



Security Council

UN LIBRARY

FEB 18 1987

FEB 8 1987

PROVISIONAL

UN/SA COLLECTION S/PV.2732
UN/SA COLLECTION 17 February 1987

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 17 February 1987, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. ZUZE

(Zambia)

Members: Argentina
Bulgaria
China
Congo
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Italy
Japan
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela

Mr. DELPECH
Mr. GARVALOV
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. ADOUKI
Mr. BROCHAND
Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KIKUCHI
Mr. TIMERBAEV
Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. BIRCH
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. AGUILAR

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for February I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Andres Aguilar, Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of January 1987. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Aguilar for the great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy with which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18688)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Senegal, South Africa, the Sudan and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Icaza Gallard (Nicaragua), Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Manley (South Africa), Mr. Adam (Sudan) and Mr. Djokic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 February 1987 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Council to permit me to participate in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in the Council's consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa'."

On previous occasions the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 February 1987 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Special Committee I have the honour to request to be invited to participate in the Council's consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa' under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure."

On previous occasions the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I

(The President)

propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 10 February 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/18688.

The first speaker is the representative of Egypt, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of February. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. We are confident that your diplomatic skills and political wisdom will enable you to discharge that responsibility most successfully. Our appreciation of Zambia's pioneering role in our continent and of its unswerving support for the liberation movements and for questions of moment to individual Africans today, our deep appreciation of the policies of President Kaunda, which combine wisdom, frankness and far-sightedness, as well as the relationship that exists between our two countries make us all the prouder to see you presiding over our meeting today, particularly since the Security Council is beginning its discussion of the grave situation prevailing in South Africa.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, our friend Mr. Andres Aguilar, Permanent Representative of Venezuela, who conducted the deliberations of the Council during the month of January with great skill in a period that witnessed many international developments on several fronts.

It is a great and cherished honour, as well as a grave responsibility, for Egypt to speak today in the Council. While taking pride in the honour of acting as Chairman of the African Group for this month, Egypt is also aware of the responsibility of expressing honestly and sincerely the African position with regard to the grave situation in the southern part of our continent and its negative repercussions on international peace and security.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The long and bitter struggle waged by the South African masses against policies of oppression and racism is of great significance in the history of mankind's struggle for freedom and dignity. For many generations to come, that heroic struggle will inspire peace-loving forces attempting to win justice. Despite the ferocity and brutality of Pretoria's violence in the face of heroic national struggle and despite the high toll of victims and martyrs, the national forces have proudly persisted, looking forward to the future with hope. Their revolution against tyranny and racism has grown in scale, spreading throughout the country to all its communities.

This epic heroism confirms to the world that no matter how powerful the forces of evil, the determination of the people cannot be vanquished. Twenty-five years in apartheid gaols has been unable to diminish Nelson Mandela's determination and hope, or the aspiration of his heroic people to a better tomorrow in a democratic society free from racism, in which all parties participate in deciding on its future, with no discrimination or pre-conditions.

A few weeks ago the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding, which marked the beginning of a new era of important change in the situation in South Africa. For a half-century the ANC attempted to achieve its goals through dialogue and peaceful resistance, trying to convince the minority rulers to abandon their racist policies, recognize the rights of the majority, the rightful owners of the land, and move towards the establishment of a democratic society. But the minority régime, which preferred to make apartheid an official policy, refused to respond positively to all proposals for dialogue, peace initiatives and calls for democratic change. Indeed, it reacted to them with further violence and brutality.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The majority had no choice but to defend itself against the violence of the racist régime and take the same path as liberation movements in many other countries where independence has been brought to their peoples - possibly in less difficult situations than that facing the people of South Africa.

