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NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (continued):

- (a) **Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;**
- (b) **Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;**
- (c) **Report of the Secretary-General**

1. Mr. KESAVAPANY (Singapore): Once again, as it has done over the past three decades, this body takes up the all-important question of *apartheid*. That we have every year unfailingly condemned the South African régime for its practice of this inhumane and obnoxious system is testimony to our deep and abiding commitment to the principle of racial equality as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. The discussion this year takes place against the background of increased repression by the South African racist régime. In the face of mounting opposition to its sham constitutional proposals introduced last year, the régime has intensified repression and coercion. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* points out, the régime "arrested, detained, tortured, tried or banned opponents of its criminal system. It accelerated the policy of bantustanization, enforced harshly the notorious 'pass laws', and implemented even more harshly its inhuman policy of forced populations removals." [See A/39/22, para. 138.]

3. This increased repression, however, has resulted not in cowing the majority of the people, but rather in inspiring them to continue the struggle for racial equality and justice. The struggle has also begun to take on a violent undertone as an increasingly significant number of people are ready to resort to the use of force to get what they cannot secure by peaceful means. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in 1983 alone there were 395 incidents of bombings, armed attacks and other such actions in South Africa. The trend has continued into 1984, with the level of violence ever increasing. Thus the stage is being set for violent confrontation if sanity and reason do not prevail.

4. An Afrikaner cleric, Beyers Naude, once a prominent member of the Afrikaner establishment, who has just had a South African Government banning order on him lifted after seven years, has openly warned that the situation in South Africa is worse than after the situation that prevailed at the time of the Soweto upheaval in 1976. An article in yesterday's *Christian Science Monitor* reports that Naude believes that black unrest in South Africa, though "less spectacular" than the uprising of 1976, is today far more serious. He adds: "things are moving into a disturbing situation where the conflict could eventually become unmanageable". Although the South African Government has done all it can to play down the seriousness of the situation, Naude regards the open and sizeable use of the army in the current situation as a watershed not only for the Government but for blacks, who see it as a *de facto* declaration of civil war.

5. The South African régime must be made to realize that no amount of repression or resort to deceitful measures such as the enactment of the sham constitution last year will still the call for the dismantling of *apartheid* and the establishment of majority rule. Instead, while there is still time, the régime should reach out to the whole population and seek a socio-political system which will allow all the people of South Africa—black, white and Coloured—it coexist in conditions of racial harmony and social justice.

6. The international community has a special role to play in bringing the South African régime to its senses. By continuing to maintain the political, diplomatic, military and economic isolation of South Africa, the world will show that it will never acquiesce in the situation currently prevailing in that country.

7. For our part, the Government and people of Singapore will steadfastly stand by the actions and decisions of the United Nations to bring about majority rule in South Africa. We will give all the necessary support to the oppressed people of that country and to their national liberation movements. We will help to mobilize public opinion and encourage public action in support of the actions of the United Nations. In this regard my country was proud to welcome the visit of a delegation of women leaders sent to Singapore by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in September 1984. Headed by Naome Nhwatiwa, Deputy Minister for Information, Post and Telecommunications of Zimbabwe, the delegation had a useful exchange of views with a cross-section of the Government and people of Singapore.

8. We must ask ourselves what sort of South Africa we are all striving for. That great African nationalist, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1984, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has vividly described what this new

South Africa could be. In his book, *Crying in the Wilderness*, Bishop Tutu says:

"I long for a South Africa that is more open and more just; where people count and where they will have equal access to the good things of life, with equal opportunity to live, work and learn. I long for a South Africa where there will be equal and untrammelled access to the courts of the land, where detention without trial will be a thing of the hoary past, where bannings and other such arbitrary acts will no longer be even so much as mentioned and where the rule of law will hold sway in the fullest sense."¹

9. The words of Bishop Tutu reflect the dreams and aspirations of moderate and well-meaning men. The South African régime and the white minority ignore them at their peril.

10. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the excellent monitoring of the situation in South Africa undertaken by the Secretary-General and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The Special Committee, under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, has submitted what we consider to be an invaluable report. The information therein serves to strengthen our resolve to step up the fight against the twin evils of racism and *apartheid* and to see the establishment of majority rule in that country. Together with our African friends, we shall prevail in the fulfilment of these legitimate and just tasks.

11. Mr. WEIBERG-AURDAL (Norway): For the past 30 years the General Assembly has been considering the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Numerous resolutions have been passed condemning *apartheid* as a violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The General Assembly has also time and time again called upon the South African Government to stop its illegal occupation of Namibia in order that the people of Namibia may achieve their independence.

12. The international community is unanimous in its condemnation of *apartheid*. However, this verbal condemnation has only too seldom been accompanied by practical actions to put pressure on the South African Government to abolish *apartheid*. One notable exception was Security Council resolution 418 (1977), adopted unanimously to impose an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. All the same, we have to draw the sad conclusion that the lack of international sanctions against South Africa has contributed to the survival of the *apartheid* system and permitted it to become more entrenched.

13. My Government firmly believes that effective pressure should be brought to bear on the South African Government in order to bring an end to *apartheid* by peaceful means. Norway has, therefore, advocated the adoption by the Security Council of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. The adoption of sanctions against South Africa would convey a clear message that the practice of *apartheid* is unacceptable to the world community.

14. The Security Council has so far failed to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. However, this should not be used as a pretext by individual nations for failing to act against *apartheid*. Norway for its part has adopted a number of unilateral measures in order to reduce trade with and put a stop

to investment in South Africa. My country has also adopted the policy of not selling oil to South Africa. Furthermore, together with the other Nordic countries, we have adopted a joint programme of action against *apartheid* in order to discourage investments in South Africa, to discourage sport and cultural contacts with South Africa, to increase humanitarian support to the victims of *apartheid* and to increase economic assistance to the front-line States. At present my Government is looking into the possibility of a further strengthening of our unilateral measures against South Africa. We would hope that other countries would be prepared to take similar actions.

15. Today we are witnessing increased tensions and insecurity in South Africa regarding the country's future. The South African Government has introduced a new constitution, with parliamentary representation of the Coloured and Indian communities. However, this so-called reform excludes the black population from any meaningful political participation and must be seen only as an attempt further to entrench the *apartheid* system. A telling judgement of the new system was passed by the Coloured and Indian communities when they widely boycotted the elections to the parliamentary chambers. The constitutional reforms have, furthermore, led to widespread unrest in the black urban communities in South Africa. This is a sign that the black population is not prepared to sit and wait for changes to be made. In recent years there has been an upsurge of political activity among the black population in order to fight *apartheid*, and the formation of the United Democratic Front has served as an impressive manifestation of the need for fundamental changes in South Africa.

16. The South African Government has tried to clamp down on the opposition by detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front and by sending the armed forces into the black townships. There has also been talk about banning the United Democratic Front. If the South African authorities want a peaceful future for their country, they must be willing to sit down and talk with the political leaders of the black community. The alternative to such a dialogue is increased violence and instability in South Africa.

17. Recently we have seen moves to normalize relations between South Africa and some of the neighbouring States. We understand that some kind of *modus vivendi* is necessary between South Africa and the neighbouring States, not least because of the traditional economic links between these countries. However, the agreements between South Africa and the neighbouring States should not be used as a pretext to lessen the international pressure upon South Africa to abolish *apartheid*. At the same time we should make an effort to help the neighbouring States in reducing their economic dependence upon South Africa by assisting them to develop their regional co-operation within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. This could be an important contribution to the fight against *apartheid*.

18. As long as *apartheid* exists we all have an obligation to contribute to its abolition. The *apartheid* system in South Africa is a flagrant violation of human rights in the African region. The tensions in South Africa will continue until the South African Government takes meaningful steps towards giving the black population full political rights. We hope

that this can be achieved by peaceful means. If not, the whole of southern Africa will suffer the upheaval of violent changes in South Africa.

19. My Government is gratified that Bishop Desmond Tutu has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1984 by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. This decision has met with widespread approval, and we hope that Bishop Tutu's efforts to achieve the peaceful abolition of *apartheid* will succeed. Therefore we urge the international community to contribute to this by increasing the pressure upon South Africa to do away with *apartheid*.

20. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For many years southern Africa has been one of the more alarming and explosive regions on our planet. Tension there has been increasing as a result of the inhuman policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which is the last focus of racism and colonialism on the continent.

21. Two main elements typify the Pretoria régime: the intensification of racial discrimination and the expansion of the scale of the exploitation of Africans. Complementing each other, they constitute the essence of the State policy of *apartheid*.

22. Nothing about *apartheid* is essentially changed by the spurious reforms and political machinations being undertaken by the racists. With the introduction of the so-called new constitution of the Republic of South Africa the situation in southern Africa has become even more acute. The rationalizations by some elements in the West to the effect that the "constitutional reforms" in the Republic of South Africa are steps in the right direction are groundless.

23. The situation in South Africa has deteriorated because the racist régime, making a mockery of the inalienable rights of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, is stubbornly conducting a policy of entrenching the system of *apartheid*. In this connection, political manoeuvres are combined with the use of bullets and bayonets. Those struggling for freedom and justice are being fought by the racists' police and military units. Dozens have been killed and hundreds wounded as a result of the so-called political changes introduced in the new constitution.

24. Brutal methods are being used in the bantustanization process, the purpose of which is to deprive the African population of even formal citizenship rights in their own country.

25. It is quite clear to the overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa, to Africans and to the whole world that the inhuman system of *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be eliminated once and for all. This has been stated time and again by the General Assembly and the Security Council. In its decisions the United Nations system has rejected the so-called "new constitution" of the Republic of South Africa as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and therefore null and void.

26. It is clear that this is understood also by those that have not supported those decisions. Pursuing their selfish purposes, they do not wish to renounce the policy of "constructive co-operation" with the racist régime, which has been outlawed by the rest of the world. Their hypocritical pronouncements concerning the safeguarding of human rights immediately cease when the situation in the Republic of South

Africa is mentioned. They try to justify their encouragement of the racist régime by alleging that it wishes to transform *apartheid* peacefully into a system that is compatible with the basic norms of justice, freedom and human dignity.

27. Under this political and diplomatic disguise the United States and other imperialist countries are grooming and nurturing the South African régime, which they need as a bastion against the national liberation struggle of the people of Africa.

28. For this purpose and circumventing the embargo established by the Security Council against the supply of weapons to the Republic of South Africa, weapons and military technology are being sent there. In various organs of the United Nations it has been pointed out on numerous occasions that South African assertions concerning its own independent production of arms is only a myth. As the régime expands its production of ever more sophisticated types of weapons and armament, its dependence on imported components of such equipment and technology from abroad increases proportionately. The facts show that Pretoria never encounters any substantial difficulties in this respect.

29. The fear caused by the plans of the racists to establish their own nuclear weapons and the assistance that is being supplied by certain Western countries in this respect are clear for all to see.

30. Co-operation with the Republic of South Africa is also taking the form of joint exploitation of the peoples of the southern African continent and the plundering of the riches of Namibia. American capital investment in the economy of the Republic of South Africa has now reached many billions of dollars. According to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia on its mission to East Africa,² there are at present 2,000 transnational corporations operating in South Africa. In this connection, basic trade operations, investment, loans and the transfer of technology and expertise are directed through transnational corporations based in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. There are approximately 400 major United States companies, at least 300 subsidiaries of West German firms and approximately 650 British firms operating in the Republic of South Africa. As for the extensive economic and military, including nuclear, co-operation by Israel with the racists, this is convincingly detailed in the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22/Add.1] on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa.

31. Western banks are extending generous financial assistance to the Republic of South Africa. As pointed out in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] during the first four months of 1984 alone the racist régime received credits on international financial markets amounting to \$490 million. South Africa's aggregate borrowing halfway through 1983 totaled \$14.9 billion, more than a quarter of which was borrowed from sources based in the United States. The maintenance of the racist order in southern Africa is providing an unceasing flow of super-profits for the Western monopolies.

32. In addition to this, imperialism is bound to the Republic of South Africa also for military and strategic purposes. Like Zionist Israel in the Near East—an entirely logical parallel—the racist régime

in southern Africa is the bridgehead of Washington's African policies. It is clear that the United States is interested in maintaining a friendly régime in Pretoria, which is quite openly being called in Washington the historical ally of the United States.

33. The United States Administration's policy of "constructive co-operation", and the extensive co-operation of certain Western allies and Israel with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa have been firmly condemned by the African countries, as happened, in particular, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984.

34. The policy of *apartheid*, which is based on murder, enslavement and other forms of brutality directed against the indigenous civilian population on grounds of race, was long ago condemned by the United Nations and rightly declared to be a crime against humanity.

35. The relevant decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly contained a warning that the unlawful implementation of the so-called new constitution would inevitably lead to an intensification of tension in the Republic of South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole. This fear has proved justified. The blood of the fighters for freedom and justice is once again being shed, the racist dungeons are overflowing, the policy of blackmail and threats against sovereign African countries and the unlawful occupation of Namibia are continuing, acts of aggression against the front-line States have become more frequent. All of this is bound to lead to the exacerbation of the threat to peace and security.

36. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that the United Nations—beginning with the Security Council—must adopt effective measures against the Republic of South Africa, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which would compel the Pretoria régime to renounce the *apartheid* system. What is needed for this is the united will of the Council and concerted action on the part of the entire international community. It is necessary to overcome the obstructionist position of certain Western Powers in this respect.

37. We again proclaim that we stand in solidarity with those who fight gallantly against *apartheid* and for freedom and independence in southern Africa, and we firmly support their just struggle.

38. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): Today the General Assembly is again considering the agenda item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. *Apartheid* in South Africa has been condemned time after time by members of the international community. The United Nations has denounced the system of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, and the Security Council has characterized it as abhorrent to the conscience of mankind. Yet, despite these global condemnations, the system of *apartheid* prevails, unjustifiably, violating the Charter of the United Nations and the codes of international law.

39. Nepal has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid* here, before the Assembly, and on numerous other occasions through our active participation in the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We view *apartheid* as an inhuman policy and as the cause of instability in the region. Unless and until the policy

of *apartheid* is brought to an end, international peace and security will always continue to be endangered.

40. Under the policy of *apartheid*, the Pretoria Government has managed to become the most repressive régime in the continent of Africa. The blacks, who, with 20.6 million of the total population, comprise the majority in South Africa, live in 13 per cent of the country's territory, while 87 per cent of the territory is reserved for the 4.3 million whites. It is only within absurdly small territories along the fringes of the country that the blacks have any claim to exercise their rights. Hunger, poverty, unemployment and malnutrition are rampant in these homelands and we see no sign from the Pretoria régime of an intention to take any measure to alter the situation. Even those blacks that have managed to find a place in the white economy work under difficult conditions. The system of migrant labour has forced millions of blacks to break away from their families and to work as cheap labourers for the whites. The chilling fact remains that the blacks and other non-whites live under subhuman conditions.

41. The discriminatory policies adopted by the Government of South Africa are an affront to humanity. For many years, despite the régime's claim of moving away from racial discrimination, it has suppressed opponents of *apartheid*, silenced the press and imprisoned people without trial, some of whom have died at the hands of its secret police. We ask the Pretoria régime: where but in South Africa is a man denied citizenship of his own country; where but in South Africa is a man allowed to live, work and engage in social interaction according to the pigmentation of his skin? Nepal, as an ardent supporter of human rights, cannot, and never will, endorse a system that is racist in purpose and effect.

42. In addition to the acts of repression against the non-whites in South Africa, the Pretoria régime is steadily becoming a military warehouse. In recent years we have witnessed the South African Government resorting to the increasing use of military force to suppress popular resistance in Namibia and to destabilize neighbouring countries. The racist régime has moved a large number of heavily-armed troops into the Territory and recruited a number of mercenary soldiers to serve with the South African Defence Force in Namibia and southern Angola. These forces are reported to be stationed in more than 80 bases in Namibia. This is yet another example of the dirty tricks of the South African Government to perpetuate the domination of its régime. In this respect, we strongly denounce the military collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries. We equally and vehemently denounce the indirect support and encouragement the South African racist régime receives from certain countries that profess in this world body to be staunch supporters of human rights and the dignity of human beings.

43. The recent elections held in South Africa on 22 and 28 August and the so-called reforms claimed by the Pretoria régime are, in the opinion of the Nepalese delegation, a mere device to pull the wool over our eyes. If the Pretoria régime thinks that the so-called constitutional proposals will abate opposition to *apartheid* and thus reduce pressure from the international community for measures of political and economic isolation to be applied against South Africa, it is undoubtedly living under an illusion. Nepal believes that the implementation of these so-called proposals will further aggravate the already

explosive situation prevailing in South Africa. Furthermore, the constitutional proposals are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

44. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for effective and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We view this as the only viable solution by which South Africa can be forced away from its policy of *apartheid* and oppression. We therefore raise our voice, with that of the international community, in urging the Security Council to take measures under Chapter VII. The delegation of Nepal takes this opportunity to reiterate our support for the full implementation of the resolutions on *apartheid* adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, as well as by the Commission on Human Rights.

45. In conclusion, Nepal commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its incessant efforts to mobilize world public opinion against this vicious evil. We fully support the recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report.

46. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): Once again the General Assembly is deliberating on an important issue that has been with us for nearly four decades. At no other time in that long period, however, has the urgency and gravity of the situation in South Africa been as pronounced as it is now. At this very moment many of the indigenous people of South Africa are being indiscriminately beaten up, arrested and gaoled, tortured and, yes, killed mercilessly for denouncing South Africa's repressive system of *apartheid*.

47. Almost every day there are new reports on the increasing brutality of South African military and police forces against the helpless black South African men and women, and even innocent children, whose only crime has been to demand freedom, justice and equality.

48. I need not dwell on the seemingly endless atrocities inflicted upon the black people of South Africa by the perpetrators of the *apartheid* system. Suffice it to say that the system has for its unparalleled cruelty been declared a crime against humanity.

49. And, as if to cap its record of inhumanity, the racist Pretoria régime recently imposed a new racist constitution providing for the creation of a racially segregated tri-cameral house for the whites, the Coloureds and those of Indian origin. The indigenous African majority, consisting of over 70 per cent of the population, were excluded from exercising any political rights. They are not to be represented in the tri-cameral house simply because they are of indigenous origin. They are black and therefore should not be part of a white South Africa, although they are the descendants of the very same people the racist colonizers found in the land when they arrived there centuries ago. Their place is in the bantustans, the concentration camps shamelessly declared by the racist régime to be "independent States". As they are not considered part of their own homeland, they are aliens in their own country. If this is not immorality and racism in its most despicable form, I do not know what is.

50. Deprived as they are of their right to govern themselves, they would not even be allowed to call themselves citizens of their own land. It is in this light that my delegation has joined almost all the members of the international community in con-

demning this new racist constitution and in declaring it null and void. My delegation cannot and never will be hoodwinked by South Africa's innuendo that such constitutional reforms will lead to reformation of the *apartheid* system. This is an insult to our intelligence. How can a system as ugly and as inhuman as *apartheid* be reformed by another inhuman act? *Apartheid* cannot be reformed; it has to be totally eradicated and the people of South Africa given their inalienable right to self-determination.

51. Having said that, my delegation would like to voice its dismay over the reception some Western European States recently extended to the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime. The action of those countries has further encouraged the racist Government, which the United Nations has been trying to cripple to force it to give up its *apartheid* policy. This was confirmed right after the racist Prime Minister returned home from his European trip. His Government intensified its tyrannical acts against the long-oppressed people of South Africa, who, on the other hand, showed admirable courage and determination to press on with their struggle against the racist policies of Pretoria. These intensified acts of aggression and terrorism, coupled with economic blackmail, were extended to the régime's neighbouring States, already reeling under economic pressures and hardships.

52. In paying tribute to the courageous black people of South Africa and to their national liberation movements, as well as to the people of its neighbouring States, my delegation strongly condemns these aggressive acts of the South African authorities. We also pay tribute to all peoples of the world, the very concerned "unconcerned" individuals who have made the problem of the oppressed people of South Africa their very own. They have in their own way contributed to or effected the implementation of the numerous measures adopted by the United Nations aimed at eliminating *apartheid*.

53. As I near the end of this statement I must confess to a feeling of deep frustration. I am fully aware that there is nothing in my remarks that has not been said before. I am fully aware, too, that once again they may have fallen on deaf ears, the ears of those whose co-operation in the elimination of *apartheid* we have long sought, those who would pride themselves on their long tradition of democratic values, those who would always remind us of the importance of respect for human rights, those who would champion the cause of self-determination and liberty. Why such values cannot be applied in so far as the 25 million oppressed and disenfranchised blacks of South Africa are concerned is a question that to many nations of the world remains unanswered.

54. Once again we appeal to those States to extend their support to the oppressed majority in South Africa. Experienced and familiar as those States are with the inevitable outcome of a people's struggle for liberation and self-determination, they no doubt must see that the handwriting is on the wall. Recent events in South Africa unmistakably suggest a momentum towards unrestrained violence which will affect not only that country itself but also the entire community of nations.

55. We therefore once again urge them to join the international community in taking the necessary steps, including the imposition of comprehensive

sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to eliminate the evil system of *apartheid*.

56. Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): I shall begin by quoting from the statement made by our Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the general debate at this session. He said:

"The system of *apartheid* is doomed because its fundamental precepts are evil and offensive to human decency. Its practitioners are perpetrating a crime against humanity. It cannot be maintained indefinitely by resorting to violent tactics of repression and intimidation. It cannot be saved by futile and superficial changes in a system that is fundamentally immoral. The Government and the people of Jamaica are unalterably opposed to that wicked system." [See 28th meeting, para. 36.]

57. For Jamaica there can be no compromise with *apartheid*. It is our conviction that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be rooted out and totally eliminated. Hence, we continue to be perplexed by attitudes which suggest a belief that there are policies which can nudge the South African régime gently along the path towards reform.

58. *Apartheid* was born in conquest, maintained by repression and exploitation and nurtured by the philosophy of racial superiority. All the actions of the South African racist régime are designed to maintain the white minority in power forever. Of that there can be no doubt. And in order to do so, that régime is prepared to do whatever is necessary, as they have done in the past. The legal framework of repression and exploitation is firmly in place and there are no signs that it will be dismantled. However much the philosophical and theological doctrines are perceived by many in the rest of the world to be crude distortions, they are still being trumpeted as rationalizations and justifications to buttress the evil of the system.

59. The white sectors in South Africa have always applied a racial policy to the non-white population, starting with the so-called native reserves to the now so-called independent bantustans, which are only enclaves to provide cheap labour for the white minority and enable the repressive apparatus to function more efficiently.

60. The international community must continue to apply the greatest pressure against the régime of southern Africa. The record of that régime is one of deception, hypocrisy and treachery. Hence, we can find no distinction between constructive engagement and accommodation.

61. We support the calls made for an intensification of the international public opinion campaign against the *apartheid* régime and for increased moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. I should also like to take this opportunity of reaffirming the Government of Jamaica's solidarity with and support for the oppressed and exploited groups in South Africa, including the heroic freedom fighters, trade unionists, opposition leaders, religious groups, students and all prisoners of conscience who remain unflinchingly opposed to the system and policy of *apartheid*. In the face of highly repressive measures and violent intimidation, the oppressed people have refused to be cowed into submission and have, again and again, demonstrated their unshakable unity. We note with particular satisfaction that religious opposition to *apartheid* has intensified and

that church groups have been vocal in championing the rights of the oppressed majority in South Africa. My delegation highly commends the activities and indomitable spirit of such religious leaders as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, who was also recently appointed as the first black Bishop of Johannesburg, and Bishop Boesak. We also warmly congratulate Bishop Tutu on his highly deserved honour in receiving the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1984.

62. The desperate and aggressive tactics being employed by the racist régime underlines the fundamental crisis facing the *apartheid* system. We believe that the time has been long overdue for the international community to heed the pleas of the oppressed people of South Africa. This alarming situation demands far more decisive and concerted action against that régime, which has not only intensified its own internal repression but has tightened its military stranglehold on Namibia and has increasingly destabilized the neighbouring front-line States. For those who would counsel patience and point to so-called reforms, the question is: how much longer should more than 22 million oppressed people await the pleasure of a brutal white minority?

63. It is often the case that morality and material interest combine to dictate reform. Such reform may not be less worthy because of that. On several occasions the right combination of principle and prudence has induced change. But history will not forgive those who would allow self-interest, under whatever guise, to so twist principle as to condone the *status quo* under the mantle of reform.

64. Of particular concern to my delegation has been the vexing matter of *apartheid* in sports and international sporting contacts with South Africa. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Jamaica has been actively involved in the international campaign to eliminate sporting contacts with South Africa. We welcome the report of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [A/39/36], and pledge our continued commitment to assist in the efforts for an early conclusion of a draft international convention so that it can be formally submitted to the next session of the General Assembly.

65. On behalf of the Government of Jamaica, I wish to renew our commitment to assist in the international efforts to root out this monstrous evil and to create a just and democratic society in South Africa, in which the basic rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed for all citizens, without regard to race, colour or creed.

66. Mr. NGONDA (Zambia): I wish at the very outset to pay deserving tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the tireless efforts it continues to deploy in the defence of the oppressed and voiceless people of South Africa. Under the able and committed leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, the Committee continues, often under the most unfavourable of circumstances, to alert world public opinion to the evil and inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid* pursued with relentless zeal by the Government of South Africa.

67. The work of the Special Committee in defence of the oppressed people in South Africa must receive the wholehearted support of the entire international community if we are to make progress toward the achievement of the objectives embodied in countless

resolutions and decisions of this world body in relation to the indignities that have been the lot of the black people of South Africa since Jan van Riebeeck and his band of seafarers unleashed their predatory grasp on the natural and human potential of South Africa, when they landed on the shores of that suffering country in 1652, over three centuries ago.

68. The item under discussion has been before this Assembly since 1946, because those policies continue to be a matter of concern to the entire international community.

69. *Apartheid* is a self-centred system based on an irrational belief in white supremacy. It is an evil system which has resulted in the subjugation of the black majority to the whims of a racist white minority. *Apartheid* is indeed a crime against humanity, as the international community has rightly characterized it.

70. In order to perpetuate white supremacy, South Africa has evolved a long-term plan of fragmenting its black population into small entities known as bantustans. Under this restrictive system the black South Africans are stripped of their citizenship in the land of their birth. They can live and seek employment in cities and other areas designated for whites only on the basis of passes. South Africa's ultimate goal is to banish the black majority to bantustans, leaving the whites in the rest of the country as the majority inhabitants of South Africa.

71. Mass arrests, imprisonment, torture and killing of the oppressed will not silence opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa and Namibia. Those that have a special leverage with regard to the racists have a special responsibility to use that leverage in a positive fashion. The oppressed and the entire international community are justified in making that demand.

