

In his statement before the Assembly yesterday morning, the representative of Israel has tried as is his custom to distract the international community and the General Assembly from the business at hand, which is the policy of apartheid in South Africa. In trying to defend Israel's co-operation with the South African régime, he tried to delude the General Assembly by fabricated statistics and figures on what he called co-operation between the Arab States and South Africa. We know that this is another attempt to drive a wedge into Arab-African solidarity against the racist régimes in South Africa and Palestine. Firstly, we should like to remind the representative of Israel that the Arab oil-exporting States were the first to take the initiative of imposing an oil embargo on the racist régime in South Africa before any international organization took such a step. This action stemmed from our commitment of principle to the struggle against racism.

Secondly, we take pride in the fact that not a single Arab State has any relations whatsoever be they diplomatic, commercial, economic or political, with South Africa, while Israel's involvement with South Africa embraces all those areas, and particularly that of military collaboration; which poses the most direct threat to the stability of southern Africa.

My delegation has spoken on in detail the subject of nuclear co-operation between South Africa and Israel, in the deliberations of the First Committee and I do not wish to repeat here what has already been stated there.

Thirdly, Israeli collaboration with South Africa is thoroughly and amply documented in many United Nations documents and General Assembly resolutions.

(Mr. Al-Sowaidi, United Arab Emirates)

Fourthly, over and above all these forms of collaboration, Israel shares both the dogma and ideology of South Africa. Both its dogma and ideology are based on racial and religious discrimination.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Congo, when speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity during the deliberations in the Special Session on Namibia, last September has aptly put it:

"South Africa, that indescribable monster of our time, which bears no resemblance to any other modern State - unless it be Israel or Nazi Germany ..." (A/S-14/PV.1, p. 25)

The question worthy of consideration at this stage is whether or not Israel has changed its policy of supporting the racist régime in South Africa. If it has, a second question arises, namely would it not be better for Israel to reconsider the policy based on religious, racist discrimination which it practices against the Palestinian people and which it compounds by the occupation of Arab lands and the expulsion of their inhabitants? We challenge the representative of Israel to declare that Israel has broken relations with the racist régime of South Africa. We challenge him to declare before this Assembly that Israel has given up its racist practices and that it recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The United Arab Emirates reaffirm their support for the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa to realize their legitimate right to live in freedom and in peace. We believe that the measures taken so far have not been sufficient to deter this racist régime. We believe that there is a need for firmer and more determined action. We must focus on the implementation of the substance of these resolutions which call on certain States that continue to pursue a policy of common understanding with the Government of South Africa, to renounce such policies. Let

(Mr. Al-Sowaidi, United Arab Emirates)

us close the door to appeasement. Let us take clear-cut measures to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime and force it to renounce that policy, through a complete embargo.

For these reasons, my country was a co-sponsor of all the resolutions submitted to the Security Council this year, calling for the enforcement of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. We believe that the time has come for the international community and all its members to implement those sanctions as stipulated in Chapter VII of our Organization's Charter.

Mr. KASIRYE (Uganda): There are those who have for a long time sought to make us believe that peaceful negotiations with the racist régime offer the only way of successfully dismantling the evil system of apartheid. To this end, they have urged liberation movements to renounce the right to wage an armed struggle against the minority régime. Indeed, it has been the declared policy of some not to have any dealings with liberation movements until they renounce violence.

(Mr. Kasirye, Uganda)

The policy of non-violence is not new to the liberation movements. Those sons and daughters of South Africa who drafted the "Freedom Charter" as a blueprint of a peoples' struggle for freedom, equality, justice, human dignity and self-determination also believed in and sought to engage the racist régime in a peaceful dialogue. The régime responded by massacring peaceful demonstrators in Sharpeville. This deliberate rejection on the part of the South African Government of peaceful interaction with the country's black majority remains today - as it was then - the cornerstone of its apartheid policy. It is already abundantly clear that no amount of constructive engagement with the régime will change this position.

In May this year, while the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was carrying out consultations in South Africa aimed at fostering a process of peaceful negotiations between the régime and the majority population, racist forces launched unprovoked attacks on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This slap in the face administered to the Eminent Persons Group was a deliberate and calculated act of defiance, not only to the Commonwealth, but to the international community as a whole. It sent clear signals that the Pretoria régime had not the slightest intention of dismantling the evil system of apartheid. In fact, the policy of apartheid was reaffirmed during the Federal Congress of the ruling National Party in August this year.

The South African régime has frustrated all efforts aimed at the peaceful resolution of the root cause of instability in southern Africa. It has stubbornly defied the international community over Namibia. It signed the Nkomati Accord knowing full well that it had no intention of complying with its provisions. It continues not only to occupy Angolan territory but to arm and finance, along with the United States of America, UNITA's treacherous war against the people of Angola. Destabilization, intimidation, and violation of the territorial integrity of neighbouring States are now common occurrences.

(Mr. Kasirye, Uganda)

At home, it has followed a systematic policy of bannings, detentions, deportations, torture, arson, assassinations, murders, and so on, against the black population, in spite of universal protestations. Women, children, the clergy and even places of worship have not been spared. Since the press has been successfully muzzled, we may never know the exact number of those who have fallen victim to these draconian measures.

The black people of South Africa have travelled the road of peace and have come to a dead end. The pleas for reason made by such leaders as Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Allan Boesak and many others have fallen on deaf ears. The leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Union of South African Students and other organizations have been harassed, banned, imprisoned or detained. What right have we to demand of the black majority in South Africa that they renounce violence in the face of so much State-inspired violence? Why should the United States of America, for example, arm the Contras in Nicaragua and Savimbi in Angola while at the same time urging liberation movements in South Africa to lay down their arms?