The spark of violence has ignited the whole of South Africa, and the spiral of violence and suppression has grown. (The increasing violence in South Africa is deeply rooted in the policies and practices of the white minority rulers, who are determined to monopolize authority at any price. Their stubborn and arrogant policies and practices are responsible for the deterioration of the situation and the exacerbation of the crisis to its present dangerous level.) The apartheid system continues to deny the majority its basic rights. It continues to challenge the dignity and humanity of the person. The régime's practices run counter to the principle of equality before the law for all members of the population irrespective of race or creed.

The year 1986 saw more carnage, bloodshed, arbitrary detention, suppression, censorship and oppression than any previous year. There was an increase in acts of violence against the oppressed people. The racist régime persisted in its policies of aggression and terror against neighbouring independent African States, in its plans to destabilize those States and in its attempts to carry out economic blackmail against them. The capitals of Zambia and other sister countries were not spared its criminal and sinister policies and plans, concerning which the Security Council met so often last year.

But 1986 also saw the mobilization of the forces of struggle against South African apartheid. As before, the struggle daily grew in intensity, and the march towards freedom and democracy continued. More than any previous year, 1986 saw increased international understanding of the facts of the situation in South

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Africa. The international boycott against the racist régime grew, reflecting the conviction of various countries that Pretoria is responsible for the deteriorating situation in the region.

Through its repeated acts and its behaviour, the Pretoria Government has made it clear beyond any doubt that it has no intention of abandoning its racist policies. Its so-called reform measures are but manoeuvres to mislead international public opinion and to prevent the South African people from achieving its goal of establishing a free, democratic society on the unified territory of a homeland free from racism. Apartheid and associated violence and terror are not only a humiliation and a challenge to the people of South Africa, but constitute a grave challenge to international peace and security throughout the world.

The racist régime has persisted in its arrogance and intransigence and in its policies of terrorism and aggression against the sovereignty of our sister peoples and States. It has heightened tension, and created instability throughout southern Africa. The region has been ravaged by war and destruction, which gravely threatens international peace and security not only in southern Africa but in distant regions also. The situation could open the door to foreign intervention in the continent, which would result in crises and problems of a kind that Africa has thus far managed to keep at a distance.

Thus, today's Security Council meeting is of special importance. There is an urgent need to bring all pressure to bear on the South African régime to make it heed the will of the international community and abandon its manoeuvres, which can only lead to continued deterioration of the situation in the region. There is also an urgent need to bring a speedy and decisive end to the worsening situation in South Africa caused by the Pretoria régime's racist, terrorist and inhumane practices in the region, which can only result in an international situation we

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

must in all wisdom take action to avert. That is the responsibility of, and within the competence of, the Security Council, the highest international organ, which the United Nations Charter entrusts with the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Security Council is facing a grave challenge. For the sake of its credibility and to prove its ability, it must face up to that challenge. We in Africa believe that by carrying out its responsibilities and its mandate under the Charter, the Security Council not only does its duty, but also exercises a right guaranteed it by the Charter. The discharge of these functions and responsibilities is the Council's sole raison d'être.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The Security Council is called upon to put into force the warning to South Africa that is contained in its resolution 566 (1985) and to adopt the appropriate measures under the United Nations Charter, including the sanctions provisions of Chapter VII.

We in Africa remain fully convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist South African régime, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, is the most practical, peaceful way capable of forcing that régime to comply with the will of the international community and to implement immediately the relevant United Nations resolutions. We are, however, submitting to the Security Council today a list of selective sanctions which many States have already adopted. We do so in an attempt to enable the Security Council to overcome the difficulties that have in the past prevented it from facing up decisively to the racist practices of South Africa by adopting comprehensive mandatory sanctions and thereby dealing with one of the most important factors responsible for the deterioration of the situation in the area.

These selective mandatory sanctions placed before the Council today for adoption are not an end in themselves but rather, alongside other international efforts in opposition to apartheid, complement the struggle by the South African people to establish a democratic and just society and peace and security in the region. To delay or postpone imposing these sanctions can only result in entrenching the human tragedy which has become one of the hallmarks of daily life in South Africa.