72. Racist atrocities committed against the black masses in both South Africa and Namibia have not weakened the oppressed people's determination to fight for their rights. On the contrary, such actions have reinforced their resolve to achieve their cherished objectives. They know, as we all know, that their noble objectives will not be realized if the obnoxious system and policies of *apartheid* are not dismantled.

73. South Africa and Namibia are the only countries in this latter part of the twentieth century where racism and racial discrimination are institutionalized. A black person is looked down upon as a mere tool of the whites and as a source of cheap labour to sustain an economy from which he does not derive any benefits at all. When he can no longer provide that cheap labour, he is banished to a barren bantustan to live in abject poverty and utter despair.

74. The international community is duty-bound to wage a relentless struggle to rid our planet of this inhuman and dangerous system. The indignities that are daily visited upon the black people of South Africa and Namibia have reduced the oppressed in those bleeding countries to the status of mere chattels in the countries of their birth. This is a position basically of slavery.

75. The oppressed people in South Africa, as is the case in relation to Namibia, are unequivocally opposed to *apartheid*. They have demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt their disapproval of this abhorrent system. They are courageously raising their

voices against *apartheid*. They are waging a heroic struggle to redeem their rights, their dignity and their honour in a united South Africa and a united Namibia.

76. Only recently they eloquently expressed their vehement opposition to that system when they overwhelmingly rejected the so-called constitutional reforms, which are but a fraudulent move further to fragment the non-white population. These so-called reforms were designed to consolidate *apartheid* and not to eradicate it.

77. The current explosive situation in South Africa, in which countless unarmed men, women and children have lost their lives, is a direct function of the genocidal and abominable policy of *apartheid* pursued with increasing barbarity by the racist Pretoria régime.

78. The Pretoria régime is entrenching its despicable *apartheid* system even in Namibia, a Territory it occupies illegally and in flagrant violation of numerous United Nations resolutions and decisions. In order to maintain a stranglehold over Namibia, South Africa has adopted over the years an aggressive posture towards independent States in our region in a desperate attempt to destabilize them and thereby force them, South Africa hopes, into abandoning their support for the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa. Using its awesome military might and mercenaries, the racist régime has unleashed a reign of terror which has compelled the oppressed to resort to armed struggle to liberate themselves.

79. We are concerned that, in spite of South Africa's well-known disregard and record of violation of human rights and its dangerous policy of committing acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, certain Western Powers have collaborated and continue to collaborate with that régime in the nuclear, military and many other fields. We condemn this collaboration because it strengthens the oppressive hand of that reckless régime, which has shown no regard whatsoever for human dignity. We also condemn any policies that continue to embolden the racist régime to perpetuate its evil system of *apartheid*.

80. The policies pursued by certain Western Powers have given aid and comfort to the racist minority régime in South Africa, enabling it to continue to pursue its inhuman and abominable policies. The credibility of this body would be called into question if it equivocated in its condemnation of those who continue to collaborate with the racists. We must continue to call on the international community to render all possible material support to the oppressed people.

81. Let me conclude by saluting those who have fallen in the struggle against *apartheid*. Their lives will have been given in vain if the international community does not redouble its efforts to advance the dawn of a new era of freedom, justice and peace in South Africa and Namibia.

82. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): The campaign against Israel, in a grim parody of other beliefs, appears to have its ritualistic grievances that must be respected. We have had a number of these already this fall. First there was the Iranian exercise to deny Israel its credentials. Then there was Iraq's annual resolution concerning its nuclear reactor. Now we have Israel-baiting in another guise, wrapped in the cloak of the anti-*apartheid* movement. The melan-

choly result is that the very ones that are guilty of the worse abuses of human rights—the Soviet bloc and many Arab countries—have hijacked a movement of great moral significance and distorted it beyond recognition. They have thus alienated people of goodwill who would otherwise support this endeavour.

83. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* could have done better. For its special report does not dwell upon the evils of enforced racial separation, or upon practical ways to alleviate the humiliation and pain of *apartheid*, or upon arguments to persuade the practitioners of *apartheid* that it is wrong and self-defeating. Instead, the Committee in its special report [A/39/22/Add.1] regrettably comes to an entirely different point—that Israel is the well-spring of *apartheid*, the mighty empire that sustains it from afar and deserves to be punished.

84. All this Israel-baiting is by now so much part of the proceedings that no doubt many representatives can barely suppress a yawn. This would be a mistake. What is at issue here is not Israel, which will not be affected by what is said here, but the cause of the anti-*apartheid* movement; it may indeed suffer if yet again those who have no real interest in it are permitted to abuse it for their own malevolent ends.

85. Let it first be said that Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including *apartheid*. We are a people which has suffered more from racism—murderous racism—than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. This is also why the State that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion for *apartheid* and its opposition to it both in world forums such as this one and directly to the Government of South Africa. We agree with the thought that has already been expressed by a number of representatives here, namely, that direct communication of our position is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies.

86. But let it also be noted that those leading the pack against us include the Soviet Union and certain Arab States. Now, whatever the internationalist rhetoric of the Soviet Union, it is a country whose régime brutally suppresses the language, culture and slightest expression of nationalist aspirations of its many minorities. This is not *apartheid* perhaps, but it is the suppression of one people by another, the subjugation of all the non-Russians by the Russians throughout the Soviet empire.

87. And what about the Arab countries that incessantly proclaim their lack of racism? I believe their record is worth examining as well. Who was it that first began the extensive slave trade in black Africa, leading to untold suffering and deaths over centuries? And what shall we say of those Arab countries that well into this century and, indeed—according to the Anti-Slavery Society of London—within recent decades practised slavery? Saudi Arabia, for example, deigned to abolish slavery officially only in 1962. There are reports that to this very day in the interior of the Arabian peninsula slavery or something very much like it continues to exist.

88. Or take Chad, where the Arab minions of Colonel Qadhafi and his local puppets lay claim to and occupy a large swath of Chad's territory—de-

spite Qadhafi's solemn pledge to remove his troops. And Libya's threats, of course, of continued subversion and conquest extend well beyond Chad and threaten other black African States. So let not the nations of black Africa be sidetracked by the Arab campaign of vilification against Israel. Let them look not only to their south for what should properly arouse their indignation but to their north as well.

89. The preposterous assertions in the special report do not merit a response, but I will choose for the sake of illustration one example: the accusation of Israel's extensive trade with South Africa. The facts of the matter are well known, even to—and perhaps especially to—our accusers. Israel's trade with South Africa, like its trade with other countries, does not imply a blanket endorsement of that country's policies, else the United States would be taken to endorse the policies of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union those of West Germany, Britain those of Libya, and so on. What should at once strike a fair-minded observer is that Israel is being singled out in a ludicrous fashion. For Israel's trade with South Africa is so modest as to be scarcely visible, amounting—according to the IMF figures—to less than one half of 1 per cent of exports and three quarters of 1 per cent of imports. Nearly 20 countries trade more extensively with South Africa.

90. And what of that large portion of South Africa's trade, roughly a quarter of it, that conveniently remains unspecified? This covers up the substantial commerce that takes place between South Africa and the Soviet bloc, but especially the massive trade with Arab countries.

91. Arab oil exports to South Africa amount to over \$1 billion a year. This makes the Arabs amongst the biggest exporters to South Africa. Israel, with a paltry \$120 million, fades into insignificance. Indeed, Arab oil exports to South Africa are at least 10 times as great as all of Israel's exports to that country.

92. But, of course, Arab trade with South Africa is a two-way street. What goes out as oil comes back as gold and diamonds and other rare minerals. The Arab oil producers fuel South Africa's economy, and they make a fortune doing it.

93. All this should be enough to demonstrate the frequently heard Arab claim that the Arabs are champions of black Africa. But what is perhaps most amazing is the shamelessness with which the Arab oil States engage in this practice. Rolling in unearned oil wealth, they can hardly be unaware that their pricing policies have done more to damage the economies of black Africa than anything else in history. The astronomical rise in the price of oil during the last decade put out of reach for many black African nations the essentials for developing an agricultural economy. The prices of such things as fertilizers—which, by the way, are petroleum-based—and oil products to run even the simplest farming machinery have skyrocketed. The national debt of many black African States soared and their peoples paid, and continue to pay, a terrible price.

94. And have the wealthy oil producers given the slightest price break to their poor customers? Have they been generous with their non-Arab neighbours? Have they done anything, in fact, to alleviate the suffering they have so obviously caused?

95. Should all countries that trade with South Africa be hauled before the Special Committee, to be made the subject of a special report? We know, for

example, that in addition to many countries in the Arab world, the Soviet bloc and Western Europe, as well as other countries, many black African States conduct a vigorous trade with South Africa. Now, I am not in any way suggesting that these countries support *apartheid*, or that they should be attacked. I am just saying that it is absurd to use the existence of trade as a rationale for another kangaroo-court verdict, with Israel to be drawn and quartered and given a trial afterwards.

96. When indignation is so selective, we have a right to be suspicious. The result of all this palpable unfairness, this campaign against injustice put to such unjust uses, is that people who might be of some assistance in ameliorating or ending the system of *apartheid* lose heart in the good faith of this effort and turn away.

97. In the diplomatic forums of the world, including this one, the Arab campaign against Israel has seized and held hostage every issue dear to black Africa for the Arab régimes' own selfish purposes. This situation deserves to be pondered by every representative of black Africa here, and even more so by their Governments and peoples. The struggle against *apartheid* deserves better.

98. Mr. IJZON (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The policies of *apartheid* which the Government of South Africa continues to put into effect at this stage of history have been rejected by all the members of the international community. This is indicated by the condemnation by international organizations, particularly the General Assembly and the Security Council, of that inhuman practice, which affects stability and international peace and security. When it is abolished all the citizens of South Africa will be able to live together in peace and brotherhood inside their own country, which is one of the greatest African States in terms of area, diversity of resources and climate, one of the most developed and one of the most productive.

99. A country as big as South Africa with an area of 1,223,905 square kilometres, with its four well-known provinces of Cape Province, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal, is sufficiently large to permit all its sons to live together in the context of a common feeling of freedom and love and to build a common future. This requires that the white minority renounce its present attitudes and be more flexible, by recognizing the equal rights and duties of the rest of the population without any discrimination.

100. Flagrant discrimination is endured by the African inhabitants, although they represent 73 per cent of the whole population. This applies, at different levels, to other inhabitants, whether Coloured or Asian. Recently this discriminatory treatment has been extended even to the beaches on the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean coasts of South Africa, where private beaches have been assigned to the white minority and more limited and less interesting beaches have been assigned to the indigenous inhabitants.

101. We are convinced of the importance of dialogue and the need for acting with reason. We encourage quiet diplomacy, which might bring about a resolution of the unacceptable situation that prevails in South Africa and Namibia. This requires that favourable conditions be brought about by all the parties concerned so that the region might be kept

free from military confrontation. Perhaps certain positive changes which have taken place recently in relations between South Africa and Angola will help in the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978), if such changes are genuinely supported by all the States of the world, particularly the major Powers and the permanent members of the Security Council, some of which have undeniable influence on events in the southern part of the African continent.

102. My country rejects racism in all its forms in South Africa. This was confirmed at the beginning of the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, when Mr. Abdulla, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, said:

"We reiterate our condemnation of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa, which is contrary to the norms of international and humanitarian conduct. We hold the racist Government of South Africa responsible for the failure of the negotiations on Namibia . . . " [23rd meeting, para. 138.]

103. We have always voted in favour of resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject of *apartheid* and the situation in South Africa, including the most recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly this year [resolution 39/2], which rejected the so-called new constitution in South Africa, as well as the other resolutions adopted by the Group of African States.

104. Our position stems from our conviction that our historically cordial relationship with the Africans is solid; it is designed to fulfil our common interests and well-being on the basis of justice and equality and derives from the principles of our divine Muslim religion and our national patrimony, which is rich in human values and based on peaceful coexistence.

105. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The problem under discussion today arose in 1948, when the National Party seized power in South Africa and began attempts to consolidate the hegemony of white settlers over the country through the enactment of unjust laws denying the black South Africans their most basic rights and consolidating the policy of *apartheid*.

106. The United Nations realized the evil nature of that policy at an early date, since it was included in the agenda of the General Assembly in 1952 and has been discussed in detail ever since. However, an appropriate solution has not been found, and the problem still persists. Despite the long period of time that has elapsed, despite the hundreds of resolutions that have been adopted and despite the fact that the international community is unanimous on the need to put an end to *apartheid*, that policy is still being entrenched. Perhaps the only positive element is the fact that the Pretoria régime has not managed to silence the African people, despite all sorts of oppression and persecution practised by the racist repressive forces against that heroic people. The recent popular uprisings in various South African townships, which started as an expression of rejection of the new racist constitution, constitute yet another chapter in the heroic saga of the South African people in their struggle to recover their basic rights and to rid the world of the policy of *apartheid*.

107. Undoubtedly history will proudly record the sacrifices made by the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid* and affirm that the thousands who fell victim to the bullets of the racist régime, whether they bore arms or banners calling for the abolition of *apartheid*, as well as those in prison, sacrificed themselves for mankind as a whole, because they were struggling against a policy considered by the General Assembly to be a crime against humanity.