The National Resistance Movement Government in Uganda believes that the black people of South Africa have attained a very high level of political mobilization, particularly in the urban centres. The callous massacre of innocent women and children by the racist régime will not quell the just struggle for equality and freedom. The time for conciliatory rhetoric is a thing of the past. It is now the duty of the international community to rise to the moral challenge of supporting, in a meaningful way, the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. We call for material and logistic support for the armed struggle and adequate assistance for the front-line States in the resolute defence of their sovereignty. We urge the freedom fighters in South Africa itself to develop a coherent strategy for the

(Mr. Kasirye, Uganda)

struggle in order to take full advantage of the resolve of the masses to destroy the evil system of apartheid.

Apartheid will be destroyed in South Africa by South Africans, not here in New York. The best we can do from here and from our respective capitals is to try to avert a bloodbath in southern Africa. It is for this reason that my delegation has consistently advocated the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We do this in the full knowledge that this act alone will probably not bring about the collapse of the South African régime. Furthermore, we do so in the full knowledge that the blacks in South Africa would probably be the worst hit by sanctions. No one can appreciate this more than the black South Africans themselves. And yet nearly all their leaders have called for mandatory sanctions as a means of bringing about a change of heart on the part of the régime before it is too late.

It is my delegation's view that the imposition of mandatory sanctions would convey yet another message of our grave concern over events in South Africa and make our resolve to do something about it known to the régime in Pretoria. Sanctions have been imposed in other instances. Why should it be different in the case of South Africa?

In conclusion, I wish to express my delegation's appreciation for the outstanding work done by the Special Committee against Apartheid under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Joseph Garba. The report presented to us is once again a comprehensive documentation of the excesses committed by the racist régime in a bid to hold on to power.

Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): Thirty-four years ago, in a note addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, 12 Asian and Arab Member States, including the Philippines, requested the General Assembly to consider the item entitled "The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa".

Even at that early stage, only six years after the question of the unjust treatment of non-whites in South Africa had first been raised in the General Assembly, those 12 States had already recognized the urgent need for its consideration by the General Assembly. They called attention to the fact that the race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the South African Government was creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constituted both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It did not take long for the great majority of Member States of the United Nations to recognize that the fears of those 12 States were well founded. The racist minority régime of South Africa enacted law after law in support of its inhuman apartheid policy, proclaiming the superiority of the minority whites over the majority non-whites, stripping the South African blacks of their freedom, their basic human rights and their dignity. Those who protested were either killed or gaoled.

The repeated calls and pleas of the Member States of the United Nations for the racist South African minority régime to put an end to apartheid have fallen on deaf ears. Apartheid South Africa has become the fortress of all that is contrary to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Indeed, apartheid has become a dark blot on the conscience of mankind.

Having been associated with the United Nations when it was born in 1946, I can honestly say that no issue now on the agenda of the General Assembly has engaged

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

the attention of the United Nations more intensely and unremittingly than the question of apartheid.

Because of the Philippine commitment to the black people of South Africa and its opposition to apartheid, the Philippines joined the Special Committee against Apartheid when it was set up in 1962. The Philippines has continued to support the work of the Special Committee, as well as the anti-apartheid movement, the liberation movements recognized by the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity. The Philippines heeded the General Assembly's first call for a cessation of diplomatic relations with South Africa and the imposition of a trade embargo against that country. The Philippines is a State party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Recently, I had the privilege of signing, on behalf of the Philippine Government, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

The Philippines has always supported the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa as a peaceful means of eradicating apartheid. In 1974 the Philippine vote in the Credentials Committee was crucial in the suspension from membership of the minority racist régime of South Africa. The Philippines has actively participated in the Special Committee, as a member, as rapporteur, or as Chairman of the Task Force on Women and Children.

How many more resolutions must be adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council before the Government of South Africa can be persuaded to heed the call of the international community to dismantle its obnoxious policy of apartheid? We are all aware that the régime has resorted to all manner of ruses and cosmetic changes to deceive the United Nations and the oppressed black people of South Africa, but having seen through those ruses and cosmetic changes we must



(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

declare here and now that they are not enough. The United Nations has rejected the creation of the fraudulent bantustan homelands, the policy of so-called separate development and the constitution of the apartheid régime which ignores the black African majority. The international community cannot afford to have another Sharpeville and another Soweto. Even now, as the United Nations deliberates on this item for the umpteenth time, the black people of South Africa, including women and children, are being tortured, maimed and killed.

It is time for this Organization to issue a demand to the apartheid régime in South Africa to cease forthwith its intransigence and to negotiate with the black leaders of South Africa, led by the liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, with a view to the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, multiracial society in South Africa. It is time for South Africa to release all political prisoners, white and non-white. It is in the interest of the South African régime itself to heed the call of the international community to abolish apartheid.

Recently, the Commonwealth, in an attempt to resolve the problem, constituted an Eminent Persons Group to open a dialogue with the leaders of the apartheid régime. We all know that the Eminent Persons Group failed in its mission. It failed not for lack of commitment to goodwill but because of the intransigence of the racist minority régime.

My delegation welcomes the action of the Congress of the United States of America in applying selective sanctions against South Africa. My delegation is also encouraged by the divestment measures increasingly applied by the international business community. We voice the hope that the Governments concerned will have the political will to go further and support the nearly universal call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

The specious argument has been advanced that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would hurt the victims of apartheid more than its practitioners, but this is the voice of false humanitarianism, which places comfort and convenience above human dignity and human rights. We should ignore it.

The situation in South Africa is very critical. The oppressed black people are determined to gain their freedom and human dignity at the cost of their very lives. If the international community is to avert the catastrophe of a civil war, the only remaining peaceful means to resolve the serious situation in South Africa is the total isolation of South Africa.

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

Pending the imposition of mandatory sanctions, the Philippines will continue to support the work of the Special Committee. At this juncture, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee, the members of the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid for their relentless efforts in the struggle against apartheid. My delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Special Committee as contained in its report and calls upon all Member States to extend their support for the programme of work of the Committee.

While there is still time, let us wage a full-scale peaceful war against apartheid. The Philippines urges the members of the Security Council to support the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Let us isolate the racist régime until its rulers return to their senses and dismantle apartheid.

