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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-THIRD MEETING

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

<u>President:</u>	Mr. MATTURI (Vice-President)	(Sierra Leone)
later:	Mr. HENAR (Vice-President)	(Suriname)

- 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
 - (e) Report of the Fifth Committee

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Matturi (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/41/22 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/41/506 and Add.1-3, A/41/638, A/41/890)
- (c) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/41/779)
- (d) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/41/L.24, A/41/L.25 and Corr.1, A/41/L.26 and Corr.1, A/41/L.27 to A/41/L.31)
- (e) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/41/810)

Mr. ESZTERGALYOS (Hungary): The world's attention has many times, from this rostrum, been drawn to the deteriorating situation in southern Africa, which is posing a threat to both regional and international security. Let the repetition of this fact be a reminder for those who, in disregard of the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa, continue the suppression and subjugation of the black population in that country. With the declaration on 12 June 1986 of a new country-wide state of emergency, the South African régime gave evidence of its determination to maintain the minority rule and economic privileges at whatever cost in lives and well-being to the majority of the country's inhabitants.

Since 1984 more than 2,000 people have been killed and as many as 10,000 persons have been detained without charge or trial under the emergency powers. It is increasingly clear that the régime cannot cope with the internal crisis - a crisis which is, incidentally, of its own making.

Since January 1986 the South African Government has claimed that it is pursuing a major reform programme. A key aspect of that programme is the repeal of the so-called "pass laws", which have been used to control the lives and movements

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

of the majority of South Africans. The cornerstone of the system is the maldistribution of land under the so-called Land Acts: as little as 13 per cent for the black majority constituting 75 per cent of South Africans. This policy of bantustanization forced the majority of the population into designated areas. In April 1986 the régime announced its plan to abolish influx control and the pass laws, but that was not the first time such an announcement had been made. On previous occasions, however, the announcement was followed by the publication of draft legislation actually tightening influx control, so it is obvious that the measures I have mentioned - just like the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment as well as the so-called constitutional reform or the introduction of the three-chamber system of parliament - have nothing to do with political power held firmly by the so-called Afrikaners. The true nature of the régime is amply demonstrated by the fact that when the divide-and-rule formula no longer works the apartheid régime resorts to its police and military forces.

South Africa's military build-up continues to be a cause of deep concern to the international community. The sophisticated weapons arsenal for the regular army of some 84,000 strong, as well as its nuclear capability, are still being modernized through the channels of foreign arms and high-technology deliveries, despite the prohibitions imposed by Security Council resolutions adopted in 1963, 1970 and 1977. There is no need to prove the economic importance of South African minerals in view of the relationship maintained by those who are deeply involved through huge economic investments.

There has been no change for the better in the conduct of Pretoria in the international field either. Besides making every effort to divide the oppressed at home, the South African régime is using the same means of economic blackmail or military attacks against neighbouring States in order to force them into accepting

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

the rules dictated by South Africa. Pretoria, violating as it does the bilateral agreements signed with its neighbours, continues its indirect interventions through its proxies like the discredited Savimbi, whose bandits are financed and supported by the régime. It is continuing the policy of aggression and destabilization against all its neighbours, as we have all witnessed in Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In such circumstances, in the absence of strong international pressure the régime will continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of armed aggression against the front-line States.

The South African régime is able to uphold its policy of apartheid in the awareness of its military power and the economic influence it exerts in the region with the support of some foreign interests.

The sad succession of Pretoria's attempts to salvage its régime has demonstrated time and again that intention to act is by itself insufficient to bring about a radical change in the substance of the régime with a view to the final elimination of apartheid.

Certain countries or groups of countries have also taken various measures against the racist régime. Though we support those measures and sanctions, they do not seem to be enough. The gravity of the situation calls for more - that is, comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The Member States of the Security Council have a special responsibility to act in that respect, since nothing but increased international pressure will deliver a clear message to Pretoria that the shameful system of apartheid in South Africa must be eradicated. What is needed is joint action and, as a first step, a decision on how to deal with this complicated question.

It is our firm belief that comprehensive mandatory sanctions, the unity and struggle of South Africa's liberation movements and the efforts of the

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

anti-apartheid organizations will together be able to achieve the total elimination of the shameful apartheid system and the emergence of a just, non-racial democratic society in South Africa, the independence of Namibia, and peace and tranquillity in the southern part of Africa. The realization of those goals represents a long-standing challenge to the effectiveness of the world Organization.

My country, which is a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, considers the system of apartheid as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security; we therefore support the effort of the Special Committee to mobilize world public opinion against the racist system. The seminars, conferences and other meetings initiated, organized or co-sponsored by the Special Committee have, in our view, contributed successfully towards the attainment of that goal.

In conclusion let me express our full support to and solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, led by its liberation movements. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic reaffirms its commitment to stand by the majority population of South Africa and by the front-line States in their struggle for the attainment of their noble objectives, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The twelve months which have passed since this Assembly last considered the apartheid item have seen a dramatic intensification of the struggle of the people of South Africa for the rights denied them for so long by their unrepresentative and misguided Government.

The situation in South Africa has deteriorated seriously, and there has been an increase in the level and extent of violence in that unfortunate country. Because of the continued obduracy of South Africa's rulers, many of its people have felt compelled to resort to violence to achieve their reasonable objectives. In principle we do not condone such activity, but my Government will not condemn them for doing so. There is a natural and understandable reaction to the oppression they face.

It is clear, however, that, because of South Africa's military strength and legal repression, these efforts by South Africans will be insufficient to force the Pretoria Government to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. It is equally clear that sustained international pressure is required to bring apartheid to an end. The Australian Government has been active on this issue and has carefully considered how it can best assist and participate in this growing pressure on Pretoria. Our starting point has been our detestation and condemnation of apartheid, a system of injustice which is foreign to Australia's egalitarian approach to life. Our very firm opposition is a matter of record.

In response to the worsening situation in South Africa, we have examined carefully means by which our opposition to apartheid could be translated into effective and concrete action. Australia has taken a series of steps, both at the national and at the multilateral level. In so doing, we have worked closely with like-minded countries, particularly in the Commonwealth, in order to maximize the effects of our actions on South Africa.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Let me outline some of the measures we have taken. They include the promotion of a code of conduct for Australian companies operating in South Africa to ensure that they do not exploit the injustices of the apartheid system. The code, for example, stipulates that there should be no racial segregation at the workplace and that there should be racial equality in recruitment, employment, wages, training and promotion. Other measures taken are: the denial of entry to Australia of South African sporting teams and the active discouragement by the Australian Government of travel to South Africa by Australian teams; the prohibition of exports to South Africa of petroleum and petroleum products, computer hardware equipment and any other products known to be of use to the South African security forces; the banning of the import to Australia of krugerrands and all other coins minted in South Africa; the prohibition of direct investment in Australia by the South African Government and its agencies and the suspension of all new investment in South Africa by Australian Government and public authorities; and participation in the Group of Eminent Persons set up by the Nassau Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October 1985 in response to an Australian initiative.

The report of the Group of Eminent Persons was considered at a meeting of seven Commonwealth countries in London last August. The participants were Australia, Bahamas, Canada, India, the United Kingdom, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Six of the seven participants, including Australia, agreed to take the following further sanctions against South Africa: a ban on air links with South Africa; a ban on new investment in South Africa; a ban on the import of agricultural goods from South Africa; the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa; the termination of all government assistance to investment in, and trade with, South Africa; a ban on all new bank loans to South Africa; a ban on all government procurement in South Africa, on the promotion of tourism to South Africa and on

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

government contracts with majority-owned South African companies; a ban on the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa; and the withdrawal of all consular facilities in South Africa except those with nationals of the country concerned.

My Government is now engaged in implementing those sanctions. Some of them are already in force, and others are being implemented. For example, on 31 October the Australian Government gave notice to the South African Government of the termination of the air services agreement between Australia and South Africa. I should add that QANTAS, the Australian airline, has not flown to South Africa for some years, having chosen to fly to and from Harare.

On the larger question of action against South Africa through the United Nations, we have been equally active, especially during our current membership of the Security Council. Australia supported Security Council resolution 569 (1985), and we have implemented its terms. We have voted for draft resolutions in the Security Council calling for the imposition of selective mandatory sanctions against South Africa, which unfortunately, were vetoed. My Government is on record as being willing to support mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Australia will continue to play its part in international efforts in the hope of encouraging a process of peaceful change towards a multiracial, democratic South Africa. We are convinced that effective and concerted action by the international community is necessary to persuade the South African Government of the need for fundamental change. We also believe that international action will be made more effective if those of us having major trade relations with South Africa take strong measures of our own and make clear our readiness to impose further measures if South Africa does not make genuine reforms.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Australia is encouraged by the sanction actions taken by some of our Commonwealth and Western partners. This is, we hope, evidence of the emergence of a clearer international consensus on action concerning South Africa; but there is scope for further co-operation. We wish to concert with others on the application of the range of measures adopted by the Commonwealth and other countries, thus reinforcing their impact. It is our hope that there will soon be a broad international commitment to sanctions and that the sacrifice of some will not be exploited by the commercial self-interest of others.

Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): Apartheid is a modern-day symbol of evil. The whole world agrees that it is outrageous for 27 million of our fellow human beings to suffer cruel abuse and denial of their basic human rights only because of the pigment of their skin.