108. The practices of the South African régime, whether in South Africa itself or in Namibia, constitute a flagrant violation of human rights and a challenge to the international community. The subjugation of the majority of the population by a few settlers practising the worst kind of injustice, oppression and exploitation of the indigenous people, throwing them into gaol, subjecting them to torture and even killing them merely because they demand their right to justice, equality and human dignity, is indeed a dastardly crime. Moreover, in recent years the racist régime has been carrying out mass expulsions of the black population to the homelands or bantustans which that régime has established and claims to be independent States. In reality they are no more than mass concentration camps to which the blacks are banished whenever they demand an improvement in their conditions. Under the pretext that the bantustans represent their country, the blacks have no political or social rights outside because they are considered aliens.

109. This did not satisfy the racist régime, however, so it resorted to other methods and affirmed that the blacks were aliens and without rights in their own country. Among those methods is the so-called new constitution, which was adopted by the white electorate only, despite the fact that the rest of the population were opposed to it and boycotted the elections held under it.

110. Despite the boycott of the elections by many Coloureds and Asians and the fact that only a very small percentage of those eligible took part in them, the racist régime continued its scheme and established two new chambers. Therefore the South African Parliament became tricameral, with one chamber for the whites, a second for the Coloureds and a third for the Asians. The two new chambers cannot, of course, discuss any matter without the prior agreement of the racist régime. Therefore they are intended simply to whitewash that régime. The blacks are not represented, of course, because they are looked upon as aliens by the Pretoria régime.

111. Undoubtedly the new constitution will entrench the policy of *apartheid* because it classifies people according to race and makes the blacks the lowest category, denying them their right to their homeland and thus making them stateless persons.

112. The new constitution is nothing but the other side of the coin of the bantustans, and the three chambers that have been established are simply parliamentary bantustans. The ultimate aim of all this is to destroy the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa, sow discord between the different races and isolate the black majority from the other racial groups. Moreover, the new constitution will strengthen the military capacity of the *apartheid* régime by legitimizing the drafting of Coloureds and Asians, who will be used as tools to carry out the policies of

oppression in South Africa and Namibia and acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

113. It is appropriate here to point out that the racist régime has failed to convince the international community that the arrangements under the new constitution are reforms of its policy of *apartheid*. The General Assembly in its resolutions 38/11 and 39/2 and the Security Council in its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) rejected the new constitution. The two bodies declared that the only possible solution for the problem of South Africa is the eradication of *apartheid*.

114. The *apartheid* régime does not confine itself to its abominable practices in South Africa and Namibia. It has embarked on acts of terrorism and destabilization in the whole southern part of Africa. It has established groups in neighbouring countries, provided them with weapons with which to destroy economic installations in some front-line States and used them to exert pressure on those States to abandon their policies and accept the schemes of the *apartheid* régime. We are confident, however, that the vigilance of our brothers in the front-line States will prevent the régime from achieving its ends.

115. The Pretoria régime persists in its *apartheid* policy, its occupation of Namibia and its defiance of the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations only because a number of imperialist States are still co-operating closely with it, providing it with all its needs and, above all, supporting it in international bodies.

116. Through its policy of so-called constructive engagement, the United States is treating the racist régime as an ally and providing it with all its needs, either directly or through some of its corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia. A study prepared by Mr. George Houser on relations between the United States and South Africa was published by the Centre against *Apartheid*. That study, contained in document 11/84, shows that the United States has modified its control of exports to South Africa and between 1981 and 1983 agreed to 29 transactions with South Africa, including the supply of ammunition, to the value of \$28.3 million. It points out that this is more than the total value of sales by the United States to South Africa in the period 1950-1980, which was \$18.6 million. This, of course, illustrates the effects of the policy of constructive engagement on relations between the United States Administration and the South African *apartheid* régime.

117. The newspaper *The Village Voice* mentioned on 16 October 1984 that the United States Department of State estimated investments by United States corporations in South Africa to total \$2.3 billion, in addition to \$11 billion in the form of loans. With regard to trade, it points out that in 1982 South Africa exported to its basic partners goods valued as follows: to Japan 1.7 billion rand; to Britain 1.4 billion rand; to the United States of America 1.3 billion rand; and to Switzerland 1 billion rand. South Africa imported at the same time goods from the United States valued at 2.7 billion rand; from the Federal Republic of Germany 2.7 billion rand; from Britain 2.2 billion rand; and from Japan 1.9 billion rand. It is worth pointing out here that these figures were mentioned by the South African Government and that the rate of exchange is 0.9 rand to the dollar.

118. Unfortunately, in recent months a large number of Western States received the Prime Minister of South Africa, though they were well aware that the racist régime was trying to exploit the visit to reduce its international isolation and give the impression that the visit was an indication that the constitutional arrangements were accepted by those States. That was not enough for the Western States, in particular the United States. They also supported the racist régime in the Security Council and prevented the adoption of any deterrent measures against it through the use of the veto.

119. In addition, the multinational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia have become South Africa's partner in its racist policies, because they have aborted the international sanctions imposed on the Pretoria régime, enabling it to acquire many materials that it could not acquire through normal channels owing to the international boycott. They have also helped it to establish a sophisticated weapons industry, transferring capital and technology necessary for the development of nuclear weapons and for attaining self-sufficiency in conventional weapons. That was not enough for the multinational corporations; they also smuggled oil into South Africa and transferred it to the Pretoria régime, thus nullifying the oil embargo against South Africa.

120. The Zionist entity in occupied Palestine is still maintaining relations of close co-operation with the *apartheid* régime in all fields. Despite the secrecy about relations between the two racist régimes, United Nations documents have clearly revealed the scale of the co-operation, particularly in the nuclear and military fields. In the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* a study is quoted as follows:

"Israel has been used as a conduit to smuggle arms to South Africa, and relations between both Governments and their arms industries were very close. . . . nearly all the recent developments of ARMSCOR (the Arms Corporation of South Africa) have been derivatives of Israeli products or improvements on vintage material supplied by Western countries . . ." [See A/39/22/Add.1, para. 10.]

121. The document also refers to the close nuclear co-operation between the two régimes, saying:

"Israel and South Africa . . . have established an inter-ministerial committee to work out the terms of a long-term agreement under which South Africa would be supplied with technology for nuclear armaments." [Ibid., para. 16.]

122. *The New York Times*, on 6 November this year, reported that the volume of trade between the two countries had reached \$250 million in 1983. The recent visit of the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs to occupied Palestine undoubtedly also falls within the framework of the consolidation of relations between the Zionist entity and the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. This comes as no surprise, because of the similarity between the nature of the two régimes, which represent settlers coming to their land from various parts of the world and still attempting, by all possible methods, to oust the indigenous people of those territories, whether in occupied Palestine or South Africa. Both régimes are based on a doctrine rejected by the United Nations. The South African régime is based on the policy of *apartheid*, which the United Nations has repeatedly

condemned and described as a crime against humanity. The Zionist entity is based on zionism, which has been considered by the United Nations—in General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975—to be a form of racism.

123. The co-operation between the two régimes has been condemned in various international forums. That condemnation must be reaffirmed, to put an end to that co-operation by whatever means are necessary.

124. The policy of *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity and human dignity. The efforts of the entire international community must be intensified to eradicate it. The plight of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa under the institutionalized policy of *apartheid* necessitates more than sympathy and moral support; it necessitates unlimited support for the armed struggle of the two peoples, so as to establish a society in which justice and equality prevail and race, colour and creed do not form the basis for discrimination.

125. The United Nations—in particular, the Security Council—must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa so as to make it abandon its policy of *apartheid*, establish majority rule and enable the Namibian people to attain their independence.

126. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on the basis of its belief in the need to end the policy of *apartheid*, has since the revolution of 1 September 1969 boycotted the *apartheid* régime in all fields. The boycott includes a ban on South African jets flying through Libyan air space and all necessary measures to guarantee that no Libyan exports reach South Africa and no exports from South Africa reach the Jamahiriya.

127. Finally, I pay tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of Mr. Garba, the representative of Nigeria, for the efforts it is making to mobilize public opinion against the policy of *apartheid*. I reaffirm the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's commitment to the programme of work against *apartheid* adopted by the Committee on 25 October 1983. I also reaffirm our support for the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to abolish the policies of *apartheid* and occupation and also its support for the front-line States, which are subject to repeated acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime.

128. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The fact that in the general debate many delegations did not state the positions of their countries on the most pressing international problems did not prevent the vast majority from agreeing yet again in condemning the actions of the *apartheid* régime, by adopting General Assembly resolution 39/2. That resolution was added to the already lengthy list of resolutions that for more than 20 years—since the first meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*—have expressed the repudiation by the international community of that institutionalized form of racial discrimination, which the United Nations has described as a crime against humanity.

129. None of the insane actions of the South African racists have escaped the rejection or condemnation of the international community, which has requested the Security Council on countless occasions to take effective measures, including the sanc-

tions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. However, the Council has found itself unable to impose those mandatory sanctions because of the veto of the United States and other Western permanent members.

130. But the various organs of the United Nations have not been alone in analysing the situation in southern Africa. Many other international forums, in particular the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, have been promoting the struggle of the oppressed black majority in South Africa.

131. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Movement decided to maintain and intensify its combined support for the struggle for self-determination of the peoples of southern Africa. At that Conference, the Heads of State or Government called for the breaking off of contacts with South Africa and for an end to assistance for the Pretoria régime, while at the same time appealing for increased assistance for the liberation movements recognized by the Organization for African Unity [OAU] and the fullest possible support for the front-line States and other neighbouring countries that have suffered aggression at the hands of the South African racists.

132. The recent meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, provided another opportunity to reaffirm the Movement's firm opposition to *apartheid* and to point out, in respect of the so-called constructive engagement with South Africa, which is a diversionary ploy thought up by United States strategists, that it is designed to strengthen and encourage the racist régime and to reinforce its policy of aggression and blackmail against neighbouring independent States.

133. There is much irony in the crude attempts by the United States to disguise its unrestrained support for the *apartheid* régime. That support, together with the economic and military co-operation provided by certain Western countries and their transnational corporations, has given great encouragement to the South African racists.

134. Thousands of Western companies and corporations are operating in South Africa. The IMF has granted it enormous credits. There is broad military co-operation, and co-operation in the nuclear sphere raises disturbing prospects fraught with danger for the other countries of the continent.

135. South Africa has continued to do business with its main trading partners. According to United Nations statistics, the United States is the main trading partner of the South African racists, with a total volume of imports and exports of \$4,291 million, which represents 18 per cent of the total trade of South Africa in 1983.

136. Moreover, as of mid-1983, the total volume of loans to South Africa amounted to \$14.9 billion, of which 26 per cent came from sources within the United States.

137. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: "Patents, blueprints, new technology, management skills and personnel training have continued to be provided to South African firms by their parent companies overseas." [A/39/22, para. 261.] In order to remind members of the motives behind the actions of the transnational

corporations, the report goes on to state: "Return on investments in South Africa was approximately 15 per cent, putting South Africa among the preferred countries for investment." [Ibid.]

138. All of this explains why, among other things, in 1983 there was an increase in the number of persons imprisoned without trial in South Africa, while hundreds of thousands were arrested for offences related to the unjust "pass laws".

139. To the increasing awareness of the African masses that the only way they will be able to secure their rights is by shedding their own blood, the South African racists have responded in two ways: first, by an unimaginable increase in the internal repression in the country; and, secondly, by efforts to deceive world public opinion and improve their image through cosmetic efforts in the form of fraudulent manoeuvres such as the so-called constitutional reforms, which the United Nations has declared to be in open contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations and designed to mislead international public opinion.

140. Naturally, the new constitution voted for by the whites could not endanger the privileges and supremacy of those whites. It offers the black majority of South Africa no change capable of modifying their wretched existence; instead it perpetuates and increases the repression against them and the violation of their human rights and demonstrates the desire to separate the Coloureds and Asians from the struggle to which they are jointly committed.

141. In the votes on the resolutions denouncing that constitutional ploy the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom abstained, while the United States went even further by describing it as a step in the right direction.

142. The solution of the grave problems of southern Africa will never come from reform of any kind. Rather, as General Assembly resolution 39/2, adopted earlier in this session, clearly states, only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage in a united and unfragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa.

143. But these brutal domestic policies are not the whole picture. The racist South African régime also has an aggressive foreign policy and has institutionalized terrorism as a State policy. Clear proof of this is the illegal occupation of part of the territory of Angola and the attacks against and attempts to destabilize other front-line countries.

144. Further incontrovertible proof of South African colonialist policy can be seen in its continuing occupation and exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, with total contempt for the decisions of the United Nations.

145. The South African régime is seeking to postpone indefinitely the attainment of independence by that Territory by various forms of subterfuge, including its attempt to link that independence to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

146. Before concluding I wish to pay a tribute to the magnificent work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which has submitted to us a thorough and detailed report on all matters pertaining to the policy of *apartheid*. In particular I commend the outstanding work done by its Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba.

147. My country, which has no ties of any sort with the South African régime, reiterates its firm position, which is one of condemnation of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. We reaffirm our support for the heroic struggle of the South African patriots, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], in extremely difficult and complex conditions and our belief that sooner rather than later the South African people will see their country freed from the ignominious *apartheid* régime.

148. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): The year 1984 is about to end. For southern Africa it has been a year of increasing political turmoil aggravated by one of the most ruinous droughts the area has ever experienced. The year saw no progress towards the independence of Namibia, as called for by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The resolution was, on the contrary, further encumbered by additional linkages and preconditions. It was a year bereft of hope for those of our fellow men, in southern Africa in particular and in the world at large, who have laboured so tirelessly and ceaselessly in the quest for peaceful change in our region.