In her statement before this session of the General Assembly, President Corazon C. Aquino reaffirmed the commitment of the people and Government of the Philippines to and their solidarity with the oppressed black people of South Africa in their struggle. She said:

"It is right that we all play a part in creating the environment for change in South Africa. The Philippines will support any action the international community takes to hasten the advent of peace and freedom in South Africa and to show solidarity with its people." (A/41/PV.5, p.8)

Mr. WIRYONO (Indonesia): After yet another traumatic year of racist oppression and violence in South Africa, the deepening crisis that is engulfing that strife-torn country remains the most poignant moral and political challenge confronting the United Nations. Indonesia is gravely concerned that the progressive deterioration of the situation may very soon eclipse all efforts and

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

all avenues towards peaceful change and plunge South Africa into a cauldron of racial conflagration and unimaginable human tragedy.

The ever-escalating dimensions of polarization and conflict in South Africa have now reached unprecedented proportions. Never before has brute force been so indiscriminately and ruthlessly applied in order to enforce a system of institutionalized racism and racial domination. Yet, never before has the unity of the oppressed black majority been so mobilized and popular resistance against the régime so defiant. Never before have the struggling masses so clearly demonstrated that there is nothing episodic in the unyielding resistance, the revolutionary fervour and the fury that has spread to virtually every township and to the most isolated rural areas in South Africa. Indeed, the train of events over the course of the past two years confirms that the situation in South Africa has so radically changed that there can never be a return to the status quo ante.

Without question, responsibility for the explosive situation in South Africa rests squarely with the racist Pretoria régime, which has rejected all the initiatives by the United Nations to have the conflict resolved through recourse to rationality and elementary justice in accordance with Charter precepts. Instead of heeding the call of the international community to abandon apartheid, it has stepped up the campaign of State terrorism against the black majority through the imposition of a state of emergency and other draconian measures. Even the total news blackout decreed by Pretoria has not been able to conceal its genocidal policies and practices from public view. Hardly a day passes without reports of innocent blacks being killed or wounded in police violence. The use of indiscriminate force by the racist régime has since the end of 1984 claimed nearly 3,000 victims. Those not beaten or killed in the streets have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention. Disappearances, abductions and assassinations of

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

political activists have become commonplace. In 1985 alone, over 36,000 men, women and children were jailed for participating in peaceful protests against apartheid. And, once in detention, maltreatment, torture and all too often death awaits them.

However, this grizzly record of wanton brutality and violence has not deterred the valiant struggle of black South Africa for justice and equality. On the contrary, it has galvanized the oppressed masses into a solid front of resistance that can no longer be contained by any means. Indeed, after two years of the virtually uninterrupted state of emergency, Pretoria has not succeeded in "normalizing" the country. South Africa today can aptly be described as a garrison State on the verge of all-out civil war.

The urgency with which the international community must address the situation in South Africa is made all the more evident by Pretoria's continued illegal occupation of Namibia. In the face of the determined struggle of the Namibian people, the régime has chosen a self-destructive course of steadily escalating military repression. At the same time, it is continuing its aggressions against neighbouring African States in the vain hope of realizing its hegemonistic designs in southern Africa.

In pursuit of this goal, Pretoria has consistently followed a policy of destabilization and subversion against the front-line African States. Indonesia strongly condemns the unprovoked attacks carried out earlier this year by the military forces of the racist régime within the territories of Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and, more recently, Angola. The fact that these attacks coincided with the initiative of the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth countries in making an eleventh-hour attempt to defuse the situation in South Africa serves only to reaffirm the arrogant unwillingness of the racist régime to initiate fundamental

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

change leading to a just society. The sobering assessment made by the Group confirms our worst fears that

"in the face of Pretoria's obstinacy and intransigence a racial conflagration with frightening implications threatens ... in the very foreseeable future".

The Group further concludes that economic pressure

"may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War".

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

Hence there can be no further delay in applying effective international action to achieve an immediate end to the repression, and the release of all political prisoners and detainees. These initial steps must be followed by a process of negotiations among the genuine representatives of the people for the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic Government in accordance with the basic tenets of universal suffrage.

However, it is also abundantly clear that such a process cannot get off the ground so long as certain quarters continue to oppose mandatory sanctions against South Africa. For sanctions to have a meaningful impact they must necessarily be supported by the international community as a whole, with no exceptions. None the less, certain States and multinational corporations have continued to maintain extensive economic relations and even extend military assistance to South Africa. Such politically untenable and morally repugnant relations have contributed immeasurably to South Africa's military might and its ability to defy the international community, and therefore must come to an end.

In this regard, there has been some encouraging movement in the other direction. When confronted with the rapidly deteriorating situation in South Africa, even its traditional friends found it appropriate to support the decision of the Security Council urging, for the first time, the imposition of specific economic sanctions, as set forth in its resolution 569 (1985). It is also heartening to note the additional sanctions imposed by the United States and the European Community as well as further measures by individual States and international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. While we welcome those decisions and actions, Indonesia believes that the steps involved still fall far short of coming to grips with the critical situation.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

Sanctions will succeed only when South Africa's powerful friends, whose policies can make a difference, recognize - and recognize now - that time has run out for equivocation and half-hearted measures. It is time for them to acknowledge that the so-called reforms announced by Pretoria are nothing more than cosmetic changes, gestures which do not touch the essentials of the apartheid system and which are intended solely to placate its apologists abroad. If they are genuinely committed to the dismantling of that inhuman system, then it is up to them to work in earnest with the international community to secure the complete isolation of the racist régime, as this may be our last option for non-violent change leading to a non-racial, egalitarian and pluralistic society in South Africa.

My Government has long been convinced that nothing short of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations can compel South Africa to relent. To that end, we support the calls issued by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held at Paris in June, and the eighth summit conference of the non-aligned countries, held at Harare two months ago, for the Security Council to convene to discharge its solemn responsibilities in order to meet effectively the arrogant challenge to the credibility and authority of the Organization.