Yet, even those who know the meaning of the term "apartheid" find the reality of it quite shocking when seeing it at first hand. This is what happened to the members of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons who visited South Africa recently. They said in their report:

"None of us was prepared for the full reality of apartheid. As a contrivance of social engineering, it is awesome in its cruelty. It is achieved and sustained only through force, creating human misery and deprivation and blighting the lives of millions. The degree to which apartheid has divided and compartmentalized South African society is nothing short of astounding."

In the face of this universal and growing condemnation of apartheid, the South African régime has been forced to find new means of disguising the old forms of oppression. It has tried to refine the laws. But the end result is a complicated legal system which is well described by Joseph Lelyveld in his new book

Move Your Shadow: I shall quote one paragraph from the book:

"South Africa's racial laws is not a body of law really but a tangle of legalisms designed to maximize the power of officialdom and minimize the defenses of the individual, a labyrinth of words the meanings of which are determined by the white functionaries who administer it. Thus blacks are either 'qualified' or 'disqualified' for residence in 'prescribed' urban areas. Even if they are 'qualified', they must have 'authorized recommendation' in which only their 'bona fide dependents' are eligible to live. Officials qualify, disqualify, authorize and prescribe, and

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

ultimately decide what all these terms mean... . Definitions and statistics are elastic, impossible to pin down, but it is indisputable that most of the land is 'prescribed' and most blacks are 'disqualified'."

Fortunately, however, despite these elaborate attempts to disguise the continuation of apartheid, events in 1986 have served to confirm that South Africa is fighting a futile battle in its effort to preserve apartheid. The decision, for example, by South Africa's Orthodox Dutch Reformed Church to withdraw its theological sanction of apartheid is significant. That same body which once formulated the scriptural justification for apartheid has now admitted that it was an error and that racial discrimination is a sin. The majority of pro-reform supporters agree that viewed in the context of the Church's history, this could represent the erosion of one of the main pillars of apartheid. The Christian Science Monitor also noted on 28 October 1986 that this is "an unravelling of the ideology of apartheid in its last and most important preserve".

Another significant development in 1986 was the decision of the United States Congress to approve further sanctions against South Africa. The ban on both public and private new United States loans and investments, imports of food, uranium, coal, textiles, iron and steel and kruggerands could represent movement in the direction of comprehensive sanctions.

At the same time, independently of the decision of the United States Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa, American businessmen have indicated that they are beginning to become weary of apartheid. Since mid-August 1986, at least 13 American companies have in some way pulled out of South Africa. Among them were International Business Machines and General Motors, two of the world's largest corporations. Their frustrations over their South African operations are reflected in a letter written by the Chairman of General Motors, Mr. Roger Smith, published

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

in The New York Times of 30 October 1986. In explaining his Company's withdrawal, he said:

"GM's South African operations have been losing money for several years. A major portion of the troubles was generated by the existence of apartheid.

South Africa still lagged behind world opinion and unfolding events. ...

Since the South African economy is closely tied to political developments, chances of a near term improvement in that deeply depressed economy seemed equally dim."

Mr. Smith's linkage between the continuation of apartheid and the continued weakness if not deterioration of the South African economy is a linkage that we in the world need to reinforce. The South African régime must be left in no doubt that as long as it persists with apartheid, it will continue to pay a heavy political and economic price.

But that is not the only reason why sanctions need to be imposed. The choice for us who live in the rest of the world is not between sanctions and no sanctions; the choice is between sanctions and an inevitable violent explosion. Those who oppose the imposition of sanctions in South Africa are only serving to make a violent dénouement more inevitable. This point was made forcefully by Ambassador Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in his address to the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa in Paris in June this year, when he said:

"The purpose of sanctions was neither to ruin the South African economy nor to punish the people of the country. Such, on the contrary, would be the consequences if the South African crisis were allowed to fester and come to a head. The objective of the mandatory and comprehensive sanctions was to bring

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

effective pressure to bear upon the South African régime in order for it to turn back from the road to disaster and the point of no return before it is too late."

Here I would like to add that my delegation hopes that when we consider the sanctions to be imposed on South Africa, some attention will be paid to two vital sectors of the South African economy - its gold and diamond industry.

Half of South Africa's \$15 billion in foreign exchange comes from gold and diamond exports. A concerted international effort to force down the prices of these two commodities would hit the South African economy badly. Those who have any doubts about this should read E. J. Epstein's book, entitled The Death of the Diamond: The coming collapse in diamond prices". Another big export earner for South Africa is coal. Almost 60 per cent of South Africa's coal exports went to Europe in 1985. Coal prices are already weakening because of competition from falling oil prices. South Africa will find it hard to increase its coal sales outside Europe against the competition of other exporters. Hence, a complete ban on the importation of South African coal would impose another major strain on the South African economy.

The tragedy, however, in South Africa is that even as the sanctions and other economic measures begin to bite, the Pretoria régime has opted to intensify repression at home and aggression against its neighbours. The New York Times of 28 September 1986, citing estimates by civil rights monitoring groups, reported that more than 15,000 people have been detained since the Emergency proclaimed in June 1986. About 3,000 of these were 16 years old or younger. Thousands more are held under statutory security laws. Another report in the Star of 6 September stated that, of the more than 2,700 trade unionists detained during the Emergency, only four have been charged.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

During the Emergency, local police commanders exercised a large degree of autonomy resulting in random brutality. Many detainees were subject to the excesses of Pretoria's poorly-trained and highly politicized police force. From Sharpeville to Soweto to Uitenhaage, the lesson has always been the same: the chief threat to law and order in South Africa is from anarchic policemen. To hide these atrocities the Pretoria régime has also imposed regulations to circumscribe media coverage of police brutalities in black residential areas of unrest.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Besides suppressing internal dissent, the racist régime has conducted vindictive attacks on the States neighbouring it. In a letter dated 23 October to the Secretary-General, the Permanent Representative of Botswana reported recent violations of up to 60 kilometres into Botswana's territory by South African armed forces. In another letter, dated 21 October, the Permanent Representative of Zambia transmitted the Maputo Declaration, which states that

"Terrorists recruited, trained, organized, directed, financed, supplied and transported by South Africa attack front-line States ... They massacre ... loot, pillage [and commit numerous other atrocities]".

(A/41/737, annex, para. 3)

We do not know what South Africa hopes to accomplish with its continued process of repression and aggression. Perhaps the white South Africans are trying to prove that under pressure the Afrikaners will rally beyond the stockaded wagons of the laager. Reaching back into its history, South Africa has tried to recreate the legends of the great trek, the legends of the laager mentality and the legends of the Boers circling their wagons to fight against great odds, to prove to themselves and the outside world that they are a stubborn and invincible race. Stubborn they may be: invincible they are not.

For this is no longer the nineteenth century. We stand here on the eve of the twenty-first century, and the Afrikaners cannot pretend any longer that they can shut themselves off from the outside world. This point was made by the Conservative British magazine, The Economist, which, in its issue of 1 February 1986, stated:

"The idea that Afrikaners are so different from anybody else that, if kicked, they are bound to go backwards underestimates the intelligence and overestimates the do-or-die heroism of modern Afrikaners, 90 per cent of whom

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

are no longer bible-thumping boers. Like their English-speaking white compatriots, they have become part of the spoilt, affluent, suburban society, whose economic-pain threshold may prove to be rather low. That, at any rate, seems to be the message of the white response to the black consumer boycotts". Instead of continuing with its futile policy of repression and aggression, the Pretoria régime should heed the advice given by the Commonwealth Heads of Government and implement the five steps which the North-South summit requested it to undertake. These were: first, dismantle the system of apartheid; secondly, terminate the existing state of emergency; thirdly, release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and other political leaders; fourthly, establish political freedom and lift the existing ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political parties; and, fifthly, initiate a process of dialogue with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative Government.

Those steps should, we believe, be implemented immediately, and if there is any trace at all of political wisdom left in South Africa the Pretoria régime should immediately and unconditionally release Nelson Mandela and start a serious political dialogue with him.

Mr. LUPINACCI (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): We are living in a turbulent period of human history, characterized by hatred and divisions among peoples, by the proliferation of the many forms of violence in many parts of the world, and by repeated disregard for the fundamental rules of international coexistence. In this world, which has grown greatly in knowledge but not very much in conscience, there are still many oppressive systems that violate human rights. Nevertheless, we have seen an increased recognition of a concept of the human person under which each and every human being is seen as having his own dignity and which makes all human beings essentially equal, enjoying inalienable rights, without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion - to use the words of

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

the Charter itself. Civilization continues to be tarnished by the violations of those rights; but nowadays no legal régime, no political system would dare to deny that concept or to institutionalize global and systematic discriminatory treatment of human beings. Still less would they dare to institute a society based on any of those forms of discrimination. But there is one exception: the South African régime.

In South Africa a racist system has been established that has made the colour of individuals' skin the criterion that basically determines who can and who cannot enjoy the rights inherent in the human being. The South African régime thus constitutes a challenge to the conscience of mankind - an open, objective, arrogant act of defiance which does not need to be proved because it has been proclaimed by the régime itself.

Therefore, in this divided world in which we live, that repulsive, repugnant situation has elicited rare unanimity among Governments and nations in condemning it. And that condemnation increases with each passing day. This year, the various forms of repression of the black population have increased even more, as we read in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/41/22 and Add.1). While last year 800 persons were killed by the police and security forces and 4,000 were thrown into gaol, this year the figures are up to 2,500 killed and more than 20,000 arrested and detained; about a quarter of these are young people below the age of 18, and even children.