149. But for the people of South Africa, 1984 has turned out to be almost as George Orwell had predicted. In addition to the 10 million black South Africans estimated to have already been herded into the so-called homelands, those black South Africans who have so far remained in the so-called white South Africa have finally been legally disenfranchised and denationalized. A new racist constitution—whose sole purpose is to transform South Africa into a country in which the presence of the black man will be tolerated only for the labour the black man offers as a rightless migrant worker—is in place. The authors of the *apartheid* policies are hell-bent to achieve their objectives at any cost. And so far they are succeeding, unfortunately.

150. The cost in human lives that has resulted from resistance to the imposition of the so-called new constitutional dispensation is staggering, to say the least. We have lost count of the hundreds of innocent South African men, women and children who have lost their lives or who have been wounded in the past few months—men, women and children whose only crime it was to demonstrate peacefully against the imposition of a constitution which negates their existence and deprives them of their right of citizenship in their own country.

151. The cost in the human lives of black South Africans has escalated in direct proportion to the vicious manner in which the *apartheid* policies are implemented and enforced. *Apartheid*, as we have always contended, is a violent policy. What we are witnessing today in South Africa—the demonstrations, the strikes and boycotts by trade unionists and students, the bloody riots, the deaths, the maiming—all these are the ghastly consequences of the violence the policy has unremittingly inflicted upon the black majority. The black majority has come to the end of the road of silent agony. The proclamation of the new constitution, whose authors pretend that more than 70 per cent of the citizenry of South Africa can simply be wished out of existence and forgotten, has given them fresh impetus as they seek with renewed determination and a heightened sense of purpose to reassert their humanity. And they are doing so without any urging by their neighbours in southern Africa, or the OAU or the United Nations.

152. It is a natural reaction to persistent injustice. Indeed, it would not matter a whit even if it were possible for the rulers of South Africa to collect one or two non-aggression pacts a week from their destabilized neighbours. The oppressed people of South Africa would still demand justice internally because the roots of South Africa's problems are internal. They are not found in the attitudes of the front-line States towards South Africa. They are found in the policies of *apartheid* to which more than 70 per cent of the people of South Africa are implacably opposed.

153. And so, no peace accord between South Africa and its neighbours can make *apartheid* acceptable to the millions of South Africans who know that their sorry plight in South Africa has nothing to do with their country's neighbours. We have said so often in the past and will say so once again now and in the future: the only meaningful dialogue the white minority régime in South Africa must engage in is an internal dialogue with the genuine leaders of the black population. Anything less will not facilitate the white minority's task of trying to live up to its "Christian calling", of trying to face its moment of truth which must be forcefully confronted if South Africa is to be spared the tragedy of wasted opportunities.

154. We are not unaware that to South Africa and its Western apologists, 1984 was a historic year of cataclysmic transformations and epoch-making ventures of which so much praise has been sung in both South Africa and the West. In its permissive and passionate love affair with South Africa, the powerhouse of strategic minerals and an investment paradise, the West has with indecent haste greeted the current contortions of reality in South Africa as concrete and praiseworthy manifestations of the imminence of meaningful change in that country. Even the exclusion of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa from the country's new constitution has been welcomed in the West as a step in the right direction—however reluctant—in the sense that Indian and Coloured South Africans will for the first time sit in a segregated, three-legged parliament. So has the signing at gunpoint of peace accords with South Africa's harassed neighbours—which has also been welcomed as concrete evidence of South Africa's peace-loving disposition.

155. We do not begrudge the West its permissive attitude towards South Africa. But do we not have every reason to doubt the sincerity of its commitment to meaningful change in South Africa if the perfidious evasions of meaningful change represented by the so-called reforms are so highly welcomed in the West and rewarded by a grand tour of the continent by the South African Prime Minister? Wrongly or rightly, the tour has created the impression that the South Africans are being rewarded for a job well done. How can the promulgation of a racist constitution designed specifically to cater to the constitutional needs of a small racist minority to the total exclusion of the overwhelming majority of the South African population elicit any praise or attract any reward? Why in this day and age, towards the end of the twentieth century, should racism be rewarded? How can the brutal destabilization of South Africa's neighbours and their intimidation into signing peace accords be rewarded by a West dedicated to the rule of law? Those are the questions we are constrained to ask.

156. No one would quarrel with the West's constructive engagement with South Africa if the West were to ensure that constructive engagement did not turn out to be a cover for a conspiratorial attempt to redeem South Africa from its pariah status in return for nothing. Constructive engagement with South Africa must be aimed at forcing South Africa to come to grips constructively and meaningfully with the unacceptability of the policies of *apartheid*. It should not be a policy of gratuitous appeasement, but it must be one of constructive confrontation with the *apartheid* régime and its policies.

157. So far the policy has been used by the South African Government either to buy time for *apartheid*, as evidenced by the largely negative reforms that are being instituted in that country, or to crawl back into the cosy embrace of a permissive Western world, as evidenced by the South African Prime Minister's curiously triumphant grand tour of Western Europe. Yes, the policy has thus far produced many negative results, however well intentioned its conception may have been. It has given South Africa an insatiable urge to destabilize the region with even more deliberation as a way of forcing all its neighbours to coexist passively with *apartheid* through the signing of meaningless and unequal so-called peace treaties.

158. The war against *apartheid*—and for our part it is a peaceful war of words here—is a war in which we are all engaged and must be engaged, for it is a war to save humanity in southern Africa from the scourge of perpetual conflict. As we meet here, South Africa is in the grip of a needless and senseless death-dance as schoolchildren, workers and the common folk from all walks of South African life repeatedly flock to the streets to demand deliverance from the merciless clutches of the *apartheid* ogre. They are doing so as peacefully as the South African system permits and yet they are often met with bullets, they are confronted with violence, as thousands of soldiers and police are unleashed on them. In South Africa the black people do not even have the right to demonstrate peacefully. But demonstrate they will, regardless of the consequences, and that is what we fear. We fear that the people of southern Africa—and that includes the people of South Africa—will not be spared if a bloody conflagration erupts in South Africa as a consequence of the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. We fear that the white rulers of South Africa have become irredeemably inured to pangs of conscience and have committed and dedicated themselves inexorably to the perpetration of the inhumanities of *apartheid* against millions of their black fellow men in South Africa. Indeed, we fear that it may already be too late for us even to indulge in the lingering hope that even at this late hour something can still be done to avoid a conflagration.

159. But hope we must. The front-line States will leave no stone unturned in their search for peace in southern Africa even in the face of what we have long accepted as overwhelming odds. Unlike the white rulers of South Africa, we are not about to threaten to withdraw our contribution to peace in our region. That is a luxury we cannot afford.

160. Change in South Africa will occur internally and will be brought about by internal forces, not by outsiders. And so it is to the people of South Africa that the white minority Government must look for salvation, not to the front-line States. And that salvation can only come via a genuine national dialogue between all the genuine leaders of all the

population groups which comprise the South African nation. The politics of truncation will not work. The so-called independent bantustans will not save South Africa. The fact is that South Africa is the common heritage of all South Africans and we reject as arrogant and nonsensical the twisted logic of separate development which pretends that the Afrikaner has the monopoly of the ownership of South Africa.

161. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, which is now under consideration in the General Assembly, has been on the agenda of this body since 1952. Year after year, the United Nations has repeatedly condemned this obnoxious system as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It is a matter of deep regret that this abhorrent practice still continues. The General Assembly must therefore continue to debate it until it is completely eliminated, which we must all hope will be soon.

162. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/605]. May I take this opportunity to record our deep appreciation of his unremitting and commendable efforts. The report submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] which has also been submitted for our deliberations comprehensively reviews various aspects of the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the racist Pretoria régime. In this context, my delegation also conveys its sincere appreciation to the Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba, and other members of the Committee for their noble efforts in championing the just cause of the people of southern Africa suffering under *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

163. Bangladesh's position on the question of *apartheid* is firm, consistent and unequivocal and is based on our constitutional commitment to support oppressed people throughout the world who are waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is also inspired by our deep and abiding faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our strict adherence to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have also repeatedly reaffirmed the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence.

164. The abhorrent policy of institutionalized racism and racial segregation based on *apartheid* violates the fundamental principles of human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The system of *apartheid* strikes at the very essence of human dignity and it should be our common endeavour to eradicate it once and for all. Bangladesh has condemned the racist Pretoria régime in the strongest terms for its policy of *apartheid*. Similarly, we have expressed our total and unflinching solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. In his statement to the General Assembly, the Adviser for Foreign Affairs of my country, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury stated:

"It is an outrage to the conscience of the international community that South Africa still continues to pursue its abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. This policy is not only contrary to the values of contemporary civilization; it is also against the

tenets of all scriptures and religions. Therefore, those who, directly or indirectly, sustain and tolerate the continuance of the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa are casting an indelible blemish on the history of their own civilizations and transgressing the laws of their own scriptures.

"Bangladesh is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and southern Africa and we renew our unstinted support to them in their legitimate struggle for freedom, liberty and human dignity." [See 15th meeting, paras. 131 and 132.]

165. The inhuman policy practised by the Pretoria régime has denied representation to the vast majority of the people and dispossessed millions of black Africans under the Draconian laws. Furthermore, they are economically discriminated against and are subjected to all kinds of intimidation and harassment. Numerous innocent men, women and children in southern Africa are being persecuted for no other reason than their opposition to the abominable practice of *apartheid*. We fully share the view expressed by the Special Committee that last year was a rather critical period in the long history of the struggle for freedom and independence in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime is not only pursuing its criminal policy of bantustanization but also trying to hoodwink the international community through the adoption of a so-called new constitution. Its attempt to exclude the 70 per cent of the indigenous population from any political and civil rights through such manoeuvres have been condemned by the international community in clear and categorical terms.

166. My delegation is convinced that any solution which does not ensure transfer of power to the vast majority of the people in South Africa, in accordance with their freely expressed views, must be firmly rejected. We must therefore redouble our efforts with a view to compelling the *apartheid* régime to abandon its policy of sham reforms and to accept the principle of equality of all its citizens without any discrimination whatsoever.

167. In order to achieve this objective, Bangladesh has sincerely advocated that a concerted international campaign must be directed towards a complete isolation and boycott of the minority régime in South Africa in all fields—namely, diplomatic, political, economic, trade, social, sports, cultural and so on. Bangladesh since its independence has maintained no contact whatsoever with the Pretoria régime, and we are in full agreement with the view that mandatory sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should be applied against South Africa with a view to putting an end to the existing collaboration between the *apartheid* régime and some other countries.

168. It is a matter of deep regret that the racist régime has not responded positively to the call of the international community. Instead, it has made every manoeuvre to maintain its stronghold in southern Africa through State terrorism. It maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and refuses to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia—the legal administering authority of the Territory until independence. On the strength of its *apartheid* policy, the Pretoria régime not only has been attempting to suppress the people of South Africa and Namibia, but has also been extending its acts of aggression into

the neighbouring countries and thereby threatening international peace and security.

169. In the face of such aggressive policies of the racist régime, Bangladesh has consistently maintained that Security Council resolution 418 (1977) prohibiting the sale or transfer of arms to South Africa must be strictly enforced. It is a matter of great concern for all of us that South Africa has embarked on a major effort not only to build up its own arms industry but also to develop its nuclear capabilities. In this respect my delegation would like to commend the actions taken by the Special Committee for closely monitoring the developments concerning military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration between the South African régime and certain countries.

170. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the ever-increasing repressive policy of the racist Pretoria régime. It is a blot on the conscience of the international community that South Africa still continues with its policy of *apartheid*. We must therefore continue to denounce the South African régime for its deceitfulness and uphold the cause of those who are still being denied their basic human rights and continue to suffer the indignity of racial discrimination and constant repression for pursuing their just aspirations. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community must undertake a vigorous and concerted effort to eradicate the system of *apartheid* from the face of the earth in order to achieve international peace and security. It is not that South Africa alone stands in the dock; the United Nations itself is being tested, and we must therefore act firmly and decisively in our common endeavour to that cherished goal.

171. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Many speakers have quoted Bishop Desmond Tutu, this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and I should also like to begin by quoting what he said at the Security Council meeting on 23 October 1984 on the situation in South Africa:

"It is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder-keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all up into kingdom-come. There is endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed."³

He continued:

"And the root cause is *apartheid*—a vicious, immoral and totally evil and unchristian system."³

Bishop Tutu ended his statement by urging the South African authorities to go to the conference table with the authentic representatives of all sections of the South African community and appealed to the Security Council to act.

172. Let me also recall the words of another highly distinguished South African leader who not long ago visited the United Nations, Reverend Allan Boesak, one of the founding fathers of the United Democratic Front and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. In his final speech, when the United Democratic Front was being founded, he stated that those who had power in the country had made the same fundamental mistake as all totalitarian régimes which are not based on the people's support but on the power of the gun: they had not counted on the determination of the people to be free. They depended on propaganda, dishonesty and

coercion; they had forgotten that no lie can live eternally and that fear of arms was always ultimately overcome by a longing for freedom. They had forgotten the truth that one can kill a body, but never a spirit.

173. Mr. Boesak is these days threatened with a five-year imprisonment for having strongly criticized the police and military in South Africa.

174. News reaches us every day from South Africa—despite stricter censorship there—of killings with many young people as victims, detentions of trade union leaders, closing of schools, mass dismissals of black workers and so on. To the historic names of Sharpeville and Soweto we now have to add Sebokeng. The situation is alarming. The authorities apparently believe that military force is the only way to deal with the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the people of South Africa for a non-racial and democratic society.