But, while the Security Council has yet to overcome its inability to adopt meaningful enforcement measures, we cannot afford to wait. Indonesia fully supports the call for scrupulous observance of the mandatory arms embargo, which should be reinforced to include nuclear co-operation, the supply of "dual-purpose" items, and all investments in south Africa that have a military application. Concurrently, the oil embargo must also be strengthened to prevent the illegal flow of oil to South Africa through clandestine means. Other fields which deserve our



(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

immediate attention are the campaign for disinvestment and the termination of all financial and trade relations, as well as all aspects of social, cultural and sports contacts with South Africa, which only serve to confer an aura of legitimacy and respectability on an outlaw régime. The total isolation of apartheid South Africa must remain our principal objective.

An essential concomitant of a programme of sanctions is assistance to the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia and their liberation movements as well as the front-line African States, all of which should be provided with substantially increased aid.

For its part, Indonesia has always strictly abided by all the mandatory and voluntary sanctions, boycotts and embargoes and will not establish relations of any kind with apartheid South Africa until the people of South Africa and Namibia achieve genuine emancipation and independence. As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia, Indonesia will not waver in its determination to make every possible contribution to the protection and promotion of the inalienable rights of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Within its limited means, my Government has also endeavoured to extend material and financial assistance to the struggle against apartheid and to the cause of Namibian independence, and will continue to do so.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its firm conviction that the pace towards the inexorable demise of apartheid has quickened, and that apartheid's days are now numbered. This is the beginning of the end - an end to the nightmare that the people of South Africa, Namibia and the region as a whole have had to endure for too long; an end to the indignities and human degradation that apartheid represents for the entire continent of Africa; and an end to the blot of apartheid on the conscience of all humanity.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

At this critical juncture, the international community is duty bound to demonstrate definitively to South Africa solidarity and its resolve to give any respite to the racist régime unless and until apartheid is for ever abolished and Namibia has regained its independence.

Nawab Mohammed YAMIN KHAN (Pakistan): An arrogant racist minority in South Africa has turned the vile system of apartheid into an instrument of Government which helps it to perpetuate its hold over its defiant indigenous population. In doing so, it throws down a challenge to the conscience and dignity of mankind and commits a crime against humanity which the international community has so rightly and so consistently denounced.

Over the years, we have heard of strategic compulsions, East-West perceptions, economic dislocations, social chaos and other spurious excuses and arguments, whose net result has been to bolster the Pretoria régime in defying world public opinion and in carrying out with impunity its illegal and inhuman policies. Can the international community allow this tumor to fester, decade after decade, while millions and millions of innocent people suffer from its outrageous effects?

These affronts and indignities cannot be allowed to continue unchecked. South Africa has failed to respond to the language of reason. That is why the General Assembly, reflecting the wishes of the international community, solemnly declared that nothing else but the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society based on majority rule could lead to a just and lasting solution to the explosive situation in South Africa.

(Nawab Mohammed Yamin Khan, Pakistan)

Those who believe that after all these years a dialogue is possible with the racist régime to encourage it to dismantle the immoral, unacceptable and inhuman system only whet its appetite for unleashing further its reign of terror and oppression in a desperate bid to sustain and perpetrate the horrors and indignities of apartheid.

All efforts to engage South Africa in a dialogue with a view to eliminating apartheid have failed. The policy of constructive engagement has yielded no results. The racist régime launched armed attacks against the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe at the very time when the Eminent Persons Group was carrying out consultations in South Africa. This attitude should send a clear message to those that feel that the imposition of sanctions against the racist régime is immoral or that a dialogue with Pretoria is possible.

If the Pretoria régime feels that it can enslave a people for ever, it is blinded by its own insolence. No amount of repression and terror, no amount of weaponry, indeed, not even the acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability, can suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa. The imposition of a state of emergency, the massacre of innocent people, the detention of men, women and children, cannot contain their freedom struggle. If the racist régime thinks it can draw a curtain on its ignoble and odious deeds through the introduction of curbs on the local and foreign press, it is only trying to escape from reality.

We are witnessing a deepening crisis in South Africa. Escalating violence has led to increased popular resistance and the intensification of the freedom struggle. In its campaign of terror and virtual genocide the apartheid régime has further militarized the repressive apparatus of the State. The Special Committee against Apartheid has drawn attention in its latest report to this tragic state of affairs. It states:

(Nawab Mohammed Yamin Khan, Pakistan)

"In townships the indigenous majority population has been subjected to increased savage application of the state of emergency. Troops not only occupy and patrol black townships but are also deployed in schools, which have recently been encircled with wire fences. Thousands of opponents of apartheid have been detained and many, including even infants and children, have been shot on the streets, tortured, tried or otherwise persecuted."

Not content with its increasingly savage repression of the majority of the South African people, the Pretoria régime has resorted to aggressive policies of intimidation, coercion and destabilization, both military and economic, against the front-line States. It is also instigating and supporting subversive groups engaged in terrorism in those countries. The racist régime's continuing aggression, its increasing military build-up and its expanding nuclear plans pose a real threat to international peace and security. It is more than ever necessary that immediate and resolute international action be taken for the early and speedy elimination of the system of apartheid.

On 31 January 1986 the racist minority régime declared that apartheid was outdated, and it has instituted some cosmetic changes. However, the fundamental props and pillars of apartheid remain very much in force. Apartheid cannot be reformed and must be totally destroyed. The destiny of South Africa must be decided by all the people of that country exercising their right to self-determination, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed. The accomplishment of this task requires also collective and determined efforts on the part of the international community.

It is the moral responsibility of the comity of nations to devise and implement effective measures to eliminate apartheid. The international community is in a position to influence the outcome of the struggle being waged against this abhorrent system. It is no secret that the Pretoria régime is being sustained in

(Nawab Mohammed Yamin Khan, Pakistan)

its obstinacy by the support and assistance it receives from those that seek to profit from the exploitation in South Africa. The economy of South Africa, however, is vulnerable to sanctions, if rigorously applied. The argument that sanctions will hurt the majority population of South Africa and the front-line African States lacks validity since the African population itself has declared its readiness to accept any hardship in preference to racist oppression.