There have been reports of many cases of torture. There is rigid press censorship. Within the framework of the state of emergency, which was instituted last June and which empowers the security forces to arrest people without judicial warrant and confers on those forces total freedom from prosecution, entire religious congregations have been arrested; harsh repression has been inflicted

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

upon black persons; soldiers have forced their way into schools and universities, labour-union and civic centres; and a new massacre was carried out in Soweto on 26 and 27 August this year.

This affront to universal morality and the fundamental values of civilized coexistence constitutes also a dangerous focal point for the disturbance of international peace and security - not just because it is turning the internal situation in the country into a volcano that radiates to neighbouring States, but also because it takes the form of a constant threat to those States. This threat has taken concrete form in repeated acts of subversion and aggression against those States, with a view to destabilizing them. The latest of these was the attack carried out against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe in May this year.

The failure of all efforts to persuade the Pretoria Government to abolish apartheid by means of negotiations - such as the effort made by the group of Commonwealth Eminent Persons or the appeals by various Governments - makes it clear that the racist South African régime is clinging relentlessly to its policy.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

It is therefore our inescapable duty, in the universal forum of the United Nations, to expose, condemn and repudiate this criminal policy, to keep international public opinion aware of it and to offer the victims of this base system the moral support and solidarity of the other peoples of the world.

However, it is clear that such condemnation alone is not enough. What is needed is concerted international action, and the United Nations must urgently adopt effective measures to avoid the destructive eruption of the volcano.

The Security Council must fulfil its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security and take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to impose mandatory sanctions on the Pretoria régime. It is high time we remembered that Chapter VII exists and that the Security Council has been given powers which are the basis of the Charter security system. The Council must not fail to use those powers.

Uruguay believes that firm, persistent action through the Organization could bear fruit, including an effective embargo on arms and strategic materials, the suspension of all military and nuclear co-operation, the denial of loans, a prohibition on investments, and the suspension of cultural, sporting and other relations in order to isolate the régime and weaken its resistance to the fundamental changes needed in South African society.

At the same time, Uruguay associates itself with other States concerned about providing humanitarian assistance to those now suffering the effects of the harsh repression meted out by the racist régime.

On the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners Uruguay's Foreign Minister, Enrique Iglesias, sent to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Joseph N. Garba, a message in which he said among other things:

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

"Uruguay, which has returned to its traditional position of staunch defender of human rights, wishes, through you, to express its support and solidarity to, all those who have endured persecution, imprisonment and torture in their struggle against racism." (A/AC.115/L.632, p. 2)

Uruguay has made the defence of human rights one of the fundamental pillars of its political system and one of the fundamental goals of its international conduct. In that context, it has since 1986, been a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and it was the first State to accept the competence of the relevant Committee to receive individual complaints. It has also ratified the International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, and it has repeatedly prevented South African athletes from entering its national territory, in compliance with resolutions 38/14 and 32/105 M.

The democratic Government of Uruguay joins in the universal condemnation of the racist régime of South African, and once again puts on record its determination to support all determined United Nations action to bring about the total eradication of apartheid, with its attendant injustices and disturbance of international peace.

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): We are taking part today in the debate on this all-important question because, as a non-aligned country, but above all as human beings sensitive to injustice, we feel bound to take every opportunity to condemn not only the existence, but also the continuation, of the crime against humanity being perpetrated in South Africa as a consequence of the apartheid régime.

The escalation of internal repression, the constant aggression and destabilization of the front-line States and the illegal occupation of Namibia - in other words, the tension constantly prevailing in southern Africa - are a direct

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

result of the South African régime's policy of apartheid, which, by its very nature, depends on terror and oppression to survive.

The system of white supremacy in South Africa has survived thanks to the practice of the most sophisticated and brutal methods of repression and also thanks to the collaboration and support of South Africa's allies.

As long ago as 1963 the former Prime Minister of South Africa, Hendrik Verwoerd, told Parliament:

"The problem, reduced to its simplest terms, is simply this: we want to maintain a white South Africa, and that means white domination, not white leadership, nor a South Africa guided by whites, but white control, white supremacy."

In today's South Africa the whole country is completely segregated. The overwhelming majority of the black population, totalling nearly 23 million, are compelled to live in the so-called bantustans, comprising only 13 per cent of South African territory. In other words, the white racists, who total less than 5 million, have taken an 87 per cent share of that vast territory.

The Africans are regarded and treated as foreigners in their own homeland. The pass system is one of the basic elements of apartheid. Since its inception over 13 million Africans have been accused of, or arrested for, alleged violations of the pass law. The life of the South African black people is characterized by - apart from racism and repression - high levels of illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, hunger and infant mortality.

Faced with that situation, the heroic people of South Africa are rising today, as they have in the past, against that heinous system. But the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa is not theirs alone; it is the struggle of the international community, of all the peoples of the world.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

Throughout the sordid history of South Africa there have been heroic chapters of struggle and rebellion by the South African people, but never before have the people defied the oppressive régime in the way they are defying it today. Never has the struggle been raised to its present level. In the tragic situation in which they live, their only choice is to fight. If they cannot obtain justice by peaceful means, they must fight for it and win it with all that remains to them, their dignity.

If those who advocate pacifism and non-violence, those who call it "terrorism" when violence comes from the oppressed and "legitimate defence" when it comes from the powerful, those who call for moderation from those who are dying and those who seek justice, if they truly want moderation, peace and non-violence, let them raise their voices and take action in favour of justice - that is, in favour of the black majority of South Africa and against apartheid.

How does the racist régime respond to the demands of the black population? It does so with its only machinery for survival: terror. Brutal repression is inflicted on the black people and there is an increase in the attacks and aggression against the neighbouring countries which, carrying out their international and human obligation, give refuge to those fleeing racist persecution and seeking in other lands what they do not find in their own.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

The situation in South Africa is deteriorating daily. But we must realize that general repression and threats of aggression no longer represent the strength of the system, but rather its weakness. They reflect the fact that its inevitable and total disappearance is close at hand. That is why the international community must respond to the heroic efforts of the South African patriots to eradicate apartheid. It is clear to the international community, and has been recognized by the United Nations, that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are undoubtedly the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid.

However, we have witnessed with sorrow the fact that every time the Security Council attempts, echoing in accordance with the views of the international community, to implement its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, it has been systematically blocked by the veto of two of its permanent Members, precisely the two countries which benefit most from the crime against humanity committed in South Africa and by the illegal occupation of Namibia.

With respect to sanctions, and in response to the sterile pretexts of those opposing them, Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, speaking for millions of Africans said:

"Sanctions are a weapon that the international community should use against the racist régime to weaken its capacity for aggression. You cannot expect can and sanctions to tumble the system of apartheid. They are not an alternative to the struggle of the South African people and Namibia. But it is an important complement to that struggle."

On the other hand, and despite the desperate situation of so many millions of human beings, the President of the United States insists that he opposes sanctions because they would affect the black majority more than the Government of South

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

Africa. Has any one ever seen such hypocrisy? Since when has President Reagan been worried about the fate of Africans? And since when, we ask ourselves has the South African black majority enjoyed the comforts, the luxury and the wasteful living of the racist minority?

The South African people itself has clearly and repeatedly expressed its support for sanctions. After all, even if this did mean suffering for them, can they suffer any more than they are suffering already? As Bishop Desmond Tutu said recently:

"This suffering seems to go on and on; if a new suffering can put an end to it, then we accept it."

But President Reagan resorts to every kind of slander when he vainly attempts to defend sanctions against popular Governments. The hypocrisy of his actions and the deceitfulness of his arguments in respect of sanctions becomes clearer each day. When sanctions serve his interests, he applies them enthusiastically. When they affect his interests adversely, sanctions automatically become illegal. Why does he not apply against South Africa the economic sanctions applied illegally against Nicaragua? The answer is all too obvious. In the case of Nicaragua, the United States is attempting to destabilize a country that is defending justice and self-determination. In the case of South Africa, the United States is defending a régime which is denying those very rights to the South African people.

While in Washington and in other Western capitals every kind of pretext is adduced to explain their opposition to sanctions, South Africa itself is imposing sanctions against its neighbours. The already internationally repudiated policy of constructive engagement was designed precisely to give Pretoria time to prepare against sanctions. In addition to political, diplomatic and financial collaboration, the United States, Israel and other Western Powers have helped South

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

Africa to ensure its military supremacy in the area, in order to make it into the gendarme and defender of imperialist interests in southern Africa and the South Atlantic.

While in the Security Council sanctions are blocked, South Africa is applying sanctions against its neighbours. It is destroying their infrastructures, boycotting their products, and sabotaging their means of communication and transport. In response to such actions, what are the countries that oppose applying sanctions against Pretoria doing?

However, we want to express thanks to those Western countries that have already taken measures against South Africa. We applaud the measures taken by the Nordic countries and hope other countries will follow that example. In conjunction with the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, there must be substantially increased support and co-operation for South Africa's neighbouring countries and for the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, to help them to compensate for harm to their economies and reprisals by Pretoria.

Apart from persecuting the South African people Pretoria, in collusion with Washington, finances and directs such puppets of colonialism as the mercenary bands unloosed against Angola and Mozambique. We, the people of Nicaragua, the victims of the same policy directed from Washington, cannot but extend our friendly hands to those heroic peoples of southern Africa, especially the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Once again we welcome South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress, under whose leadership those countries, sooner than later, will rekindle the torch of freedom, never again to be extinguished.