We in Africa believe that the victory of the struggle of the oppressed majority in South Africa is inevitable. We have no doubt that the sacrifices, suffering, determination and courage of the majority will finally be crowned by victory. These selective sanctions are simply a way to expedite the inevitable

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

result: the end of the apartheid system, which is contrary to all human rights and has been declared by the United Nations to be a crime against humanity.

It is the Security Council's responsibility to restore peace in South Africa, but that cannot happen without the participation of the majority of the people, the true owners of the land, in the construction of their future. The Pretoria régime must heed the call of wisdom and reason and must pave the way for the initiation of a democratic dialogue with the oppressed majority, a dialogue that will lead to a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties. The first step on that road could be the release of the leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the immediate cessation of all kinds of suppressive measures against political organizations.

Egypt, which has always supported the African liberation movements, because of our common destiny and history, salutes the heroic struggle of our brethren in South Africa and states once again its firm position of principle - that is, to extend all available material and moral support to them until their legitimate aspirations to a dignified, free life in their unified homeland, where democracy and justice prevail, have been successfully met.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Major-General Joseph Garba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid): On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I wish to say how grateful we are to the members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in the debate on the serious situation prevailing in South Africa. But

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

allow me first to express to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. Your country, Zambia, plays an important role in the liberation struggle not only as a front-line State but within the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Your personal contribution to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia is very well known. I am confident that under your wise and skilful guidance the Council will be able to reach agreement on effective action to remedy the increasingly critical situation in South Africa.

The letter addressed to you, Mr. President, by the Permanent Representative of Egypt, on behalf of the Group of African States, explains fully and clearly the reasons for convening the Council. I shall therefore not elaborate on those reasons. In its annual report to the forty-first session of the General Assembly, the Special Committee against Apartheid set out its assessment of the situation in South Africa and its recommendations on what needs to be done. The General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions which reaffirmed the conclusions and adopted the recommendations of our report.

The unparalleled campaign of terror and genocidal violence unleashed by the apartheid régime against the black population in South Africa continues. That unhappy country is being governed under a state of emergency and security laws which give the police and security forces unprecedented and limitless powers over the lives of citizens. Troops occupy and patrol black townships and are deployed even in schools. Tens of thousands of opponents of apartheid have been arrested, detained, killed on the streets, maimed, tortured or otherwise persecuted. Death squads, secret assassins and arsonists have been pressed into service by the régime's forces of repression to join them in their nefarious work, bringing the death toll to more than 2,500 persons in two years. The régime has imposed a total

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

blackout on the media in order to prevent the world from knowing the full facts about this repression.

But the resistance of the oppressed people has become more resolute and better organized recently. Also, it has spread over the whole country. In the face of the régime's mounting reign of terror, the people have no choice but to intensify their armed resistance. Such resistance is a legitimate response to the violence which is being perpetrated against them. The Special Committee wishes to reaffirm that the South African people and their liberation movements have the right to utilize all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, necessary for the dismantling of racism and apartheid.

The declarations of the Pretoria régime on reform lack substance, and the few cosmetic changes that régime has introduced can now be seen to have been attempts to divert mounting domestic and international pressure, or indeed to entrench further the essential features of apartheid. That régime remains committed, by its own admission, to maintaining the pillars of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the so-called homelands policy, and so forth. It is also using the bantustans in its economic war against neighbouring African States. The régime categorically rejects the very principle of democratic government based on majority rule. Thus, the régime's claim that the tricameral parliament recognizes the rights of the population of Asian origin and the so-called Coloureds is shown up for what it was worth. The general elections decreed for May this year will, as the Council knows, be conducted for whites only; the Asians and so-called Coloureds are excluded because Mr. Botha considers that they do not have enough political experience; as for the blacks, they simply do not exist.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

The failure of the Commonwealth effort at mediation is evidence that the apartheid régime has no intention of entering into negotiations with the authentic representatives of the black majority for the establishment of a non-racial, representative Government in South Africa. It served to underline the urgency of taking effective measures against the apartheid régime in order to compel it to begin dismantling apartheid. There now exists a large degree of international consensus on the need to impose effective sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