Pakistan is totally committed to the early eradication of apartheid. We were among the first nations to raise our voice against it and have fully participated in the efforts of the international community to rid South Africa of this oppressive system. We will continue to extend all possible moral and material support to the liberation movements in their heroic struggle for freedom, equality and human dignity. As the President of Pakistan stated in a message this year on the occasion of the international Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners:

"Inspired by the precepts of Islam, it is our firm belief that the struggle against indignity and injustice waged by the majority population of South Africa will soon be crowned with success and culminate in the realization of their cherished ideals of liberty, freedom and equality."

This is the verdict of justice and history inscribed in the blood of the martyrs of South Africa.

It is imperative that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations be imposed. Piecemeal efforts will not bear any fruit. Accordingly, the delegation of Pakistan fully endorses the recommendations made by the Special Committee against Apartheid in its report to the General Assembly.

Mr. MAITHA (Kenya): At the outset let me take this opportunity to thank the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their informative and well-prepared report. My delegation wishes to associate itself with, and express its support for, all the Committee's recommendations to the General Assembly.

Reviewing the current developments in South Africa documented in the Special Committee's report, we find that the racist régime has further intensified its repression against opponents of apartheid, using such measures as repeated states of emergency, arrests, detentions, torture, violence and forced population removals, such as the one now in progress involving the town of Oukasie, as reported by The New York Times on 3 November. As usual, the régime has taken measures to prevent news of the increased resistance to apartheid reaching the outside world.

The General Assembly at this forty-first session finds itself once again dealing with an agenda item that has been dealt with repeatedly at many past sessions. It has also been dealt with by many organs of this Organization, representing the international community, in conferences and seminars all over the world. It has been so repeatedly dealt with, not because of a lack of suitable peaceful proposals for a solution of the problem, but simply because the racist régime in South Africa has refused to heed the will of the international community and implement United Nations decisions and resolutions which have sought the realization of a peaceful settlement of the problem posed by apartheid. The failure of the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations can, to say the least, bring about horrible havoc for South Africa and the entire continent of Africa.

Despite many repeated efforts and attempts to persuade the Government of South Africa to abandon apartheid, the racist régime tenaciously and with the utmost

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arrogance has persisted in applying and entrenching the system of racial discrimination. The apparatus for so doing has been firmly institutionalized and its effectiveness, buttressed by brutality internally and in Namibia, has been perfected. Externally, intimidation, destabilization and outright aggression against neighbouring African States has increasingly become the favoured State policy in defence of apartheid, at a time when the international community and the United Nations are fervently appealing to South Africa to heed world public opinion and the decisions of the United Nations.

The measures being continuously taken by the racist régime and the position of the international community constitute two irreconcilable positions diametrically opposed to each other. From this it can be seen that the options available to the international community are either that the United Nations will be forced to succumb to the defiance of the racist régime or that the United Nations will have to take decisive measures to force the racist régime to abandon its apartheid policies.

The racist régime certainly has no intention of abandoning apartheid and reconciling itself with the international community and its own people in South Africa. It must be said that the régime has taken the option of defying United Nations resolutions, and internally it has taken the option of unremitting ruthless oppression and repression of all voices opposed to apartheid. At the same time, tricks and manoeuvres have been designed to deceive the international community, or at least those who accept the régime's gimmicks, into believing that a process of change is being implemented.

The repression and oppression that the black people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid have been subjected to are totally inhuman and intolerable, especially when one considers the many repressive and oppressive pieces of legislation that the racist régime has enacted to ensure that all opponents of the

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system of apartheid are perpetually silenced in prisons or through the mechanics of intimidation and terror. Hence the international community, as represented by the United Nations, has no alternative but to use coercive measures to ensure the eradication of apartheid, thereby discharging its obligations under the Charter.

An explosive situation is now building up in South Africa, threatening international peace and security, as a result of the continued existence of the evil system of apartheid. We have witnessed over the years the serious reprisals against the oppressed people of South Africa whenever they have dared to lift up their voices against the evil system of apartheid. We have also seen aggressive attacks against the front-line States. This matter does not need much elaboration, for such incidents as those which took place in Sharpeville, Soweto and Crossroads, and are now engulfing the entire southern Africa region, are well known to most, if not all, of us. However, let me underline the fact that the system of apartheid remains a cause of anguish to the conscience of all civilized men. It violates all those universal principles of human dignity and conduct which the United Nations has been authorized to codify and harness. It affronts the very foundation of international law and justice. Moreover, it has been scrutinized thoroughly by various organs of the United Nations and Governments all over the world, and rallies and international seminars have been held to express and manifest unambiguously international rejection of the system of apartheid. It is now abundantly clear, more than ever before, that the international community has universally rejected the system of apartheid.

Had the racist régime been willing to heed international public opinion, it would by now have abandoned the application of apartheid policies. But that is not the case. Therefore, the entire international community is called upon to join hands in order to help destroy the evil monster of apartheid, for its architects are neither willing nor able to carry out the measures necessary to eradicate it.



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My delegation has no doubt that by now a consensus has emerged at the international level that the system of apartheid must be dismantled and eliminated. But we have doubts as to whether all Governments, particularly Governments having relations with the racist régime, want this system of apartheid dismantled and eliminated. Various measures have been proposed to accelerate the demise and destruction of apartheid, but such measures have all along met the stubborn resistance of the racist régime, aided and abetted by those who have chosen to compromise with apartheid.

We cannot fail to mention that even the Security Council has failed to agree unanimously on measures to undo apartheid, owing to the resistance mounted by those who have put their selfish interests ahead of the interests of the international community, and indeed the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa. We reiterate our firm belief that all countries and peoples, particularly those represented here, have a moral duty to waive their selfish interests in South Africa and do their utmost to assist the total destruction of the abhorrent apartheid system in that country.