Permit me to conclude with the words of Nelson Mandela during the trial in Rivonia, and which today is the shining beacon and battle cry of all South African patriots:

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

"I have nourished the ideal of a free and democratic society where all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live, but if necessary, it is an ideal for which I am ready to die."

Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): The indigenous South African majority has made great sacrifices in the struggle to free itself from the woeful system of apartheid. This vast majority has made it clear to the whole world that it will never accept the humiliation of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and rejects the degrading confines of the native reserves the so-called Bantustans which have become the most common pool for cheap labour that supports the repressive policy of exploitation in the interests of the apartheid régime and its foreign allies.

Moreover, the apartheid régime has created a hostile climate that has led to political and economic destabilization in the southern region and made the neighbouring sovereign front-line States vulnerable to South Africa's attacks and acts of unprovoked aggression against their territorial integrity to prevent them from extending moral and material support to the liberation struggle of South Africa and the Namibian people.

The South African racist régime in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement, and in spite of world public opinion, has chosen to intensify its oppressive apartheid practices through its terrorist acts of police brutality, violence and cold-blooded massacre directed against the indigenous African majority to stifle the ongoing struggle for their freedom and independence.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

Infuriated by the intensification of the liberation struggle and widening global opposition, the South African racist régime has imposed a nationwide state of emergency since July 1985 in an effort to crush and dissipate the unity of the indigenous African majority.

Despite all these repressive measures, we are highly encouraged to see that the indigenous South African majority is now more united than ever before and that South Africa's terror campaign of indiscriminate arrests and imprisonment of religious and union leaders, politicians, community organizers, students, teachers and opponents of apartheid, who have fallen victims of police brutality and violence, cannot deter the freedom fighters from their determination to struggle for their national freedom and independence. This is an inescapable reality, that in a matter of time will dawn in the aberrant minds of the aggressors and proponents of the apartheid régime.

We reiterate our condemnation of the imposition of a state of emergency, the acts of terrorism and widespread genocide perpetrated by the South African army and police force to promote fratricidal conflict and violence where Africans are pitted against Africans in an effort to revive the outmoded colonial policy of "divide and rule", aimed at the total subjugation and domination of the indigenous majority.

We express our great concern over the lack of progress in the negotiations since last year towards the dismantling of the apartheid system and the resolution of the overall question of political, economic and social emancipation of the indigenous South African majority.

It is immoral and inhuman to allow the South African question to stagnate while the atrocities perpetrated by South Africa continue to disintegrate and destroy the very fabric of black South African society in flagrant violation of

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

international legality, merely because the South African régime has shown its lack of interest in negotiating with the interested and concerned parties.

It has become clear to the whole world that the racist régime of South Africa will neither abandon its apartheid policy against the indigenous majority, nor will it coexist with its neighbouring sovereign independent States, unless concerted genuine international efforts are exerted to bring maximum pressure to bear on South Africa by all developed and developing nations without exception.

We believe that any economic and financial collaboration with South Africa will only augment its aggressive and belligerent capacity to intensify further its brutal repression against the oppressed African majority in South Africa and Namibia.

We, therefore, appeal to all peace-loving nations to recognize the human rights of the African majority and reject all manoeuvres and strategies that obstruct the intensification of the concerted efforts of the international community to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The delegation of Djibouti does not agree with the assertion that the indigenous African majority would suffer under, rather than gain by, a programme of sanctions against South Africa. We would rather insist that such an assertion be made to align itself with the will of the great majority of the international community that press for sanctions.

In spite of the various discouraging policies at variance with the ongoing struggle against apartheid, we are gratified to welcome the ever growing anti-apartheid global consensus that is gathering force with accelerated momentum to impose sanctions against South Africa. We hope that this consensus will work towards an effective and total boycott that could force the evil régime of South Africa to abandon its evil system of apartheid.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

We urge the peace-loving international community seriously to consider all aspects of socio-economic and military sanctions - including full and effective implementation of the arms embargo - against South Africa and specially those designed to prevent it from acquiring a nuclear-weapon capability.

We demand the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, together with all other political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on liberation movements, political activities and organizations. The South African régime must be made to bring about fundamental political, economic and social reforms acceptable to the indigenous African majority and to abandon its monoeuvres to divert the attention of the international community from the real crisis by introducing the so-called Constitutional reforms which are no more than a futile exercise to entrench apartheid further.

There will be no peace or tranquility in the region until the forces of apartheid are defeated and the apartheid system itself completely dismantled and destroyed. South Africa's acts of unprovoked aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring front-line States, aimed at preventing them from extending needed support to the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia, must be put to an end once and for all.

The South African indigenous majority deservedly needs all the moral and material support the international community can generously extend to it for the success of the rightful cause of its struggle for political, economic and social independence.

Likewise, the front-line States should be helped to defend themselves against the attacks and acts of aggression perpetrated by the armed forces of South Africa.

All international efforts aimed at weakening the repressive machinery of the apartheid régime must be welcomed by all peace-loving nations of the international community.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

In this respect, we support the commendable proposal made at the second World Conference on sanctions Against Racist South Africa, recently held in Paris, to intensify the efforts to abolish apartheid by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its appreciation and gratitude to the Special Committee Against Apartheid which, under the competent leadership of Mr. Garba of Nigeria, has ably presented its comprehensive report (A/41/22) to the Assembly. We congratulate the Chairman and the members of the Committee on the tremendous efforts they have exerted to promote campaigns against apartheid and to gain world-wide support for the world-wide mobilization of action against its evil practice in South Africa.

Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (Interpretation from French): History frequently gives a short account of a person, an invasion or a scourge in order to characterize an entire period. Those who look back at us tomorrow will certainly single out apartheid as the most devastating evil of our age. Until proper therapy is applied by the United Nations to eradicate it root and branch from our society, we will have to continue discussing it, if only to take note of its increasing ravages and the reaction of the international community to its pernicious effects.

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

South Africa, having made apartheid the corner-stone of its system of government, has thus, unfortunately for mankind, taken unto itself values - or rather pseudo-values - which one had thought to be completely obsolete. Racial superiority, elevated to the level of State policy or philosophy, dictates the conduct of the apartheid rulers, inspires their laws and institutions, and impregnates all their actions. The white minority has carved out for itself to the exclusion of all others a unique and privileged place in South African society and has driven the black majority to the bottom of the social ladder, inflicting on them conditions contrary to human dignity, so that there more than anywhere else the rule is grimly confirmed that the paradise of the privileged whites has as its counterpart the hell of the black multitudes. Everything is done to consolidate that situation. The laws are cynically manipulated to keep the blacks in their place, to perpetuate the status quo, legalizing the most inhuman practices designed to stifle the most legitimate aspirations of the bullied, subjugated, exploited masses.

The international media now being hit by official prohibitions, the repressive machinery in South Africa has a free hand to increased torture, arbitrary arrests and murders in the name of law and order. More than 2,000 deaths have been reported in the past 18 months. That figure reflects an escalation of violence that increased further with the declaration of a state of emergency last June, until Pretoria decided that only the Government Information Office was empowered to issue daily lists of victims. These victims are found not only within South Africa, including the bantustans, but also beyond South African borders and territory inside neighbouring States, which the racist Government spares neither its murderous raids nor its repeated attempts at destabilization. There, too, Pretoria sows ruin, death and desolation. The warmongering spirit inherent in

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

apartheid has proved to be a clear threat to regional peace and security and, indeed, to international peace and security.

In this regard, it should be borne in mind that: first, the Government of South Africa has been instigating and supporting movements of rebellion against the legitimate Governments of neighbouring States; secondly, the high priests of apartheid not only support reactionary forces but refrain from no aggressive act in their attempt to impose their will in the region; thirdly, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues to this day, in flagrant violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions; and, fourthly, the possibility of interference and aggression against neighbouring States is increasing with the strike capacity of the racist Government, whose nuclear power should on no account be underestimated.

It is largely thanks to the activities of the United Nations that the international community has been made aware of the extraordinary manifestations and growing danger of this new form of fascism directed especially against the non-white population. The Secretary-General's report on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa gives an account of the stages of the arduous crusade being conducted within the United Nations against those that uphold that doctrine. This is reflected in the various resolutions and legal instruments adopted to date. However, that standard-setting contribution, though impressive, had little chance of overcoming the apathy or reservations demonstrated by some unless preceded, accompanied and followed by a sustained mobilization effort to which the majority of the agencies of the United Nations system made the best possible contribution.

Thus, concerned Governments, non-governmental organizations, corporations and societies, lay and religious institutions and youth movements joined in many cases and to varying degrees in the great fight against apartheid. The outcome of those efforts remains to be established. None the less, certain major achievements can

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

be noted this year. We see them as milestones on the road that must lead sooner or later to the total elimination of apartheid.

Particular mention should be made of the work of the seven-member Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group which, after the completion of its investigations, unequivocally recommended the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and suggested concerted action to prevent, in their words, the worst bloodbath since the Second World War.

Other persons of equal eminence from the political, literary, artistic and religious spheres have made similar statements, with which I shall not now tax the Assembly's patience. However, I cannot fail to refer to the historic decision of the United States Congress to assume, for its country, a leadership role in the struggle against apartheid. The same can be said of the initiatives of the European Community and Japan, which clearly should be strengthened.