175. We are now seeing the true face of the *apartheid* régime. The *apartheid* system remains a moral outrage to any civilized government or individual. It represents the diametric opposite of the fundamental values of democracy, freedom and justice. It is, in the words of Bishop Tutu, a vicious, immoral and totally evil and unchristian system.

176. Those who have hoped that measures taken during the past year by the South African Government were signs of a real and positive change have every reason now to pause and reflect. Facts demonstrate a strengthening and entrenchment of *apartheid*. Figures on detentions without trial, cases of torture and forced removals to bantustans bear witness to that brutal reality. So do the new restrictions on the press, the extended security measures and the further bantustanization. At the same time we see a completely new situation evolving, based on the growing awareness and the deeper and broader resistance of the oppressed majority, which is now better organized than ever before.

177. Without precedent in South Africa, organized resistance now directly involves millions of people in their struggle. The United Democratic Front has developed into a front of more than 600 organizations, representing trade unions, religious groups, sports clubs, students' associations and local civic communities, with a total membership of more than two million people. Support for ANC and the Freedom Charter of South Africa is daily gaining strength. Any society that continued to ignore such developments would be doing so at its own peril. Police and military enforcement of the *apartheid* laws will become increasingly ineffective and dangerous.

178. The white minority must realize that majority rule will eventually come; but the important issue is not whether but in what circumstances the white community is prepared to accept that reality. If the white rulers would only recognize their own long-term interests and heed the warnings not only of the black leaders, but also of enlightened white individuals in South Africa, there would be greater hope for peaceful change.

179. Some have argued that the *apartheid* régime through its agreements with neighbouring States is seeking peace in southern Africa. However, in our opinion, the aim seems rather to be to create a buffer through threats, military aggression and economic blackmail directed at neighbouring States. The root

cause of the tension in the region, as well as the violence inside South Africa, remains the same; that is, the *apartheid* policy. That is why the Swedish Government is convinced that any solution aiming at lasting peace in the region must be addressed directly to the policy of *apartheid* in all its forms. In this context, let me commend the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for his untiring, imaginative and constructive efforts in the Committee's work against *apartheid*.

180. The fact that the issue of *apartheid* has been unresolved and on our agenda for more than 30 years should be of profound concern to this Organization and all its Member States. Sweden for its part condemns the *apartheid* régime and its methods in the strongest terms and joins in the international appeal for urgent action.

181. What action has to be taken to avoid a catastrophe of unforeseen magnitude in South Africa? This must be an imperative question for all of us. It is not only a question of solidarity with the oppressed majority in South Africa. It is also a question of war and peace. It is indeed a question of abiding by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the rule of international law and the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

182. The Swedish Government firmly supports the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes. We are certainly not opposed to dialogue between States. We do not take issue with the belief that talks with the representatives of the South African Government might be constructive. However, voices of reason, appeals by other countries and peaceful demands by the Organization have for decades been ignored and defied by successive South African Governments. At the recent Security Council meeting to which I referred at the outset, we were reminded of this arrogance by the representative of South Africa when he said:

"... South Africa, as a regional Power in southern Africa, gives notice that it has no intention to capitulate. I must warn that, if the United Nations continues on its present course, South Africa will be forced to withdraw its contribution towards peace in southern Africa."³

183. To the Swedish Government it is obvious that only the introduction of more effective international measures directed against South Africa can tip the scale and produce the urgently needed results of change. In our opinion, there is ample evidence that a dialogue with South Africa, whether we call it constructive engagement or something else, without effective pressure, will not lead to the abolishment of *apartheid*. An absence of such pressure might even lead to a reinforcement of the *apartheid* system. That is why Sweden again, and with renewed vigour, urges the Security Council to consider, without delay, mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. We deeply regret that countries with a crucial role to play in this regard have continued to oppose such measures. Meanwhile we appeal to all States to undertake other effective—and peaceful—measures to increase the pressure on South Africa.

184. In a recent speech at Arusha, Tanzania, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, mentioned six general fields of action that should be undertaken by Governments, organizations or indi-

viduals that want to struggle against the *apartheid* régime. Very briefly, these fields are: full support for the front-line States; Government support for the liberation movements, ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]; more persistent demands for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia; more active work for United Nations sanctions against South Africa; building up the pressure on South Africa also by direct selective action; and pursuance of a policy of isolation towards the régime in South Africa.

185. The Swedish Government has, in a recent Bill in Parliament, proposed some more stringent and extended legislation relating to our existing ban on new Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia. These proposals include: prohibition of financial leasing; authorization to stop the transfer of technology by assigning patent and manufacturing rights; and prohibition of loans and credits to the South African State or its Government agencies.

186. Other proposals in the Swedish Parliament Bill are: extension of the present ban on exportation of war materiel to include, *inter alia*, computer equipment, transport equipment and fuel for use by the military or police authorities in South Africa; a recommendation to government agencies and similar bodies to refrain from purchasing from South Africa; a recommendation to government agencies, official institutions and similar bodies to restrict contacts with representatives of the *apartheid* régime; consultations with the other two owner countries of the SAS airline with the aim of closing down flights to South Africa; and the establishment of a special fund for information by political parties, trade unions and other popular movements about the Swedish policy measures. An important objective of all these proposals is also to encourage other countries to enact similar measures.

187. Another important field of action for the Swedish Government is assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States in southern Africa, to the liberation movements—ANC and SWAPO—and to the victims of the policies of the *apartheid* régime. For the present fiscal year this assistance by Sweden amounts to 2 billion Swedish kronor, that is, about 30 per cent of our development assistance budget, or nearly 0.3 per cent of our total gross national product. The Swedish Government intends to increase that assistance.

188. The major burden of the struggle against *apartheid* has been and will be carried by the oppressed people in South Africa themselves. The international community has a duty to serve as a catalyst. In order to bring about a peaceful transition to a South Africa freed from *apartheid*, it is our common duty to mobilize every international effort, and to do so now. The forces for change in South Africa are, in our opinion, still the forces of peace.

189. Mr. PAGÁČ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Almost from the moment of its birth the United Nations has been compelled to concern itself with the problem of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to consider the serious internal political and international consequences of that policy, which flouts the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law and the standards of humanity and represents a threat to international peace and security.

190. The philosophical bases of *apartheid* are the most reactionary, racist and fascist theories developed further by South African ideologists and politicians. The Pretoria Government has elevated these decadent, anti-human theories to the level of official State policy; they are consistently developed in South African legislation and uncompromisingly guaranteed by the entire State system of South Africa. The rulers of Pretoria pursue the goal of securing for themselves and the white bourgeoisie a monopoly of ownership of the means of production, and of perpetuating the unlimited exploitation of the non-white population, primarily the black majority. This is being done not only by the white minority and its monopolies, but also by Pretoria's allies.

191. The technique used to attain this goal is persistent segregation grounded in racist laws and accompanied by violation of the political and civil rights of the black population. In the field of production this involves treating the non-white population as a work force deprived of all rights, in accordance with the requirements of capital, and compelling it to work, sometimes in inhuman conditions, for wages lower than the level of income needed to guarantee minimal living standards. In practice, non-white workers are deprived of the right to speak out against arbitrary treatment by employers. A very important role is also played by the programme of bantustanization, which is an elaboration on the designs of the Hitlerite idols of the present rulers in Pretoria.

192. All these measures are brazenly imposed by the State machinery, and the Republic of South Africa is rightly described as a police State in the true sense of those words. Any violation of or opposition to the racists' orders is cruelly punished by administrative repression, arbitrary judicial action, illegal violence and intimidation, including the murder of hundreds of defenceless inhabitants, mainly Africans, who dare to express their disagreement with racist servitude and protest against the manoeuvres connected with the so-called constitutional reforms.

193. The *apartheid* régime does not limit itself to oppression and repression within the country, but also commits large-scale acts of aggression outside. It is continuing to occupy Namibia illegally and to block the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination. In the interests of United States imperialism it has put forward a completely inadmissible and unlawful demand that the granting of independence to Namibia be linked to the withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban international detachments. The South African rulers have on their conscience a whole series of acts of direct armed aggression and subversion against independent African States. All this has served to turn South Africa into an extremely dangerous hotbed of international tension.

194. These are the practices of *apartheid*, combining the main features of racism, imperialism and colonialism in their most extreme form and applied against one's own people. The Pretoria régime is seeking to maintain the system of *apartheid*, despite the increasing incidence of opposition within the country and protests beyond its boundaries. This, too, is the purpose of the so-called constitutional reforms, approved by the whites alone. They are a fraud already rightly and decisively condemned by the Organization, with the exception of a few Western Member States, and by the whole of world public

opinion. Such manoeuvres only add to the terror and aggression, and confirm the correctness of the decisive struggle for the absolute elimination of *apartheid*. The victims of *apartheid* are aware of this. Their decisive struggle, led by the courageous ANC, for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racist, democratic State, in accordance with the will of all the South African people, testifies to that.

195. The policy of *apartheid* is systematically encouraged and kept alive by the political, diplomatic, military and economic assistance of a number of Western States and Israel. World imperialism is seeking to earn the maximum returns from its multi-billion-dollar investments in the Republic of South Africa and in unlawfully occupied Namibia and to use Pretoria for its strategic purposes in Africa. A decisive role is played by the strengthening of South Africa's nuclear potential, and the data show that the racist régime now has the means to produce nuclear weapons. As has been repeatedly demonstrated here, this causes profound concern and alarm to the international community.

196. A decisive role in supporting and strengthening the system of *apartheid* is also played by the policy of so-called constructive engagement pursued by the United States Government, followed by certain of its allies. The purpose of that policy is to draw South Africa into the military plans of United States imperialism as a trusted African ally. There can be no doubt that that policy has not helped either to eliminate *apartheid* or to promote a lasting, just settlement of the situation in southern Africa. On the contrary, it represents a serious threat to the implementation of United Nations resolutions with which the whole international community expresses its agreement.

197. The United States and certain other Western States gladly accept the arguments of Pretoria to the effect that somehow a process of gradual change in the *apartheid* system is taking place in the country. They use these arguments as justification for open co-operation with the Republic of South Africa in all areas. Evidence of this was provided by the recent tour by the Prime Minister of South Africa through a number of Western European States.

198. That support of the Republic of South Africa thwarts efforts to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*. In our view, this, too, is the true reason for the maintenance and even the strengthening of the *apartheid* régime. Only through systematic international action, including the application of sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, will it be possible to end the unlawful occupation of Namibia and the aggressive, subversive actions of the Pretoria régime. This has been repeatedly stated by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We appreciate the work of this Committee, led by Mr. Garba of Nigeria, and the Committee's report to the General Assembly [A/39/22]. The report correctly analyzes all the negative aspects of the policy of *apartheid* and its negative consequences for international peace and security. It also indicates ways to bring about the eradication of *apartheid*.

199. The Czechoslovak delegation unreservedly supports any measures that will effectively promote the elimination of *apartheid*, that anachronistic phenomenon of our time.

200. Mr. BAAISA (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The policies of *apartheid* are no longer a matter of controversy. The international community has emphatically condemned them in form and in substance, calling for their elimination. Those racist policies are based on the most abhorrent form of the theory of supremacy, domination and exploitation. They defy the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and contravene the most fundamental human right to freedom, sovereignty and equality.

201. Nevertheless, the white racist minority régime in South Africa has continued to defy the international community, violating international laws and norms and riding roughshod over the demands and resolutions of the United Nations. It has indeed been a difficult test of the Organization and its Members.

202. The implementation of resolutions calling for the isolation of the racist régime and the cessation of all forms of collaboration with it would enhance the credibility of the Organization and demonstrate the will of its Members to defend the rights of man wherever he may be and regardless of colour, race or creed. The practical action taken not only fails to live up to international aspirations and resolutions, but has made them meaningless and futile.

203. Some Western industrialized States have fabricated different pretexts to justify their continued collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa and to defend their not closing all their bridges with it. The military, economic and other forms of co-operation have continued and been expanded. Thus the racist régime has been able to persist in its repressive policies against the struggling people of South Africa and consolidate its policies of aggression against the front-line States by placing them under siege and containing them through the use of various means of pressure and blackmail.

204. The problem of racism and *apartheid* in South Africa has worsened, as have the policy of repression and oppression against the opponents of that régime and the demonstrations and strikes of workers now sweeping across South Africa. The campaign of arrests, terrorism, extremely harsh sentences, the confiscation of passports and the refusal to issue passports to citizens, the strict enforcement of the pass laws to implement the bantustanization policy, which is in the first place aimed at depriving the Africans of their national rights and at strengthening the policy of *apartheid*—all have been expanded.

205. The tactics involved in the so-called constitutional reforms have been exposed in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*ibid.*], which has provided us with evidence that clearly demonstrates the grave tragedy in South Africa. We congratulate the Chairman and members of that Committee and thank them for their continued strenuous efforts to expose the policy of *apartheid* and to strengthen the struggle of the people of South Africa.

206. The racist Pretoria régime has opted for the policies of force and terrorism, while certain States have chosen to maintain their selfish interests and increase the profits of their companies, using so-called constructive engagement and other flimsy pretexts to justify their co-operation with that régime. It is, then, not surprising to witness the continued close collaboration and alliance on all levels and in all fields between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, particularly in the nuclear and

military fields. Both régimes rely on violence and deception and are based on usurpation and oppression. Both have their foundations in racism and aggression. They are two sides of the same coin belonging to a currency that has gone bankrupt in today's world and stands ostracized by the international community. It is not surprising that the Zionist régime continues its contacts with the bantustans and its policy of assisting the *apartheid* régime in its domination of Namibia, despite the misleading campaigns with which its representatives try to draw our attention away from the problem.