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I wish, in this connection, to take this opportunity to appeal to all those who have in the past opposed measures against South Africa to desist from doing so and to support the international call to have the United Nations Security Council impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa on account of its arrogant defiance of the will of the international community that apartheid be dismantled, destroyed and eliminated. Even those who have earlier opted for other methods of dealing with apartheid, such as the so-called constructive engagement, can by now see the futility of their options. We expect and appeal to everyone to lend a helping hand in the concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. In its place we anticipate the establishment of a genuinely democratic system of government brought about through elections on the basis of one man, one vote. We also anticipate the establishment of a non-racial social and political system in South Africa once apartheid is eliminated.

I wish to re-emphasize the fact that in South Africa today various repressive measures are being taken by the racist régime against all those who are opposed to apartheid and especially the black population of that country. The recent declaration of a state of emergency in black townships and districts is but one of these measures. Needless to say, the severity and barbarity imposed against the black population in order to silence it has in effect exacerbated the problem. Now, escalated political riots and social violence have gripped the whole country. This in itself is a clear manifestation of the rejection of apartheid and, moreover, a reflection that the patience of the oppressed people has been exhausted. We are aware that in this liberation struggle supreme sacrifices are being made by the oppressed people of South Africa and that such sacrifices will continue to be made until the system of apartheid is eradicated. It is our hope that the United Nations and indeed the rest of the international community will not

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confine itself to the role of onlooker. The least that we should do is assist those struggling against apartheid by ensuring that the Security Council adopts measures as recently recommended by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa. By so doing, the international community will have taken a significant step that will speed the inevitable change that is bound to take place in South Africa. On the part of the people and Government of Kenya, our resolve to continue unwaveringly our solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against oppression, exploitation and the denial of the right to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination remains undiminished. We, therefore, condemn the whole structure of apartheid and demand the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and other oppressive measures enacted by the racist régime, the immediate unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees so that they can participate fully in the political process in South Africa, the lifting of the ban on the liberation movements operating inside and outside South Africa, and the immediate and complete dismantling and eradication of apartheid.

In this struggle against apartheid the genuine support of every Member of the United Nations is needed if success is to be realized soon. We would, therefore, wish to appeal to all Governments to enforce all the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in respect of the struggle against apartheid. South Africa should be completely isolated in all fields. Those who have dealings in any form with the racist régime in South Africa should desist from them. We should particularly like to see continued withdrawal of foreign investments in South Africa, including abrogation of economic and trade relations with South Africa, non-supply of oil and oil products, non-dealing in the military field and non-supply of arms to South Africa, in accordance with Security Council

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resolution 418 (1977) on the mandatory arms embargo, including the cessation of collaboration in the transfer of nuclear-weapon technology to South Africa and cessation of cultural and sport engagements with South Africa. In total, we should like to see a genuine acceptance by all to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We consider that sanctions faithfully implemented would constitute a major advantageous element in the ongoing struggle against apartheid. We are already witnessing major reactions in South Africa as a result of the stepped-up struggle against apartheid both internally and externally. In this respect, I wish, in conclusion to commend the liberation movements of South Africa for the brave way in which they have carried on the struggle during the past year and to assure them of the support of the Government and people of Kenya.

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The international community has, quite rightly, passed judgement on the loathsome apartheid system, describing it as a crime against humanity. By the same token, the international community has quite rightly described zionism as a racist movement. The apartheid régime was established and continues to rest on the pillars of the policy of racial discrimination imposed on the native population constituting the majority in South Africa, thus contravening all the rules of human dignity. That régime, pursues a policy of oppression and organized terrorism, killings, persecution of innocent people, arrests and detentions without justification, coercion, expulsions, aggression, torture, deprivation and the repeated imposition of a state of emergency.

This policy of racial discrimination is being pursued despite the many resolutions adopted, despite the good intentions expressed and despite the protests of the overwhelming majority of the international community. The racist régime

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turns a deaf ear to the repeated appeals and resolutions of the international community. The Pretoria régime has totally ignored the appeals of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held from 16 to 20 June 1986 in Paris, and the resolutions of the Vienna Conference on Immediate Independence for Namibia. It has also ignored the resolutions adopted at the summit conference of non-aligned countries held in Harare last September, as well as the conclusions reached at the summit conference of non-aligned countries held last July. It has similarly ignored the resolutions of the special session of the General Assembly held this summer and the conference held last September.

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It pays no heed to resolutions calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to be imposed against South Africa.

In fact it is small wonder that the apartheid régime is turning a deaf ear to all this censure. As pointed out on page 44 of document A/41/341, the fact that certain Western countries, Israel, and certain transnational corporations are continuing to collaborate with the racist South African régime encourages the latter to pursue its policy, and this frustrates the efforts of the oppressed peoples and the international community as a whole to eliminate apartheid, bring independence to Namibia and establish peace and security in southern Africa.

Continued support for the racist régime by those playing a double game, uttering verbal condemnations of South Africa while at the same time supporting it, enables the South African régime to survive. While invoking the pretext of the iniquitous constructive engagement policy, while pretending that they do not want to inflict harm on the blacks, these hypocrites are the first to shed crocodile tears about human rights violations, adopting the Nazi doctrine that the big lie will eventually be believed. It is perfectly clear what part is being played by what we might call the twin of the Pretoria régime, that is to say the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, which is based on the same precepts as the Pretoria régime. Paragraph 3 of document A/41/22/Add.1 points out that the most serious aspect of the collaboration between Israel and the Pretoria régime relates to nuclear matters. Israel is considered as a principal conduit of arms to South Africa since the imposition of the arms embargo and has provided South Africa with technology and know-how to develop its arms industry. This is hardly surprising, since both régimes are racists. Both were created by white settlers from abroad, and that is indeed why these bastard régimes are in fact two sides of the same coin. As stated in the political declaration issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries last April:

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"The Ministers noted with great concern the increasing co-operation between the racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria. They noted the similarity of repressive measures such as the policy of the iron fist and hot pursuit practised by both régimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, southern Lebanon and the Arab lands occupied by Israel. The Ministers called upon States to refrain from co-operation with the régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the nuclear field, since such co-operation constitutes a threat to international peace and security. They also recalled the resolutions adopted by the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly which reaffirmed its condemnation of the continuing nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa and expressed its awareness of the grave consequences for international peace and security of Israel's collaboration with South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems." (A/41/341 p. 44)

According to the report on relations between Israel and South Africa by the Special Committee against Apartheid, a paper submitted to the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa stated:

"A further potentially very dangerous conduit for South Africa is Israel because of its intimate co-operation in the nuclear and military fields; in the reverse direction it can be used to funnel South African exports into the European Economic Community." (A/41/22/Add.1, para. 9)

That report goes on to say that in a paper submitted to the Seminar on the arms embargo, Signe Landgren of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) stated that:

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"Israel is of course the closest contact for South Africa in the Middle East. South Africa has supplied large amounts of hardware, and also military volunteers during Israel's wars with its Arab neighbours after 1948."

(para. 10)

Paragraph 19 of the same report tells us that Yitzhak Shamir, the present Prime Minister of the terrorist, racist entity, stated in September 1985 that relations between his country - if indeed he ever represented one - and South Africa would continue to grow. Then he added: "We are not going to change the character of our relations with South Africa".

It is impossible to disclose all the facets of the collaboration between these two racist entities. I have referred only to certain aspects that reveal the aggressive and Zionist nature of these two monsters, whose very existence constitutes an affront to human dignity as we stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century. All this is taking place at a time when the international community is making concerted efforts to end the odious apartheid régime imposed on the black African majority by a minority of white racist settlers, with the backing of a handful of Western countries that are trying to hold back the current of history and frustrate the will of the peoples. Even worse, those countries have resorted to the veto not only in the Security Council, but even in their own parliaments, acting against the will of their own people, as we have seen in recent weeks.

We have said before that the international community was ready to put an end to this loathsome régime, but we note the deplorable fact that the racist Zionist entity increases its collaboration with the Pretoria régime each time international pressure grows greater.



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The report previously cited states:

"According to a report in Business Day (Johannesburg) of 19 November 1985, South African imports from Israel increased by 15 per cent ... between January and May 1985. South African exports to Israel increased during the same period by 53 per cent." (para. 22)

Those figures exclude diamonds and gold traded through London, and arms sales. If those items were included Israel would rank as one of South Africa's main training partners.

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There is only one peaceful way out of the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa, and this is by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions upon South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is up to the Security Council, as the United Nations body responsible for international peace-keeping and for the maintenance of international peace and security, to shoulder its responsibility by taking the measures required and thus imposing sanctions. The permanent members of the Security Council must cease paralysing the will of the international community by abusing their right of veto. These members must submit to the will of the international community; otherwise they will be viewed as merely an extension of the apartheid régime.

If such obstruction of the will of the international community continues through the use of the veto, the international community will have to assume its responsibilities and intensify its aid to the armed struggle in southern Africa.

By the same token, the international community must increase its assistance to and support for the front-line countries to enable them to cope with attacks and aggression from the racist and Zionist entities.

Finally, I should like to pay particular tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the chairmanship of our colleague and friend, Ambassador Joseph Garba from Nigeria, for the information it has provided.

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

Mr. JOFFE (Israel): As the debate continues on apartheid and the policies of the Government of South Africa unfolds, Israel continues to be singled out by some Member States.

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A most striking example is the statement of the delegation of the USSR today. A copy of the statement was distributed to all representatives in plenary while the speech was delivered. In the distributed copy there was no mention of Israel. When Mr. Kutovoy reached page 5, he stated that South Africa's military build-up and its nuclear potential had become possible because of "leading Western countries", verbally adding at the last second "and also Israel". This is very enlightening.

One could have hoped, on the basis of the written text of the Soviet statement that the Soviet Union was adopting a more responsible approach to the problem of apartheid. One would have hoped that this approach would deal not with fiction but with facts, facts that the Soviet Union possesses directly.

Yesterday, we pointed out that the United Nations had issued a report on South Africa's nuclear weapons capability. The report (A/CONF.137/CRP.7) was distributed as an official document at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, in Paris last June. One of the experts was from the USSR - Mr. Vladimir Kulagin. As we stated, certain countries are mentioned in the report, in the context of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. Israel is not among them. The official text of the Soviet statement distributed today was correct in its original version. There is no basis whatsoever for the singling out of Israel in the nuclear field or in any other field. But, as the saying goes, those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

We regret that the Soviet Union joins those who shamelessly abuse the struggle against apartheid to make groundless accusations against my country. My delegation pointed out yesterday the enormous oil shipments to South Africa from the Persian Gulf amounting to \$US 2 billion annually. And this includes, of course, shipments from the United Arab Emirates. Incidentally, the representative of the United Arab Emirates quoted this evening from the statement of the Foreign Minister of Congo,

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equating Israel with Nazi Germany, which the Minister made on the first day of the special session on Namibia. May I remind him that the Foreign Minister of Congo has officially offered his excuses, saying that the whole thing was a misunderstanding. The President of Congo confirmed his Minister's excuses, and Israel sees this unfortunate affair as closed. All the relevant documents and declarations are a matter of public domain. An experienced diplomat's first rule is to be careful and follow closely all developments taking place in our General Assembly.

And now going back to South Africa's real trade links, we did not mention, however, another country engaged in substantial trade with South Africa - the Soviet Union. The commercial relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa have also been shrouded in secrecy. For over 20 years, these two countries have been engaged in a most lucrative trade in the marketing of diamonds, gold and platinum. There is a very simple economic reason for this collusion between them. South Africa and the Soviet Union control over 80 per cent of the world's gold, diamonds and platinum. They have a common interest in keeping world prices of these commodities as high as possible.