Lastly, we wish to pay a tribute to the combatants, whose determination to oppose by all the means available Pretoria's strategy of total war, grows stronger every day. They deserve our most active support. It is the duty of the international community to contribute in a more concrete way to the working out and implementation of a functional strategy of appropriate response to this situation.

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

This means that in addition to comprehensive mandatory sanctions, which is the only peaceful remedy left open to us, the international community should undertake to provide increased material assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa and to the South West Africa People's Organization, which are fighting in the area what the United Nations resolutions have been unable to achieve thus far. It is important also that the front-line countries should not be forgotten or neglected; they should also, in any case, constitute the rear bases, of the liberation armies. If, as is widely felt, Namibia's liberation from South Africa has to involve a confrontation made inevitable by the racist régime, let us not hesitate a moment to make sure that the freedom fighters are as well placed as possible to cope with it.

Mr. DIATTA (Niger) (interpretation from French): The events that have taken place in South Africa since the last session of the General Assembly prove, if any further proof were necessary, that the Pretoria régime is still demonstrating its headstrong intransigence in pursuing the policy of apartheid, that heinous system which the international community has described as a crime against humanity and the world's conscience, in the sense that it is based on racism, exploitation and injustice, contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour or national origin.

In the past year the oppressed population of South Africa has twice been compelled to undergo a state of emergency, imposed by the apartheid régime, a state of emergency in the course of which the legendary brutality of that régime was given full rein. Hundreds of persons were killed, thousands of others were imprisoned without trial, many of them having been tortured or ill-treated in

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

prison. In fact, South Africa has become a veritable concentration camp where not a day passes without blacks being killed through police violence.

The bantustanization policy and the forced displacement of populations have also continued relentlessly, and their cruel effects have added to the already dire situation of the oppressed population of that country. The international community as a whole has voiced its indignation and condemnation of this State terrorism of the Government of South Africa against the majority of the population, who want only to enjoy their fundamental rights, freedom and justice in a society free of apartheid, terror and oppression. The barbarism of the apartheid régime is irrefutable proof of the fact that the so-called reforms that it is supposed to have undertaken are devoid of all substance. They are no more and no less than a change in tactics directed to perpetuating apartheid.

The South African people have been very wary about these so-called reforms; not only have they rejected them, but in the last two years they have intensified their resistance throughout the territory. Proof of this is to be found in the strikes and boycotts in the factories and schools, the massive protest demonstrations on the streets, and the growing armed struggle of the national liberation movements. This fierce resistance has thrown the supporters of apartheid into disarray and obliged them to impose a state of emergency on a number of occasions, in a vain attempt to control situations that have become uncontrollable. The determination of the South African people draws its strength from their accumulated sufferings since the policy of apartheid was first established, and from their unshakeable refusal to be deprived of their rights.

This struggle of the oppressed South African people against apartheid and against the acts of atrocity of the racist régime in Pretoria have won the solid support of world public opinion. Throughout the world, demonstrations are organized to denounce this policy of the negation of human rights and fundamental

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

freedoms, and as a result of this mobilization the morale of the oppressed majority in South Africa has been strengthened and they have been encouraged to redouble their efforts in their liberation struggle. Under the continued pressure of world public opinion many Governments, especially those which maintain every kind of link with the racist régime in South Africa, have been induced to take certain economic, military and trade measures. Those measures, even limited as they are in the case of some countries, must make the South African Government more aware of the fact that it cannot remain unpunished for ever, and that sooner or later it will find itself isolated in the international arena, unless it takes the necessary radical steps to dismantle apartheid and grant the just and legitimate claims of the overwhelming majority of its people.

We must recognize that verbal condemnation and moral indignation have in the past led only to a hardening of the apartheid régime. Its obduracy is the result of the incapacity of the international community to implement effective concerted measures that could lead to a change in the attitude of the supporters of apartheid and to the building of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

Consequently my delegation considers the time has come to go beyond mere condemnation and ineffectual resolutions, which lead to no weakening of the continuing challenge of South Africa's régime to the international community. Indeed, the leaders in Pretoria have shown on more than one occasion that they take no heed of the demands of morality and law. An exceptional situation calls for exceptional action.

The excellent results of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June this year, in our view provides an excellent platform for the action which the international community should undertake in order to achieve the eradication of apartheid. That conference advocated the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions that would include

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

an extension of the arms embargo, an end to all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and would also be directed against oil production investments in South Africa and bank loans to that country. By adopting such sanctions without delay and applying them effectively, Member States acting together in this Organization would not only give proof of solidarity with the people of South Africa in their daily sufferings, which have continued for over 40 years now, but would also show their unrelenting will to restore the moral authority and credibility of our Organization, damaged because hundreds of the resolutions on apartheid that have been adopted by its main organs have been treated with contempt by the Pretoria régime.

The victory of the South African people will be inscribed in the pages of history, and it is our imperative duty to hasten its advent.

The policy of apartheid of the racist Government of South Africa is also at the root of conflicts in southern Africa, conflicts which jeopardize peace and security in the sub-continent and are a serious threat to international peace and security. Apart from the fact that they have imposed within their own frontiers a régime of terror and pressure which is now reaching a climax, the leaders in Pretoria are also acting outside their frontiers to destabilize their neighbours and the front-line States. This policy is characterized by repeated acts of aggression and a policy of military intervention that result in many victims among innocent populations and serious material destruction.

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

The recent raids against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe show that the racist régime in South Africa intends to continue its policy of military intervention and weakening of its neighbours because of their continued support for the people of South Africa and Namibia. My delegation once again condemns these acts of aggression, which are being committed in violation of the recognized rules of international law governing relations between States. In our opinion, they constitute a perfect illustration of the state terrorism carried out by South Africa in the context of its deliberate policy of consolidation of the system of apartheid and the intimidation of countries of the region, which have never hesitated to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa regardless of the heavy price they have to pay. The international community must give the front-line States, the victims of these acts of destabilization on the part of South Africa, all the necessary support and material and financial assistance in order to enable them to confront all these aggressions and to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In conclusion, we wish to express to the Special Committee against Apartheid and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Garba of Nigeria, our sincere thanks for the excellent report it has submitted this year, as well as for the efforts it is making to ensure the advent in South Africa of a democratic, multiracial society in which freedom, equality, dignity and the well-being of all will be guaranteed.

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): My delegation submits that the racist régime of South Africa is a blot on the conscience of man. We have allowed it to contemptuously keep human dignity hostage for far too long. We have knuckled under to its empty threats, cowardly cajolings and fraudulent promises. We have let it behave like a spoilt child with outrageous and deplorable manners. In the false hope that sympathy, understanding and constructive engagement would improve the wayward child, we have spared it the rod.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

It has interpreted our inability to act as condoning its reprehensible and irresponsible behaviour. Its odious conduct, if allowed to continue unchecked, can only lead to disaster. The litany of wasted wordage in our earnest endeavours to induce it to see reason is much too lengthy and utterly fruitless.

We are all agreed that apartheid is a hateful system and must go. It does not conform to logic or reason. It flouts the values of peace and justice. It makes a mockery of our civilization. It gives the lie to our cherished belief that in the present century the equality of man is a universally accepted faith.

Shall we allow the mindless intransigence of a single Government, unwanted by and hateful to a vast majority of its people, to threaten the peace and stability of our planet? Shall we continue to sin by silence, when we should be protesting, and thus allow ourselves to be arraigned before the judgement of posterity? I feel it would be a shame to do so. The occasion when the world paid such a heavy price by being conciliatory to a racist dictatorship in Europe was not so long ago as to be erased from our memories. All must recall that most horrendous episode in the annals of man and exercise caution that it is not repeated.

Only a few miles from where we sit and deliberate stands the Statue of Liberty. Her shining torch is a beacon of hope to man. It is meant to spread the glow of freedom near and far. This Hall is much too close to the lady's feet not to allow those rays of deliverance to penetrate. It may be only a symbol, but the nation that hosts us has achieved great heights and much glory by inscribing it indelibly in its system of values. The symbol, therefore, deserves to be heeded, or the celebrations of the recent centennial would be only meaningless fireworks. Can it be our intention that history should see the event as such? I do not think so. In that case we must act. Time is of the essence. While we might not actually be hurtling towards an earth-shaking calamity tomorrow, every delayed hour brings an

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

additional pang of pain to some mother's breast in South Africa. Every delayed day adds a year to what must seem an eternity of suffering to Nelson Mandela and thousands of others.

For years on end we, the international community, have tried to argue with Pretoria that its ways are erroneous. We have attempted to reason with it. We have tried, one after the other, every conceivable peaceful means to change its ways - all but one, to which I shall come soon. The régime now talks of reforms. You cannot reform injustice. You must eliminate it. I echo the sentiments of the respected Olof Palme: a system like apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be abolished.

If Pretoria complains that it is being treated as an international pariah, surely the fault is its own. Since it will not act to dismantle the evil of apartheid on its own, the world must take it upon itself to do so. The only remaining peaceful means for this appears to be comprehensive mandatory sanctions. If Chapter VII of the Charter was written with a purpose in view, what other situation could be more appropriate for its application than this?

We must immediately impose, and strictly maintain, embargoes in at least four crucial areas. First, all countries must desist from providing South Africa with military and nuclear equipment and technology. These should include dual-purpose items such as computers, radars and other electronic equipment. Such technology, in theory procured for civilian purposes, in practice enhances military capability. The Security Council should urge all concerned to abide by its resolution 558 (1984). Its implementation must be closely monitored, if necessary by an intergovernmental agency.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

Secondly, the supply and transport of oil, gas and other essential commodities that will help prop up the régime must cease forthwith. No trading concern should be allowed to benefit from the compliance of others. The Special Committee against Apartheid should exercise the utmost vigilance in this regard and expose the guilty.