The World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa organized in Paris last summer by the Special Committee showed the breadth of this consensus and the growing body of opinion which supports adoption by the Security Council, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, of effective and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Non-Aligned Movement, as well as the Organization of African Unity, in their recent meetings reiterated the demand for such sanctions. The Commonwealth of Nations, as a whole, would have taken a position in that sense had it not been for the opposition of one of its members, the United Kingdom. The gathering tide of public opinion in favour of urgent and effective measures to bring about the end of apartheid is reflected in actions which are being taken at all levels and in a multitude of organizations all over the world, representing students, workers and churches, as well as in municipalities and local councils, state legislatures and national parliaments. I take this occasion to express special gratification at the sanctions bill adopted by the United States Congress last October, in the face of the Administration's strong opposition and the President's veto. The action of the Congress of the United States was a reaffirmation of the idealism and the humanitarian impulse which have inspired American history and tradition at their best. We commend this action wholeheartedly and hope that it will lead the United States to join the great majority of the world's countries in taking united action in support of justice and equality in South Africa.

The responsibility now lies with the Security Council to take appropriate action, but essentially with those permanent members, the United Kingdom and the United States, which in the past have prevented the adoption of effective sanctions against the Pretoria régime. Their oft declared abhorrence of apartheid will remain hollow if it is not matched by action aimed at bringing the full weight of the Council's disapproval to bear on the apartheid régime. We urge them to join

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

the international consensus on the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We must also tell them categorically that their prevarications in the past have not only been a source of comfort for the racist régime, but have indeed hindered international momentum in the struggle for the elimination of the obnoxious system of apartheid.

Once again the Special Committee against Apartheid calls on the Security Council, in fulfilment of its responsibilities under the Charter, to recognize the grave threat that the policies and actions of the racist régime poses to the maintenance of international peace and security in our continent. We urge the Security Council to demand unequivocally that South Africa: first, lift the state of emergency, withdraw its troops from the black townships and schools and rescind its arbitrary security laws and Press restrictions; secondly, release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and Zephania Metapong; thirdly, lift the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other South African movements and political organizations; and thus, lastly, open the way to negotiations among all those concerned for the establishment of a democratic, non-racial system of government in a united South Africa.

It is the view of the Special Committee that the time has really come for the international community to demonstrate, in concrete terms, the widespread condemnation and abhorrence of the evil apartheid system if we are to be taken seriously by the racist Pretoria régime. We have held many special series of meetings of the Security Council to highlight and expose this odious system. What indeed has been lacking is the political will, especially on the part of certain Powers, to adopt effective measures and policies that will compel the racist South African régime urgently to open negotiations with the authentic representatives of the black majority with a view to creating a representative and non-racial

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

government in South Africa. The Security Council can help bring this about and stop further bloodshed in South Africa by adopting appropriate measures under Chapter VII of our Organization's Charter. The time for action is now.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of South Africa.

I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MANLEY (South Africa): Please accept, Sir, the congratulations of the South African delegation on your assumption of the presidency for this month.

The Security Council has been convened to exploit the current international hysteria about punitive measures against South Africa. The conveners of this meeting have moved in to deliver what they hope will be a decisive blow against South Africa in their long campaign of vilification against the Government and people of South Africa. They hope that through these proposed measures they will be able to cripple the South African economy.

Our detractors are mistaken if they think that they will coerce the South African Government into accepting their prescriptions in respect of our country. They delude themselves if they believe that their hypocritical statements in this Council will impress South Africans any more than did the recent imposition of sanctions by certain States. If anything, such actions retard more rapid reform in South Africa. They are an encouragement to the instigators of violence and intimidation and make it difficult for moderate black leaders to come forward more readily to the negotiating table.

The South African Government will not be diverted from its continuing programme of controlled political and constitutional reform by those who believe in threats and intimidation.