The publication in the Africa Report of April 1986 describes how, in 1956, a secret agreement was signed between Soviet representatives and DeBeers, which guaranteed to buy the entire Soviet production of gem-quality diamonds. In 1978 DeBeers stated that it had paid the USSR \$700 million yearly, and a Soviet official boasted that diamond marketing was his country's "foreign exchange department". DeBeers also stated that the only reason to conceal this deal was that Russia preferred it that way.

But as the Africa Report goes on to stress, collusion between South Africa and the USSR is not restricted to diamonds. Such collaboration was soon established for gold and platinum as well.

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(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

As we stated yesterday, distortion and singling out have no place anywhere, especially not in a struggle whose inherent nobility and moral soundness deserve the utmost respect.

Once again we appeal for objectivity and responsibility. There is no place and no basis for a draft resolution dealing supposedly with relations between Israel and South Africa. Fair-minded countries should vote on Monday against such a draft resolution and all other forms of name-calling and singling out.

The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has requested to make a statement in reply. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): The Palestine Liberation Organization has refrained from asking to speak in the debate only in reference to the statement that would be made by the national liberation movement of the Territory under the alien occupation of the racist régime of South Africa. However, we have asked to speak to rectify a few mistakes that have been made here.

The representative of Tel Aviv addressed this Assembly and said:

"Our trade with South Africa is minuscule; it is about \$100 million annually ...". (A/41/PV.59, p. 72)

I wonder whether he expected the General Assembly to believe what he told us, because on 5 August 1986 The Washington Post published the following facts about Israeli exports:

"Diamonds, \$1,200 million; textiles, \$450 million; iron, \$358 million; fruit, \$245 million."

This is a total of \$2,253 million per year.

What I am keen on showing here is the export of diamonds to the value of \$1,200 million. I am a Palestinian, and I never knew that in Palestine we had

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diamonds for export to the value of \$1,200 million each year, and this is not shown within the \$100 million that the Israeli representative mentioned.

Where does Israel get those diamonds? We know that it steals them from Namibia, brings them to Tel Aviv or Natanya, polishes them and sells them on the international markets. Of course, it does not show in the books - but this is property stolen from the Namibian people, or they just refrain from showing it in their books. This is something that we really wanted the General Assembly to take note of in connection with the trade between the two régimes, which amounts to \$2,253 million, not \$100 million, a year.

Again, the economic co-operation between the two racist régimes was very well exemplified when, on 12 August of this year, an Israeli trade delegation visited South Africa and reported that Pretoria was seeking an economic lifeline to side-step Western anti-apartheid sanctions. The representative of Israel spoke about South Africa's lifeline, but the real lifeline, apparently, is the South Africa-Israeli economic relation. We all know that the visit of that Israeli trade delegation was meant to sidestep Western anti-apartheid sanctions and render, ineffective any sanctions that might be imposed by the Western world and the entire world against the racist régime.

A paper in South Africa called "the Jewish State" - and this is a quotation, because it is not a Jewish State, it is a Zionist structure - "a potential lifeline for a sanctions-hit South Africa", and it is a sanctions-busting exercise.

If reference is to be made to the relations between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, one should always realize the following. In April of 1985 the United States and Israel signed a free-trade agreement under the terms of which the opportunity would be created for the re-export duty-free to the United States of South African products if they had a 35 per cent added value in Israel. So not only do they steal from the South African people, particularly in the field of

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diamonds and other such things, but they want to get 35 per cent interest on that stolen property.

Furthermore there is a partnership between South Africa and Israel which was formed to operate outside what is called the defence field. Nobody seems to know what that partnership is in the defence field, but outside the defence field that partnership is to establish for the South African Department of Post and Telecommunications a project to develop an electronic concentrator and a trunk line doubling service which will help the international subversive work of the two racist régimes. But, more serious, there is a project to establish a South African laser material processing centre. This is very serious as we all know what the laser development means in the military field, as well as in other fields. We are informed that there is a project being investigated jointly to develop a pilotless aircraft. The racist régime in Tel Aviv tried to bring some very young intellectuals from South Africa under the label of trade unions, the Histadrut trade unions. The result - and I take it from the mouths of those South Africans, particularly the co-founder of the Soweto Committee, Chairman of the Teachers Action Committee - was this:

"The South African Government says Israel is on its side. So many blacks believe that Israel cannot side with the black community at the same time, but Israel is among the countries that sell weapons to South Africa, which kills blacks with them, including three-year-old children."

I do not think I need go any further in exposing the relationship between the two racist régimes and the threat it poses to the civilized world and to international peace and security.

Mr. LEVCHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I consider it necessary to exercise my right of reply in connection with



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assertions made by the representative of Israel with regard to alleged economic ties between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and South Africa.

I am not going to dwell on the factual aspect of the matter, because the question as such does not even exist. Everyone is aware that the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa as long ago as 1956, and at the beginning of the 1960s, that is, before the well-known decisions were taken by the United Nations, it broke off trade, economic, cultural, sports, tourist, and other types of relations. In other words, the USSR has in practice, consistently and unswervingly, for many years been imposing a boycott against the South African Government as well as sanctions whose adoption is so stubbornly opposed by certain Western countries - including Israel - and their partners in the contact group.

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It is the other aspect of the matter that deserves attention. What is the purpose, in this case, of the patently false assertions being made about the existence of ties between the USSR and South Africa? Why are these spurious accusations being made precisely by those who are doing everything in their power to strengthen the racists? It is clear that this is but another attempt to use all possible means to discredit the frank policy of the Soviet Union, as well as that of other countries, who are actively working to eradicate centres of racism and colonialism. It is an attempt to foment interference in their affairs and to attain the main goal, namely, to divert the attention of world public opinion from the systematic support being provided by these countries and Israel to the racist régime of Pretoria in its criminal actions. The extensive ties in all spheres, including military co-operation, maintained by Israel with South Africa are well known not only to the United Nations but also to other international bodies.

In any case, the Israeli delegation is not in a position to moralize about how other countries should observe and heed United Nations appeals to boycott the racist régime in South Africa.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.