Thirdly, there should be total stoppage of all external financial flows into that country: investments, credits and loans, private, governmental and international. There must be no further lendings to South Africa.

Fourthly, all human contacts with the South African Government, or elements that represent it, should be reduced to a minimum. Such isolation will build up psychological pressure upon the Government. Its power is greater than it is often seemingly perceived to be.

I am aware of the argument that these steps would increase the sufferings of the majority in South Africa and the peoples of the States bordering it, but they have themselves time and again stressed that it is a price for freedom they are willing to pay. Coming as I do from a nation that has paid a heavy price for liberty, let me assure you that lasting freedom is never cheaply obtained. If some black States in Africa are not complaining, let me remind you that one has not converted a man just because one has silenced him.

We unflinchingly support the demand that the Pretoria régime release immediately Nelson Mandela and all other prisoners, detainees and restricted persons. It must lift the state of emergency forthwith and abrogate its discriminatory laws. All workers must be granted full trade union rights. Its Bantustan structures must be eradicated, its marauding troops withdrawn from southern Angola and political dialogue initiated with genuine leaders of the majority population with a view to the immediate eradication of apartheid and the establishment of representative government.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

To the whites of South Africa let us pledge our support and co-operation in assisting the evolution of a relationship of harmony and peaceful coexistence with the black majority. The international community must and will make every effort in that direction. We urge upon the whites, then, to delink themselves from their abhorrent Government. They would by so acting, do justice to the values that they surely hold close to their hearts. They must join that groundswell of protest whose echoes are soon bound to reverberate through the continents.

Sanctions might not end apartheid tomorrow, or the day after. But they would certainly contribute to the process. By imposing them, therefore, we would vindicate ourselves to history and, most important, to our conscience for at least having tried.

Mr. KOUASSI (Togo) (interpretation from French): History and sometimes nature have inflicted on Africa many sufferings and, indeed, full scale tragedies. Among those, the arrogant and despicable policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa stands out as an insolent act of defiance.

Apartheid, which is a real tragedy for Africa, is also an unbearable misfortune for any man who cherishes freedom, justice and tolerance. Apartheid, a disgrace to the whole of mankind in the sense that it is identified with the implementation of an ideology leading to total racism, is a denial of human dignity. In our mind, dignity is the prime asset of a people and an individual, the most valuable asset ranking higher than any other, whether spiritual or material, to which man can legitimately aspire.*

Apartheid is degrading psychologically, repulsive morally and unjustifiable politically. It is a crime against the peace and security of mankind.

*Mr. Henar (Suriname), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

That is why at the eighth summit meeting of non-aligned countries in Harare we heard that great voice which has just been silenced forever, the voice of one of the most eminent figures of Africa, an example of courage and self-denial, one of the most persistent opponents of apartheid, state:

"There is no democratic apartheid, no human apartheid, no peaceful apartheid. Apartheid is a denial of justice, equality and social standards. It is an institutional violation of human rights. Like colonialism, apartheid cannot be reformed."

This edifying and trenchant pronouncement, which clearly deals with one of the most revolting outrages of our age, was uttered by the much lamented President Samora Moises Machel shortly before his tragic death last 19 October. We again bow before his illustrious memory and pay him a deep tribute.

The Pretoria régime, challenged in its own country and condemned and hemmed in from abroad, is now more isolated than ever. There is no doubt that change is inevitable in South Africa and recent political developments in that country bear that point out.

In South Africa one of the predictions of Sobukwe, a faithful companion of Nelson Mandela is coming true. He said:

"The beginning of the end of a system takes place when a people refuses to run institutions likely to perpetuate its oppression."

That is what the world is now witnessing in South Africa. The people of South Africa now more than ever before is determined to fight to the death, if necessary barehanded against rifles and submachine guns. The blacks of South Africa no longer fear death and are no longer satisfied with concessions or reforms announced by the Government.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

In the face of the popular offensive, the Pretoria Government has been resorting to subterfuge and ploys but, having failed to outwit the vigilance of the international community as to the real motives and many implications of its policy of white-washing apartheid and breaking the stubborn resistance of the South African people, the Pretoria Government is increasingly engaging in oppression and repression. As a result of the state of emergency decreed in July 1985, the security forces have been acting in a completely arbitrary manner.

Hardly a day passes without police violence. If it is not a case of peaceful demonstrations repressed in a bloodbath, we see school children being shot down by the South African police or the leaders of black representative movements who are arrested without trial. The only thing those blacks can ask for is recognition of the most elementary rights provided by the Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

But the new vicious cycle of terror to which Pretoria has committed itself shows that it is a desperate attempt to preserve the distinctly shaky foundations of racial discrimination in that country. Otherwise, how can one account for the reimposition and maintenance of the state of emergency with its increasingly massive arrests and arbitrary detentions, violence, killing, suppression of freedom of assembly and the press?

The report of the Secretary-General eloquently testifies to the gravity and urgency of the present situation. As the report states:

"During the first period of emergency, over 500 persons were killed in police 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

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

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 other 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. Many have died in detention. In the ongoing confrontation, 754 persons were killed during the period from January to May 1986 alone". (A/41/638, para. 6) For 40 years now this Organization has been dealing with the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, 40 years in which impressive efforts have been made by the international community to put an end to that odious system of racial discrimination. But also during those 40 years, the South African Government, disregarding the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and strengthened by the indulgent complicity of certain Powers, has devised a thousand ploys in order to ensure the survival of apartheid. It is no longer a secret that the abstentions in this very Hall on such an important problem are really full-scale vetoes.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

The apartheid régime is still, even today, defying the conscience of mankind - but its days are numbered. In the past two years, the abrogation of certain racial laws in South Africa, the challenge to the very doctrine of apartheid by distinguished leaders of the ruling party, and the failure of the institutional reforms have all constituted proof of the cracks that have been caused in the system of apartheid by many inside and outside pressures.

The proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the high points of the struggle against apartheid. In that respect, a significant element is the ever-wider consensus in the world in support of the application of economic sanctions against South Africa. The imperative need for these sanctions was reaffirmed unambiguously by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986; by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna from 4 to 11 July 1986; by the Twenty-second Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity; by the Eighth Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; and by the fourteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to Namibia. We should also note and commend the Commonwealth for the series of sanctions adopted on 4 August last and various European countries for the restrictive trade measures they have taken. Furthermore, the decision taken on 2 October last by the United States Congress to impose economic sanctions against South Africa is a far-reaching political act that does credit to the American people. This is an encouraging example in regard to the total and final eradication of the inhuman apartheid system.

Today more than ever before the intensification of a variety of measures against Pretoria is an urgent task which the international community must tackle

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

energetically in order to meet without delay the constant challenge thrown down by South Africa to the promotion and defence of human dignity.

The apartheid system has been clearly condemned by the world community as a whole. The longer it takes for that system to disappear, the greater will be the suffering and chaos. That is why mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter are the strict minimum. They are justified by several considerations. In the first place, they are justified because South Africa has contemptuously thrown down a challenge to the United Nations by ensuring the failure of all the resolutions and decisions on southern Africa, and the humiliation of that failure discredits us all. Secondly, the sanctions are justified because this defiant attitude is constant and because direct and indirect attacks against the independent States neighbouring South Africa continue. Finally, South Africa deserves these sanctions because the insults, the slavery, the violence and the dangers to peace and security inherent in the policy of organized racism are a crime against humanity.

Moreover, we should also welcome the two recent initiatives taken, respectively, by the Twenty-Second Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Eighth Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Here we are referring to the establishment of an ad hoc standing committee of Heads of State or Government to follow developments in the question of South Africa, and the establishment of a committee of foreign ministers to maintain contacts with the Western countries in order to accelerate Namibia's independence and the abolition of apartheid.

The United Nations must institute a programme of economic and technical assistance to the front-line countries to help them cope with the adverse effects

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

of the state of war sustained by South Africa in the region and with the possible unfavourable economic consequences of the application of sanctions against the apartheid régime.

In the framework of the struggle against apartheid, special attention should be given also to humanitarian and legal assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa and Namibia. The efforts made to that end by the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Special Fund for South Africa to increase the amount of the Fund should be given encouragement by all Member States in the form of substantial voluntary contributions.

The leading role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid since its establishment in mobilizing international public opinion in favour of, and making it more aware of, the struggle against racial discrimination should also be commended.

The Togolese Government has always scrupulously complied with resolution 1761 (XVII) which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1962 and called for diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa. Indeed, on 29 August 1967 the Togolese Government, by Decree No. 67/179, adopted the following measures: No diplomatic and consular relations shall be established between the Togolese Government and that of South Africa. Direct or indirect trade with that country is prohibited. Ships and aircraft registered in that country cannot call at Togolese ports, and ships and aircraft that are Togolese or registered in Togo may not call at South African ports. Ships and aircraft registered abroad and coming from or going to South Africa cannot transit through Togolese ports or airfields, and the sale, shipment and transit of weapons, munitions of all types, military vehicles and oil products are prohibited. The issuance of visas for transit through or entry into Togolese territory by citizens of the Republic of South Africa is

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

prohibited - unless there are special circumstances, to be determined by Togolese authorities.