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

We shall continue to seek a new constitutional dispensation to provide fully for the aspirations of all our peoples, but we will not negotiate under duress, nor under threat, nor out of fear.

We shall continue to seek dialogue with the leaders of all the communities that constitute the multi-faceted fabric of our society. But dialogue and negotiation can only be conducted in an atmosphere of non-violence with those who abandon violence as a means of achieving political objectives.

The drive for sanctions against South Africa is based on a false premise. It is based upon the premise that sanctions promote the interests of the black people of South Africa and constitute a peaceful alternative to violence. This is an illusion. The type of pressure which is being put on South Africa by the United States Congress and the European Economic Community and which is being attempted here is already causing hardship and suffering to the communities which they profess to be helping. I believe that there is not one State present in this Council which could or would take responsibility for its actions should these proposed measures be implemented. The history of Africa proves this. When the sanctions start to hurt those whom they profess to want to help, they will merely shrug their shoulders and turn away.

I must therefore remind members that the South African Government has on many occasions pointed out that South Africa's neighbours will be hit hardest by punitive United Nations actions. It has pointed out that millions of people, mainly black, in southern Africa would suffer. I therefore appeal to the responsible nations here present to reflect carefully on this matter before deciding on anything which could have disastrous consequences for a large and important part of Africa.

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

It is not as if the South African Government has thumbed its nose at the international community. It is the United Nations which has interfered in our internal affairs in contravention of clear Charter provisions. Far-reaching reforms have already been introduced and much discriminatory legislation has disappeared from our statute book. What the South African Government is striving for is: stability in the southern African region; an end to violence; negotiations between the South African Government and all South Africa's communities and groups for the peaceful solution of the problems of South Africa; and the full participation of all parties in the political process as long as they are prepared to abandon violence as a means of achieving their political objectives.

Much has been achieved. Structures have already been created providing for broader participation in the political process, such as the development of a new provincial system of administration in which all groups participate in the common interest. So, too, at local government level and on regional service councils decisions affecting communities are taken, on a joint basis, by representatives of the various communities. The principle is further accepted that black communities outside national States where they have already achieved self-government should also share in power and participate in decision-making on matters of common interest.

Given the multi-cultural nature of our society, the South African Government is committed to taking appropriate measures to protect individual and group rights. This will be achieved by promoting maximum self-determination and fulfilment, while, through joint deliberation and power-sharing without domination, matters of common interest will be harmoniously achieved.

The challenges confronting us are enormous, but they do not daunt us. Not only have we chosen the road to reform, but it is necessary and just.

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

Those who believe that by imposing punitive measures against South Africa they will somehow bring about the imminent downfall of the South African Government delude themselves. Their attempts to achieve the destruction of the South African economy will fail, but they should be in no doubt that their actions could well have unforeseeable consequences for the other countries of the southern Africa region.

But, of course, the United Nations and members of the Council that do not vote against sanctions will wash their hands of any responsibility for the foreseeable - and unforeseeable - consequences of their actions. Wittingly or unwittingly, they side with the forces of violence and anarchy, which do not seek the establishment of a just and democratic society in South Africa, but which openly espouse, through terror and intimidation, the overthrow of democracy in South Africa and its replacement by a Marxist-dominated dictatorship under which the cry for one man, one vote will be a hollow one indeed.

Can there be a State represented on the Council which really supports the gruesome burning of people alive or the brutal murder of innocent black people in the so-called name of freedom? I should like the Council to reflect on the extremes to which the violence advocated and perpetrated by the African National Congress has gone.

Let me reiterate: South Africa will not be deflected from its commitment to reform. As far as the perpetrators of violence are concerned, we will continue to use the means available to the State to eradicate the evil of terrorism, wherever and in whatever guise it raises itself. I believe that all responsible nations must adopt a similar attitude to terrorism.