207. Colonialism is the same everywhere. Freedom and justice are indivisible, and they are not rights of one people and not of others. Unfortunately, double standards are applied. Europe is different from Asia and from Africa. The countries that brag about the liberation of Europe from nazism and fascism depict the struggle for freedom in Palestine and South Africa as terrorism. Those who do not for a moment hesitate to resort to the policies of boycott and siege or to assist and finance rebels and mercenaries to topple the national régimes of developing countries are the very ones that call for moderation, non-violence and gradual development as a response to the vicious, racist and aggressive régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv. That is why they adopt attitudes that are in contradiction of the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations. They consider the rejection of the so-called new constitution of South Africa as interference in that country's internal affairs. They would deny an entire people its legitimate right to sovereignty and self-determination while they lend legitimacy to the white minority régime and its inhumane practices in South Africa. They seek to support the racist Pretoria régime with investments and loans from financing institutions so that it can overcome its economic crisis. What is more, they welcome the Prime Minister of that régime in their capitals to lend him so-called international respect and to break South Africa's isolation, instead of putting pressure on him and compelling him to respond to the resolutions of the United Nations.

208. The aim of doing the South African people justice and saving it from the claws of the inhuman racist policy cannot be achieved through collaboration with the racist régime and expansion of co-operation with it in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields and in sports.

209. The policy pursued by certain States only increases the persistence of the system of *apartheid*, its repressive measures and its atrocities against the overwhelming majority in South Africa. Furthermore it can but increase its defiance of international public opinion and its threats to the security and independence of its neighbouring countries and the security of the whole world.

210. The policy of direct and indirect rapprochement with the régime has failed. It has increased its intransigence and arrogance. It is surprising that in this era we should see those who have appointed themselves champions of human rights and the values of civilization and progress seeking to contribute to perpetuation of the policy of racism. We are duty-bound to inform public opinion of the true face of that policy and to expose its atrocities and play our role in its eventual eradication.

211. The continued deterioration of the situation in South Africa requires a moral attitude and serious action in opposition to the policies of *apartheid* because it is a crime against humanity. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other regional organizations have opposed those policies and the massacres, the oppression and repression pursued by the racist régime and called for it to be boycotted and isolated. They have also assisted the liberation struggle being waged by the people of South Africa for freedom and equality and opposed the inhumane treatment inflicted upon it. The victims of *apartheid* can no longer tolerate the fact that calls and resolutions remain dead letters. The United Nations must live up to its responsibility to the people of South Africa and bring about security in the region and peace in the whole world.

212. Whatever happens, the people of South Africa must win. The régime of slavery and the present affront to humanity must come to an end, especially in this era in which States and peoples have freed themselves from colonialism and oppression and aspire to a new world in which understanding, peace and stability prevail and in which the manifestations of exploitation, injustice and dependency will disappear for ever.

213. It behooves the United Nations to provide all kinds of assistance and support for the people of South Africa in its struggle against the racist plague to achieve its freedom and to join the newly free countries and to lead those who are fighting for justice and equality.

214. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Japan's opposition to racial discrimination is based not merely on principle but also on the bitter experiences of the Japanese people. Its entry into the community of modern States about 125 years ago came at a time when Asia and Africa were under colonial rule and their peoples were suffering under racially discriminatory policies. The hundreds of thousands of Japanese who emigrated overseas experienced discriminatory treatment in many of the recipient countries. In 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference, Japan, virtually alone in the struggle against racial discrimination, attempted to have a clause proclaiming racial equality included in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its efforts were of no avail.

215. It is indeed a regrettable fact that racial discrimination is still practiced in virtually all parts of the world. It is a persistent and deep-rooted problem, as old as the history of mankind. Nevertheless, we must not give up our fight against it, but rather, we must redouble our efforts to eradicate it wherever it occurs.

216. Today, the most blatant example of this pernicious practice is, of course, South African *apartheid*, which is nothing other than an institutionalized system of racial discrimination. It is natural, therefore, that our efforts to achieve racial equality are focused primarily on that country.

217. In my statement on this agenda item last year [63rd meeting], I expressed doubts about South Africa's constitutional reform measures. As we anticipated, the new constitution was rejected by a great majority of the people of South Africa. If the Government of South Africa wants the international community to believe that the new constitution is a step toward the goal of full participation of blacks in the South African political system, it must discon-

tinue the various policies and practices that belie that goal.

218. How, for example, can we believe the Government of South Africa is acting in good faith when it tenaciously maintains the bantustan policy, under which it mercilessly and forcibly relocates black residents whom it declares to be living illegally near big cities? What is the international community to make of the fact that in South Africa those suspected of anti-Government activities are held in prison for long periods without being given the right to appear in court? As long as such practices continue, the international community cannot but condemn the South African Government.

219. The recent uprisings among blacks began as a response to rent increases, but no one can doubt that they are the result of the dissatisfaction and frustration stemming from the repression I have just described. The subsequent suppression of black workers by South African police and military personnel has tragically resulted in a great many casualties. The South African Government believes it can suppress the workers' uprisings by force. This may seem to be effective in the short run, but history tells us that the rule of force cannot be sustained indefinitely. It is imperative that the Government of South Africa abandon its futile attempts to quell the unrest by force, and that it take genuine steps to resolve the difficulties at their root cause.

220. The Government of Japan fully respects the various resolutions on *apartheid*, and has long been taking all possible measures to apply pressure on South Africa to end its *apartheid* policy. Japan does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. Needless to say, it does not recognize the so-called bantustan States.

221. Japan not only strictly observes the arms embargo against South Africa as imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977); it does not extend any type of military co-operation whatsoever to that country. There is absolutely no co-operation between Japan and South Africa in the field of nuclear development, including peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Japan, as the only country in the world to have suffered the devastation of nuclear weapons, is particularly strict in its observance of this policy.

222. In the economic field, Japan prohibits direct investment in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. Moreover, Japan has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending loans to South Africa. I am pleased to be able to report that this past year, as in previous years, Japanese banks and companies have faithfully observed this appeal.

223. Cultural, educational and sports contacts with South Africa are also discouraged. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan does not issue visas to those South Africans who apply for entry into Japan for the purpose of cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities. The Ministry is doing its best to assure that this policy is strictly enforced.

224. Japan has long been making substantial contributions to United Nations funds and programmes providing humanitarian and educational support to the oppressed people in South Africa. It will continue such humanitarian assistance in the future.

225. To the people of Japan, Africa is a far distant continent. Frankly, in the past, the Japanese people

did not follow African affairs very closely. But things are changing now, and changing rapidly. As the Japanese people become more knowledgeable about African history, culture and current affairs, their opposition to *apartheid* also grows. This past August, a delegation of women leaders was sent to Japan by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. During their stay, the delegation met with many people, both in the Government and in non-governmental organizations. Their visit, widely publicized in the Japanese news media, was of great value in enhancing Japanese understanding of the suffering of the victims of *apartheid*.

226. Tensions in South Africa have reached very serious proportions. If the situation were allowed to continue on its present course it could trigger an irreversible tide of violence.

227. As I mentioned in my statement last year [*ibid.*], the Government of South Africa has taken some positive measures. However, those measures are far too modest, and the rate of change far too slow to constitute genuine progress toward racial equality. Japan hopes that the Government of South Africa will heed the voice of the international community and take measures to ensure that the system of *apartheid* will be abolished peacefully in the near future.

228. Finally, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers in expressing the sincere appreciation of my Government for the strenuous efforts being made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*. The Government of Japan wishes to assure those bodies of its full co-operation in their noble struggle against *apartheid*.

229. Mr. Mbye (Gambia): The General Assembly has been seized ever since its inaugural session some 40 years ago of South Africa's racist *apartheid* policies. This year, however, our consideration of this regrettably familiar item is taking place at a truly critical juncture. The constitutional changes which the racist régime has adopted in the name of reform and liberalization have further polarized South African society and added dangerously to existing tensions in that country.

230. For the racist régime, the past year has been one of frenzied activity. At home, it has sought to impose a new constitution which, while providing for a token role in the political process for the Asian and Coloured communities, formally excludes the country's 17 million blacks, who account for 76 per cent of the overall population. Abroad, meanwhile, it has pursued a campaign of aggressive diplomacy aimed at normalizing relations with the independent African States in the subregion. The object of this exercise is evidently to create and sustain the illusion that South Africa is embarked upon a process of peaceful evolutionary change and guarantees a climate propitious for foreign investment.

231. The truth, however, lies elsewhere. The cosmetic reforms in question do not in any way challenge the racist underpinnings of the *apartheid* system. Instead, as Botha himself has repeatedly assured his white constituency, "there is no hidden agenda". Any doubts regarding the sincerity of this pronouncement will have been firmly dispelled by the wave of forced removals which marked the first few months of this year. We still have fresh in our memories the fate of Magope and Kwa Ngema, communities well over 100 years old which, by virtue

of their recent designation as "black spots", were summarily uprooted and expelled to the homelands. These tragedies offer a paradigm of the black experience in racist South Africa.

232. Although the new South African constitution had been declared null and void by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/11, the racist régime nevertheless proceeded last August to organize sham elections to the Asian and Coloured chambers of its new tricameral Parliament. Appropriately, this electoral farce was denounced as such by no less an organ than the Security Council, in its resolution 554 (1984). The most eloquent comment upon the exercise, however, was the embarrassingly low turn-out of voters. The so-called elections were, in fact, a resounding victory for the two mass organizations which had emerged as a focus for popular opposition to the new constitutional dispensations: the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee. Despite its wholesale detention and intimidation of members of the boycott movement, the racist régime was forced to concede that less than 20 per cent of the registered voters in the Asian and Coloured communities had chosen to exercise their so-called franchise.

233. Predictably, South Africa chose to ignore this implicit vote of no confidence, and proceeded in September to install Mr. Botha as its first Executive President, enjoying a sweeping range of unfettered powers. His inauguration, however, provoked a wave of protests which has now assumed the dimensions of a general uprising. Long synonymous with heroic black resistance to oppressive minority rule, the names of Sharpeville and Soweto have again etched themselves, together with those of Sebokeng and Tumahole, upon the pages of history. Admittedly, the proximate cause of this unrest may have been the announcement of unpopular rent and rates increases, but the protests can only be understood within the broader context of the rejection by black South Africans of a system of institutionalized racial discrimination which seeks to declare them aliens in their own country.

234. The Gambia pays a tribute to the courageous struggle for liberation being waged by our oppressed brethren in South Africa under the enlightened leadership of ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC].

235. The reaction of the racist régime to this resistance has been characteristic: it has simply resorted to repression and more repression. This unfolding saga of brutality was most vividly dramatized by the fate of a Sebokeng youth named Joseph Sithole. Killed during the course of a protest demonstration last September, his funeral was subsequently banned by the authorities, with the result that the entire cortège, numbering 500 mourners and sympathizers, was taken into custody. Pretoria's barbarous tactics were unequivocally condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 556 (1984), which, *inter alia*, demanded the "immediate eradication of *apartheid*".

236. There is already a clear international consensus on the illegality and unacceptability of the odious system of *apartheid*, which has rightly been condemned as a crime against humanity. But this will not suffice. South Africa's brazen intransigence requires the urgent adoption of practical measures to

give effect to the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

237. I cannot conclude without congratulating Mr. Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and, through him, the other members of the Committee for the important contribution which they have continued to make in the struggle against *apartheid*.

238. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): The Netherlands fully subscribes to the statement made by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community; he has already unequivocally expressed our common abhorrence and condemnation of the racial policies of the South African Government. Current events in South Africa provide a tragic reminder that the early abolition of the entire *apartheid* system is imperative. Based on institutionalized racial segregation and oppression *apartheid* daily subjects the great majority of South Africa's people to a life of inequality, discrimination and injustice. As such it constitutes a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

239. The Netherlands Government strongly condemns *apartheid*, both as a social concept based on racial discrimination and in its application. Moreover, my Government will continue to take an active part in international efforts to bring about its elimination by peaceful means and its replacement by a non-racial democratic society and a form of Government truly representative of the people of South Africa as a whole. The high priority which my Government traditionally attaches to the achievement of this goal reflects the fact that opposition against the inhumane system of *apartheid* has become a deeply rooted feature of public opinion in the Netherlands and has given rise to a strong anti-*apartheid* movement that draws its support from many sections of our society.

240. For decades the South African Government has refused to heed the appeals of the international community to abandon *apartheid* and embark upon a policy of genuine reform that would enable all South Africans to determine the future of their country on a footing of equality. Instead, the South African authorities have stubbornly pushed ahead with their plans to compartmentalize South African society through the enactment of a vast array of *apartheid* laws. With a view to ensuring the perpetuation of white minority rule they have deliberately widened the gulf between the various groups that make up South Africa's multiracial society. In pursuit of its *apartheid* chimera the South African Government has forcibly removed millions of South African citizens from their homes and land. As part of its grand *apartheid* scheme, it uses various forms of pressure to herd as many blacks as possible into the so-called homelands—generally poor and overcrowded areas that have become virtual reservoirs of surplus labour. By declaring some of these entities "independent", it has tried to dispossess their inhabitants of their South African citizenship and their legitimate claim to full political rights. Apart from South Africa, however, no country in the world has recognized those bantustans as independent States. The Netherlands has consistently joined the world community in its rejection of bantustanization and the entire concept of separate development.