The Togolese Government reaffirms, through my voice, its firm condemnation of the abhorrent system of apartheid. It believes that only the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions can bring about the complete and final elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa by peaceful means.

Apartheid, which constitutes a negation of human values, is an anachronism which must be destroyed once and for all.

Despite the rigours and excesses of the oppression and repression to which the South African people have been subjected for many years now by the racist Pretoria régime, that people remains more devoted than ever before to its profound aspiration to freedom, justice and dignity. These men, women and children who have already, by the hundreds, by the thousands and even by the tens of thousands, opposed apartheid and given their lives to bring about a democratic multiracial society must not be allowed to fall into oblivion. Their example of bravery and tenacity should be an inspiration to us in our efforts to combat the abhorrent policy of racial discrimination. The mere condemnation of that policy can no longer suffice. Action by the international community is now required.

Notwithstanding its grief and its tragedies, Africa is still a continent of immense hope for all men of goodwill who cherish peace, justice, freedom and tolerance. The urgent, indeed essential, task awaiting them now is to help dispel the dark cloud of hatred and violence which each day hangs more heavily over southern Africa, threatening to poison the whole continent and send it up in flames.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

We wholeheartedly desire for South Africa - and are working hard for this every day - the coming of a just, egalitarian, free and harmonious society, a multiracial society enriched by all its members and all its differences, where everyone can fraternize in peace and security, in keeping with that noble, sublime, divine message addressed to the whole world by Saint Exupery: "Brother, if you are different from me, far from bullying me, far from oppressing me, far from dominating me, you enrich me".

Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): For certain of our detractors it is perhaps tempting to conclude that the meetings of the General Assembly devoted annually to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa have, through constant repetition, now been reduced to mere ritualistic exercises. Such mistaken conclusions would be formed on the basis of the fact that for over 40 years South Africa's racial policies have been under examination by the international community and, more specifically, for over 20 years the issue of the policies of apartheid itself and their grave implications for international peace and security have been under intense scrutiny by the United Nations. Thus it may be felt that with the passage of time our repeated denunciations of Pretoria's unrestrained actions and its flagrant violation of the most sacred principles of the Charter have become palliatives to assuage our collective guilt for the stubborn persistence of apartheid.

Yet, despite the fact that the grim features of the abhorrent and evil apartheid system still remain in place, its basic philosophy is now being openly challenged and defied and its foundations have been severely shaken, largely as a result of the rising tide of anti-apartheid resistance in South Africa itself. In addition, the international community has become far more sensitive to the plight and sufferings of the internal opponents of apartheid. For this the mounting global anti-apartheid campaign has been largely responsible. In recent times we have also witnessed far more concerted and deliberate actions taken in response to the brutality of the racist régime.

Despite the painfully slow progress which has been achieved, my delegation shares the view that the anti-apartheid struggle has reached such a crucial stage that we must redouble our efforts to sustain and intensify the international campaign to secure the total eradication of the evil of the system.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

As the Secretary-General, in his annual report to the forty-first session, has so appropriately and correctly emphasized, the issue of apartheid is in reality far more than a problem of human rights abuse.

"It is a problem with tenacious racial, political and economic roots - one that jeopardizes the stability and security of an entire region. Only the total elimination of apartheid will restore peace to South Africa and to southern Africa as a whole." (A/41/1, p. 12)

With each passing day the risks of an open racial conflagration in the region are increased. It therefore remains a major responsibility and obligation of the international community to act expeditiously and coherently.

We also have to look to the future. We must be prepared to assist the people of a free Azania as they confront the challenges of remoulding and refashioning their country on the basis of a unitary multiracial society based on majority rule, in accordance with the principles of equality, justice and freedom. This will be no easy task, especially taking into account the debilitating legacy of the policies of apartheid and racism. Also of major concern are the traumatic and depressing effects which these policies have wrought on the psyche and self-esteem of the oppressed majority.

One of the most distinctive and insidious characteristics of the apartheid era has been the deliberate and painstaking efforts of the racist leaders to use all the available means of State power to deprive and dispossess the black people of any measure of self-esteem, self-worth or dignity and to turn them into objects of cheap labour and economic appendages of the apartheid system. Within the context of an overall political ideology pursued with great zealousness and single-mindedness, the racist leaders have been able to establish systematic, comprehensive and strictly enforced control by the State over blacks in all spheres

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

of their lives, and in particular in their movement to urban areas and in their employment and residential opportunities. The principal policy instrument for the perpetuation of separateness and racial segregation has been and continues to be the maintenance of the so-called homelands or bantustans for the confinement of surplus black populations, based on the former so-called tribal reserves.

Despite the much publicised announcement of the introduction of reforms within the apartheid system, including the abolition of the notorious pass laws, no meaningful steps have been taken to undermine the main structure of white dominance or to dismantle the so-called independent homelands. While seeking to make much of the cosmetic reforms, the apartheid régime has effectively sought to strengthen its racial enforcement measures through other legislative means, such as the Group Areas Act, anti-squatter laws, public health regulations, slum clearance laws, the non-availability of housing and the envisaged orderly urbanization measures.

As my delegation has had occasion to observe in the past, repression at home and aggression abroad continue to be the two main features of Pretoria's grand regional design. These have as their objective the maintenance of Pretoria's military and economic power in the region, which would in turn facilitate the perpetuation of the abhorrent apartheid system.

Externally, we are all aware of Pretoria's relentless campaign of military aggression, subversion and destabilization against the front-line States, the most frequent victims of which have been Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho, and more recently Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. We remain deeply disturbed not only by the alarming frequency of these attacks, but also by the unremitting objective of undermining the political structures of these countries so as to make them subservient and totally acquiescent in Pretoria's policies.

Also of concern to Jamaica are the most recent attempts by the racist régime to apply increasing economic pressures on the front-line States because of their

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

unflinching opposition to the discredited apartheid policies and their support for firm and resolute action against Pretoria. These pressures have undoubtedly caused severe hardships to the vulnerable economies of the front-line States, which, because of geography and history, are extensively tied into the South African economy. By virtue of its economic leverage and widespread sabotage, the Pretoria régime has been able to cause serious dislocation and damage to the fragile economic infrastructures of the neighbouring States. The weaknesses of these economies have been made worse by the need to divert scarce resources towards the development of counter-measures and also to try to strengthen their defence capabilities.

It was precisely in view of the mounting difficulties facing the front-line States, and in the light of the threats of further military and economic action by South Africa, that the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, at their recent summit Conference in Harare, adopted a Special Declaration on southern Africa, including the establishment of a Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa. The main objectives of the Fund are to mobilize assistance for the front-line States and other neighbouring countries and to provide emergency and long-term aid for infrastructural development, in order to lessen their dependence on South Africa and to enhance their capacity to withstand the effects of sanctions. We fervently hope that the deserving and noble objectives of the Solidarity Fund will meet with generous and sympathetic support within the international community.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

The ongoing turmoil and conflict in southern Africa have their roots in the problem of apartheid and in the reckless and dangerous policies and actions being pursued by the Pretoria régime. The immense challenges confronting the entire region in the restoration of peace, racial harmony and enduring stability are the legacy of apartheid. The special obligation of the international community in successfully overcoming these challenges must be assessed.

The time for urgent action has long passed. We must act decisively and resolutely to rid the world of the menace posed by the racist leaders in Pretoria. As was emphasized by Mr. Hugh Shearer, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, in his address at the Harare summit Conference, Jamaica believes that the call for comprehensive economic sanctions is the result of a considered judgement that these constitute the only peaceful means remaining to put pressure on the South African Government to engage urgently in a process of real dialogue and negotiation for the termination of the apartheid system.

Also in his statement the Deputy Prime Minister specifically proposed that financial sanctions be comprehensively applied - that is, sanctions on investment flows, dividends, remittances, trade credits, insurance and so on. These are likely to have the quickest and most clinical effect in putting the necessary pressure on the Pretoria régime. We should like once again to recommend these proposals for the urgent consideration and action, by Pretoria's influential trading partners in particular. We wish to express our satisfaction and support for the various voluntary measures which have been adopted by certain Western countries to date with a view to applying further pressure on South Africa. While we welcome any additional measures that may be adopted by Member States, it is necessary for us to ensure that the Pretoria régime is not allowed to circumvent or

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

undermine the measures which have been applied with great effectiveness so far, including the mandatory arms embargo and the steps taken to impose a total oil embargo.

Jamaica believes that it is opportune to tighten the screws on South Africa through more concerted and resolute collective action in order to force the régime to commence meaningful negotiations for the immediate dismantling of the apartheid system. There are no other peaceful means available. Further delay and inaction can result only in unnecessarily prolonging the misery and suffering of the oppressed people.

In conclusion, Jamaica wishes to reiterate its firm resolve and determination to lend all support and assistance to the efforts of the international community in the further intensification of the anti-apartheid campaign and for the total elimination of the system of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa. We also pledge our continued support for the struggles of the peoples of South Africa for the final realization of their legitimate aspirations to freedom, self-determination and equality and for the preservation of their human dignity and self esteem.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The struggle against apartheid lost a valiant fighter in the late President of Mozambique, Samora Machel. In southern Africa, that zone where apartheid continually mocks national independence and State sovereignty, Samora Machel was more than a Mozambican. He will be remembered as a southern African freedom fighter, an inveterate foe of apartheid. Just as his life was inseparable from the struggle against apartheid, so even in his death do we look for the sinister hand of apartheid.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

As Marcelino dos Santos wrote in his poem "Here we were born":

"... today's bitter cloud is a moment's pain which the rain must dry."