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

It is time the international community looked at the reality. Power in South Africa resides in the hands of the moderate majority. That moderate majority includes blacks, whites, Asians and coloureds. And we intend to create a South Africa which will be strong and which will provide for the political, economic and social needs of all South Africans.

But let there be no misunderstanding. If the Security Council and the international community are determined to pursue the course of sanctions on which they have embarked, they should know that they will inevitably retard not only the very process of reform itself, but the social and economic well-being of many countries of our sub-continent.

It is a tragedy that the Council should be requested to give its blessing to such a travesty.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Angola. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Although I come here on a tragic mission, Mr. President, my mind is easier knowing that the Council's deliberations are being presided over by a staunch defender of freedom and national liberation. The role played by your country, Zambia, as a beacon in the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism is a source of consolation to us in this dark hour for southern African States in general and for apartheid South Africa in particular.

Permit me to extend on behalf of my Government and delegation our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his unceasing efforts, officially and otherwise, to ensure the eradication of apartheid and racism from South Africa and Namibia.

The People's Republic of Angola was created out of the blood and corpses of scores of revolutionary martyrs. These heroes were ancestors of our ongoing revolution, which is by no means over. Each succeeding generation of Angolans

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

stands ready to defend our hard-won independence, our territorial integrity and our sovereignty.

The racist South African junta is in the dock charged with crimes against humanity, for thus has the United Nations defined apartheid. And it is not we who have put the South African racists on the stand. That was done by the international community a long time ago. We are bringing yet another set of charges, one in a long series. The racist régime is the main source of tension and war currently existing in southern Africa. South Africa has shown aggressiveness which is tending to increase and assume even more violent forms as the apartheid régime approaches its end, as a result of the heroic struggle of the South African peoples.

The South African régime has not respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region; it has systematically violated the agreements and undertakings it entered into with those States; it has not respected United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolutions, and it has become the main disturber of peace in southern Africa today.

The loathsome apartheid structure needs urgently to be dismantled. We do not believe in the good intentions of the aggressors, because they are still actively engaged in actions against our people and other peoples of the region, and they have not yet proved to us, or to the international community, that they are capable of behaving otherwise.

Africa feels that the racist régime of South Africa has not yet been brought to trial. It has never been seriously convicted for its crimes. Or should I say that though the Fascist junta - down with Pretoria! - has been convicted, it has not served a single day of its sentence, saved by its friends in high places, by allied imperialist interests. South Africa's racist imperialist actions are

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

predicated on its diplomatic, political, military and economic ties with certain Western Powers. Without the latter's active participation and assistance, South Africa's minority régime and apartheid structure cannot survive, let alone be militarily powerful enough to attack, invade and destabilize the peaceful front-line States.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

On every appropriate occasion my delegation has presented evidence to the international community of the economic ties between South Africa and industrialized Western countries and shown how these economic links enable South Africa to perpetuate the inhuman apartheid system, deny its majority inhabitants their human and national rights, and expand its military activities beyond its borders.

The acts of aggression perpetrated on Angolan soil by racist South Africa are aimed at helping its running dogs - UNITA renegade bands - turn Angola into a puppet country which would faithfully serve imperialist interests. That plan is being sustained from abroad by imperialism and executed by the Pretoria régime. UNITA and REMANO terrorist groups, under orders of apartheid Pretoria and financed by Washington, continue to threaten the civilians of Angola and Mozambique. Angola and other front-line States suffering from destabilization attempts have a perfect right to take any measures deemed necessary to defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Let me state once more for the record that the spurious and false positions put forward as obstacles by the Pretoria racist régime have no basis in reality. That is to say, the presence of internationalist Cuban friends in Angola has no relation whatsoever with the independence of Namibia, the colonization and military occupation of that country, the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, the granting of basic human rights to the majority inhabitants of South Africa, and the security of the borders, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the independent States of southern Africa. They are all issues that today haunt the peoples of that region and lead to so much death and destruction. We salute the Cuban friends for helping us and others in our national reconstruction process despite the continued acts of aggression against and violation of our borders perpetrated by racist South Africa.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

The contracts and agreements covering uranium extraction and processing in South Africa: the reprocessing of South Africa's nuclear fuel, in particular providing it with plutonium; the financial, economic and other forms of support for South Africa's nuclear ancillary and related industry; and the transfer of technology, equipment and financial support for South Africa's uranium enrichment programme, including isotope separation - all demonstrate that South Africa continues to produce nuclear weapons. The racist régime already has available nuclear-delivery systems in the form of aircraft and short-range missile rockets which can now cover substantial portions of southern Africa. In addition, it can do so with Mirage-III jets, Buccaneer or Canberra bombers, Israeli-designed Jericho missiles, or 155-millimetre Howitzer cannons. All that has been made possible with the substantial collaboration of certain Western countries members of the Security Council, although disguised as "peaceful development of nuclear power". How does one explain "peaceful development" to the victims of nuclear attack?

I have devoted this time to South Africa's nuclear threat to Africa because Pretoria's nuclear capability will play an increasingly major role in its efforts to stave off changes, protect its apartheid system, and prevent genuine liberation movements from dismantling the racist and imperialist structure of the Broederbond.

In apartheid South Africa we witness the butchery of civilians, State terrorism, murder, kidnapping and killing of black schoolchildren. We witness the further intensification of its repressive rule through the imposition of a state of emergency and the worsening human suffering. Black South Africans cannot be foreigners in their own land. The sons of the soil, whatever their colour, must not be treated as irrational animals. For the redemption of their lives, they must be made an integral part of the whole in a democratic South Africa.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

I speak in sorrow and in anger: in sorrow for the millions of black and coloured South Africans who suffer constantly under the apartheid system and who die in racist attacks, for the sabotage of the national reconstruction activities of our young Republic, and for the civilian refugees massacred in camps and school-rooms; and in anger at the Western connivance in South Africa's adventurism, with no regard for Africa's own movements and causes, and at the annual dividends and profit-sheets that appear to dictate so much of the policies of the West.

Matters of peace-keeping and security with which the Security Council is charged under the United Nations Charter are not entities by themselves devoid of human aspect. In fact, all the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the *raison d'être* of the Organization and all its organs, all the work, ordinary and extraordinary, carried out by the United Nations have, and must have the human being as their central purpose and goal. Yet that fact is all too often forgotten under the mounds of paperwork and rhetoric. And buried beneath all the words and resolutions, the bickering and negotiations, the acrimony and debates are real human beings - victims of disasters, victims of apartheid and wars who are being discussed in these halls and chambers.

Therefore, in our present debate of the apartheid issue, the black South African mother who weeps for her sons slain by racist fire, the South African parents whose children are brutally attacked and denied the very land of their birth, the Angolans who are far away from South Africa but subjected to aerial bombardment and invasions, and the front-line States which suffer destabilization are at the heart of problems affecting international peace and security in our region.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

Through you, Mr. President, I should like to tell those representatives of Western nations who collaborate with the apartheid régime of South Africa that they are sadly out of touch with Africa. If and when any third world countries explode into war, then annual dividends will not save Western transnational corporations. In fact, racist South Africa will not be able to save its Western friends from the holocaust that will ensue. And the tragedy is that neither you, Sir, nor I, neither we nor they, will survive. To prevent that Armageddon we must take effective action now. Now is the time to ask this Council to adopt total sanctions, as envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

As a State Member of the United Nations, we expect support from the Security Council, whose permanent members have the duty not to make a mockery of international law and the United Nations Charter by using the veto to block the cause of justice.

Until the final defeat of racism, apartheid and colonialism; until the disappearance from the continent of Africa of neo-colonial activity - whether economic, cultural, political or military; until the achievement of genuine independence for the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia; and until the total dismantling of the racist apartheid structure, a luta continua, a vitoria e certa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be held tomorrow, 18 February, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.