Yes, the drying of that pain means, among other things, overcoming the absurdity of Samora Machel's death; it involves giving a meaning to his death, even as he himself gave meaning to his life.

And in this regard the Angolan poet Helder Neto offers in his poem "We shall not mourn the dead", some helpful thoughts. He wrote:

"We shall take the example of your heroism, of your courage,

To go forward as far as possible as fast as possible,

And so we shall turn your heroism to good use for our people

On the earth that covers you, comrade."

We must certainly see a challenge to put Samora Machel's heroism and courage to good use for the benefit of the people of Mozambique, indeed of all the peoples of southern Africa, and there are ways of so doing.

Apartheid is not merely the South African or the Namibian problem. It is the problem of all of South Africa's neighbours, some of which emerged into independence after a protracted and costly liberation struggle, but all of which, in the wake of independence are obliged even to defer the tasks of development and nation-building in order to concentrate on simple survival and defence against South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization. Over the years the Pretoria régime has waged an unremitting campaign of destabilization and economic dislocation against front-line States. In addition to straight military aggression, with its consequent loss of life, the South Africans have systematically sought to hurt these States through disrupting alternative transport networks in order to force regional trade through its own, more expensive routes; it has systematically destroyed infrastructure, such as power lines and oil installations, schools, factories and so on.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

Mozambique and the late Samora Machel are but symbols of this phenomenon in southern Africa, whose effects are all the more debilitating because of the historical dependence of some of those States on South Africa.

President Machel's death, in particular its special circumstances, dramatizes the situation of South Africa's neighbours and must be seen as a stimulus to the international community to intensify support for the front-line States in their efforts to defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against South Africa, to reduce their dependence on Pretoria and to intensify economic and other co-operation among themselves. The Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), symbolizes the determination of South Africa's neighbours in this regard. The States members of that Conference are also taking action on an individual basis with the same objectives in mind. Support for these efforts would be a contribution to reducing the effects and therefore the force of apartheid in southern Africa.

But the death of Samora Machel should serve no less as a stimulus to intensified action for eradicating apartheid within South Africa and Namibia. Speaking at this late stage of the debate there is hardly a need for me to detail the horrors of life under apartheid.

To be sure since the Assembly last considered this question there has been significant progress recorded in our struggle. More than ever before, and even despite the curtain of secrecy which the Pretoria régime has drawn around South Africa, the masses of people in Europe and in North America and the Pacific have a better understanding of the realities of life under apartheid, and that deeper understanding has led to increased and more forceful action. Disinvestment and sanctions have passed from being issues of debate to become options which some reluctant Governments, corporations and universities can no longer resist.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

Internally - and this is particularly noteworthy - contradictions are more manifest and widespread as voices of rejection and of decency and justice surge forth out of the very fortresses of apartheid. The Dutch Reformed Church, a stronghold of apartheid, has reversed itself after several years and has taken the position that that odious system is un-Christian. Whites are demonstrating in greater numbers their opposition to the racist philosophy of their Government.

At the same time, international support for the anti-apartheid struggle has intensified significantly during the past year, and in this regard, the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the dedicated and enlightened chairmanship of Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, has rendered service of special value. That intensification is evident first of all in the important conclusions and recommendations of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June, which themselves have had an impact on the policies of some European Governments.

Likewise, the Heads of States or Government of non-aligned countries, meeting in Harare last September, took some important initiatives in relation to South Africa, which have already been detailed by preceding speakers.

In the context of stepped-up international support for the struggle, I must mention the action of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which sought to bring about change in South Africa through peaceful negotiation. The report of that Group constitutes a frank and authentic statement of the realities of life under apartheid and an authoritative response to all those who argue in favour of supporting Botha's efforts at reform or of constructive engagement. Botha himself discredited the policy of constructive engagement. The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's report confirms the bankruptcy of that policy.

But what of even more critical and decisive importance during the past year has been the indomitable spirit and heroism of the oppressed people of South Africa

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

whom the apartheid system itself has turned into militants and who, casting aside fear, defiantly confront the racist army in the streets, the schools and the churches of the black townships. That heroism, that courage, those slender bodies broken in Soweto and Port Elizabeth, they are our promise that apartheid will eventually be defeated. It is that spirit that the international community and particularly the Western European members are summoned to support and encourage. Earlier speakers in this debate referred to a moral obligation for the international community to recognize to assist the victims of apartheid. This obligation, I submit, rests with Western Europe in particular.

If apartheid is a crisis in the lives of the non-white peoples of South Africa, it is also a crisis in the conscience of Western Europe and for the present purpose I include the United States in this classification. What apartheid denies, what it undermines, what it impugns, is the strength of certain values which the West professes and has otherwise done so much to defend and to make universal - values as basic as freedom and justice. Yet, paradoxically, it is two Western vetoes in the Security Council that have been preventing a move to enforcement action against South Africa. It is precisely Western softness towards the Pretoria régime that encourages apartheid. It is Western investments that subsidize and underpin apartheid. Who introduced "constructive engagement" into the vocabulary of southern African politics? When 45 members of the Commonwealth supported the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa, who was it that stood out against such action? Which country is the largest single supplier of capital to South Africa?

So, when we call for a more supportive attitude towards the anti-apartheid struggle, we are in a true sense merely recalling the West to its own traditions and values, which themselves encourage us in our efforts in support of that struggle.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

This Organization, committed as it is to the dignity and worth of the human person and to promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, has a sacred duty to the suffering people of South Africa and of Namibia to expose fully the collaboration which still takes place with the Pretoria régime and which helps to perpetuate apartheid and stimulate maximum international pressure for the ending of that collaboration.

It was less than seven months ago that the world witnessed a show of force against Libya by the same two States, incidentally, which have been blocking action by the Security Council against South Africa. This show of force was carried out for the stated purpose of punishing Libya for what was described as its promotion of terrorism. Delegations will recall how severely that show of force was censured by a majority of speakers in the Security Council, as well as by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries, who were meeting in New Delhi at the time.

It is difficult to understand how the passion for fighting terrorism cools so noticeably when the perpetrators are the Pretoria régime and when the prevailing sentiment on the African continent and in large parts of the world is in favour of decisive action against that régime.

The daily experience of the front-line States is that in Africa terrorism has its headquarters inside Pretoria. Pretoria's terrorism cost the nine States members of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) more than \$10 billion between 1980 and 1984, to say nothing of the loss of irreplaceable human lives. Africa cannot understand why the judges of terrorism continue to turn a blind and permissive eye to the savage acts of terrorism that are daily being visited upon the inhabitants of the front-line States and of Namibia. Those that see themselves as champions of and standard-bearers for human rights and

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

anti-terrorism throughout the world tarnish their own credentials by the permissiveness and tolerance which they show towards the terrorism which is part of the practice of apartheid.

What is even worse, in the current phase of the struggle, such tolerance amounts to accommodation with apartheid and is dangerous. To hold out to the embattled Pretoria régime any promise or indication that it can still rely on some Western support, or at least on Western passivity, is to perpetuate apartheid and to make inevitable the violence by which that system is maintained and which it naturally stimulates in its victims.

The confrontation is now more clear than it ever was. The oppressed people will not desist from their struggle to free themselves of the tyranny of apartheid, even in the face of certain death. On the side of the Pretoria régime all the smoke-screens have been blown away, leaving no more illusions behind which the defenders of that régime can hide. The régime itself is now retreating even from its own timid half-hearted promises.

The United Nations, the Security Council in particular, must now take the lead to head off the violence that looms. Guyana calls on the two delegations that have been preventing the Security Council from playing this role to cease doing so and to allow the Council to exert an influence for peaceful change in South Africa, through the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

We are convinced that such sanctions, strictly observed by all States, will produce the result which the civilized world desires in southern Africa. In the sad event that loyalty to racist South Africa or a commitment to profit should triumph once again in the Security Council, that body must not fail to call upon States to strengthen and extend existing sanctions against South Africa. Even that action would be decisive in its effects.

In the final analysis, however, we need more than sanctions imposed by the Security Council. We need more than sanctions legislation by individual States. Where the will to make sanctions work is lacking, the most sweeping and comprehensive sanctions legislation will be ineffectual. What we need is legislation rooted in an unshakeable and uncompromising commitment to make sanctions effective.

This is not only a moral imperative; it is also a political imperative. It is an imperative of the peace and security of the southern African region - no less than an imperative of the very self-interest that the apologists of the Pretoria régime so zealously seek to defend. Unless those insights become ingrained in and inspire national policies the damage to the influence of certain States and to their interests, will, in the long run, be incalculable.

This brings me back to where I began - with the late President Samora Machel, who departed this life not without some hope for the future in South Africa. Speaking on the occasion of the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, he said:

"... the principal initiative for social change is already in the hands of the South African people ... in the daily struggle against the apartheid system the South African people are already building the new South African nation. South Africans of all colours and races, of all ethnic origins and religious beliefs are engaged in this struggle." (A/40/PV.9, pp. 11 and 12)

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

Guyana solemnly calls on all States, but in particular those two permanent members of the Security Council to which I referred earlier, to join in a sincere effort with the rest of the international community to encourage those processes of change to which the late Samora Machel referred. Let us all dedicate our energies together to guarding that flame of hope which he saw before he died, lest it too dies a casualty of the violence of apartheid.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.