241. During the past months the disastrous consequences of the misguided policies of the South African Government have manifested themselves in an explosion of riots, bloodshed, destruction and massive civil rights strikes that have swept over South Africa, in particular the black townships of the Vaal Triangle. In this wave of civil unrest, which has continued to erupt since the elections of the past summer for representatives of South Africa's Coloured people and people of Asian descent, so far between 100 and 200 persons have been killed and hundreds of others, including many labour leaders and other active opponents of *apartheid*, have been detained. Only last week more than 2,000 black workers were arrested in police and army raids on the black township of Sebokeng, ostensibly for such minor offences as the non-payment of rents.

242. My Government views the deterioration of the situation in South Africa with the gravest concern and calls urgently on the South African authorities to release forthwith those detained without charge. Although more immediate causes, such as a rent increase, may have sparked off this upsurge of violence it seems obvious that the underlying frustrations stem from more fundamental grievances. We deplore that the South African authorities have responded harshly to these events with a show of force and by stifling voices of protest, without indicating any readiness to address the root causes of these grievances and to take meaningful steps to meet the legitimate aspirations of the black majority of the population. Although South Africa's new constitution gives certain limited powers of parliamentary representation to the country's Coloured people and people of Asian descent, it completely disregards the all-important issue of the disfranchisement of South Africa's black people. For this reason the new constitution has been rejected by the international community.

243. In the view of my Government these developments clearly demonstrate that every encouragement should be given to those who advocate peaceful change in South Africa's society and political system. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and a leading advocate of peaceful change in the black struggle against racial oppression in South Africa, has therefore been received with great satisfaction in the Netherlands.

244. As part of its efforts to contribute towards the goal of peaceful change, the Netherlands over the years has developed and refined a two-track policy towards South Africa. This policy seeks to use existing channels of communication to stimulate forces of peaceful change by continuing to exert effective pressure on the South African Government to initiate fundamental reforms which would allow all South Africans to participate genuinely and equally in the process of political and economic decision-making. Allow me to explain this policy in somewhat more detail.

245. Because collective action is much more likely to influence South Africa's policy than individual measures, my Government will continue to give priority to the efforts within the framework of the United Nations to bring about the abolition of *apartheid*. The Netherlands scrupulously adheres to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa established by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Moreover, the Netherlands Government has

repeatedly called for the strengthening of the existing embargo and the broadening of its scope. More specifically, it favours complementing resolution 418 (1977) with a ban on the import of all weapons produced in South Africa to counter South Africa's endeavours to circumvent the United Nations arms embargo by building up its own arms manufacturing capacity. This would deprive South Africa of the export markets it needs to compensate for its stepped-up investments in this industry.

246. In addition the Netherlands would favour mandatory decisions by the Security Council to establish an oil embargo against South Africa and to limit new foreign investments in that country. I also wish to point out that my Government shares the concerns of many Member States regarding South Africa's nuclear policies. Against the background of the universal desire to keep Africa free of nuclear weapons, we call upon South Africa to allay these fears by adhering to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*, *annex*] or at least by accepting full-scope safeguards on all its nuclear facilities.

247. In the opinion of the Netherlands Government, selective sanctions decided upon by the Security Council would be the most desirable way of bringing increased pressure to bear on South Africa. However, the Netherlands has also taken unilateral steps to signal its opposition to South Africa's *apartheid* policy. Those measures included the termination of the cultural agreement with South Africa and the introduction of visa requirements for South Africans, which enables my Government, *inter alia*, to restrict South African participation in sporting events in the Netherlands. In the sphere of economic relations the Netherlands Government actively urges Netherlands companies with subsidiaries in South Africa to observe faithfully the guidelines of the European Community's Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa to strengthen internationally acceptable standards. Furthermore, my Government is committed to enhancing the effectiveness of the Code of Conduct. My Government, in consultation with employers' organizations and trade unions, is actively considering how investments by Dutch companies in South Africa can be influenced as effectively as possible.

248. The Netherlands will continue to promote wherever possible trends in South Africa's society towards peaceful change. My Government has therefore decided to intensify contacts with individuals, organizations and institutions whose activities in such fields as labour relations, culture, information and education, are aimed at reducing existing inequalities and raising the general level of consciousness of the need for a peaceful transformation of South Africa's social and political system.

249. As in the past, the Netherlands will continue to extend humanitarian assistance to political prisoners and other victims of *apartheid* through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, movements opposed to *apartheid* and non-governmental organizations such as the World Council of Churches and the International Defence and Aid Fund.

250. Although some steps have been taken in order to stabilize the situation in southern Africa, the maintenance of *apartheid* in South Africa will inevitably continue to affect neighbouring States and add

to the already heavy economic burden of those States. Therefore, the Netherlands will continue to render extensive assistance to the countries of southern Africa, both in bilateral aid and through projects sponsored by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, in order to enable those countries to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa by developing their own economic and social resources.

251. This debate and all our collective and national efforts have but one aim: the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment in South Africa of a multiracial, truly democratic society in which all its people, irrespective of race or the colour of their skin, enjoy equal rights. Although in the present bleak situation it is difficult to detect any sign of flexibility on the part of the South African authorities or any softening in their armour of racial prejudice, there can be no doubt that some day they will have to abandon the *apartheid* structure behind which they have become entrenched. It is our responsibility as members of the world community to hasten the arrival of that day, before our hopes for a solution through dialogue and peaceful change are washed away by the rising tide of resistance in South Africa.

252. Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The number of persons detained without trial in South Africa has increased by a terrible 70 per cent. Many of the detainees have died because of torture. After 20 years the freedom fighter Nelson Mandela and his companions are still in prison because of their just struggle for the establishment of a society based on justice and equality. Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, who is 66 years old, has been put into prison for her revolutionary activities and for chanting the songs of freedom. Her husband, the freedom fighter Walter Sisulu, the Chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa, is serving a term of life imprisonment.

253. The racist régime in South Africa has not confined itself to repression and terror within the country but has extended its blood-stained hands to strike at African freedom fighters abroad. The valuable report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is self-explanatory and shows unequivocally that the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

254. The United Nations should make greater efforts to combat the régime of an extremist minority which, blinded by narrow self-interest and its colonial lineage, violates the most basic human rights. The Organization should compel that intransigent régime to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], and to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding the right of the people of South Africa to live in freedom and dignity.

255. The racist Pretoria régime, as has been shown by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and by the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, is collaborating with the Tel Aviv régime in obstructing the march of African and Arab peoples and countries towards freedom and progress. Experience has shown that it is not enough to adopt resolutions against those two Nazi régimes. They

should be severely punished by the United Nations and its various organs, with the participation of all its Member States, particularly those which have special responsibilities as well as privileges under the Charter of the United Nations. These countries should help the United Nations to impose severe sanctions on the racist régime of South Africa.

256. Mauritania condemns the *apartheid* régime. It also condemns the horrible criminal acts against the indigenous population and its national leadership. We also condemn the policy of bantustanization and the attempt to legitimize racism by means of so-called constitutional reform, the real purpose of which is to split the unity of the fighting people in South Africa and to perpetuate the *apartheid* régime.

257. My country wishes to reaffirm its support for the people of South Africa in its just struggle under the leadership of ANC. We call upon all peace- and justice-loving countries to extend assistance to the South African people in its heroic struggle for freedom and independence. God willing, we are confident that this brotherly people will triumph over racism. As an Arab Tunisian poet has said, if a people wills life, destiny will respond, darkness will recede and shackles will be broken.

258. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): We are now more than half way through the *apartheid* debate in the thirty-ninth General Assembly. The extraordinary number of speakers who choose to address the Assembly on this most significant issue is testimony to the universal opposition to the racial practices of the South African Government. We have listened carefully to the interventions made so far. We share the emotions expressed by very many speakers during the debate—the strong condemnation of *apartheid*, the abhorrence of injustice, the opposition to the violation of human rights and human dignity.

259. As President Reagan wrote Nobel laureate Bishop Tutu:

"All Americans join me in recognizing your labours in seeking to promote non-violent change away from *apartheid*, toward a form of government based on the consent of the governed and toward a society that offers equal rights and opportunities to all of its citizens without regard to race. The United States has heard the appeal for justice voiced by South Africans who suffer from *apartheid* rule. We continue to urge the South African Government to engage in a meaningful dialogue with all its citizens aimed at accomplishing a peaceful transition away from *apartheid*."

260. Unfortunately the problem of *apartheid*, like so many human problems elsewhere in the world, will not be resolved solely through heartfelt expressions of concern or criticism of the *apartheid* system, however valid such criticism.

261. We in the United States have asked ourselves what more we can do, and we have concluded that there are additional ways open to us to work towards greater justice and peace in southern Africa. These are, frankly, the ways of traditional diplomacy; and while they by no means promise a sovereign remedy, they have been adopted time after time by Governments who wish to have an influence that goes beyond rhetorical condemnation. Our painstaking reflection on this troubling and complex situation has led us to believe that we have no alternative but to be fully engaged in the effort to find an alternative to

violence, a path to change that builds rather than destroys a better future for all the people of southern Africa.

262. The policy based upon this belief has come to be known as "constructive engagement". It has from the beginning been a policy not only towards South Africa, but towards southern Africa as a whole. Through it we hope to make a constructive contribution to peace in the region and to greater justice in South Africa itself.

263. We believe that to be effective our efforts must address the region as a whole because a situation of regional conflict and tension will only exacerbate suspicion and harsh reaction both within South Africa and between South Africa and its neighbours. We have therefore sought to encourage contact and discussion among regional parties. We have sought to make it clear to all, and especially to South Africa, that military action cannot solve the region's difficulties. We have worked with all the States in the area to strengthen their sovereignty and independence. We have encouraged South Africa to replace force with dialogue. We have therefore welcomed and sought to facilitate the improved relations between South Africa and Mozambique and between South Africa and Lesotho. We believe that, if properly followed through, these improvements represent steps in the direction of improved security and peace for all of the region.

264. The focus of our regional policy has been the effort to achieve Namibian independence. In pursuit of this goal, we have laboured tirelessly with all countries in the region and all parties to the problem to maintain a framework for contacts, discussions and negotiations. In pursuit of this goal, we have assiduously sought to promote understanding between South Africa and Angola with a view to the withdrawal of South African troops completely from that country. None of the Governments represented here, including my own, are satisfied with the pace of progress towards that goal. But we know that diplomacy requires patient and persistent efforts and that the most difficult and delicate stage of a negotiating process may come when the possibility of success becomes more than an abstract hope.

265. There are some who condemn efforts of countries such as my own, countries which pursue our common goals through a process in which harsh rhetoric plays a less important role than careful diplomacy. Among these critics are a number of non-African States motivated by a desire to perpetuate a situation of tension and conflict that offers them opportunities to expand their intervention and influence in the region. We hope that all who share our commitment to the goals of Namibian independence and the promotion of peace and development in southern Africa reject such motives.

266. We recognize that a larger group of countries feels a deep frustration at the delay in the long sought-for day of Namibia's independence. They are motivated by a thirst for justice, by a strong and legitimate impatience with the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa. My country, too, was born of such emotions.

267. Moreover, long years of struggle against racial injustice have left the American people with an ingrained sense of the frustration, the anger, the impatience caused by such injustice. That is why we have spared no effort to bring about change in

southern Africa. That is why we have not wavered in our commitment to see those efforts through.

268. Some Governments represented here have offered us quiet support in our efforts, and we appreciate their courage. We know that others strongly differ with our approach. Of these we ask only that if they cannot judge us favourably they at least refrain from judging us unfairly. To all, we pledge a continued dialogue to enlarge the common ground from which we work together towards our common goals.

269. The American policy of constructive engagement is a regional policy designed to reduce tensions, promote accords that will lead to Namibian independence and create a climate in which insecurity cannot be taken as an excuse for delaying peaceful change away from *apartheid* in South Africa. But beyond this, constructive engagement is a principle reflected as well in our policy towards Africa as a whole. That policy is sensitive and responsive to the current critical problems of Africa's people. It is a policy committed to massive efforts to feed the millions suffering from starvation. It is a policy which seeks a mature partnership with African States in the pursuit of long-term development goals. It is a policy that reflects the human ties and common interests linking the United States with the nations and peoples of Africa and is based on the determination to work tirelessly to encourage and support Africa's efforts to overcome today's crises and to fulfil its enormous material and human potential.

270. Mr. MALUKI (Kenya): The question of the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa has been before the United Nations for over three and a half decades. In the course of this period the United Nations, together with other international organizations and institutions, has adopted numerous resolutions concerning the policies of *apartheid*, demanding their abolition and, at the same time, warning the international community of the serious threat caused to international peace and security by the continued existence of the *apartheid* system in South Africa.

271. It is lamentable that, despite these efforts by the international community to eradicate *apartheid*, the system has not only entrenched itself internally but also expanded its policies of terror beyond its borders to undermine the sovereignty, political independence and economic development of independent African States. The principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of States by another State are the foundations of the Organization. Yet the Pretoria régime continues to violate those principles with impunity and in utter disregard of international law and behaviour.

272. My delegation is speaking to reaffirm Kenya's unequivocal and resolute opposition to the inhuman policies of *apartheid* in South Africa. Secondly, we stand here to appeal once again to the Organization to institute punitive action against the Pretoria régime to compel it to abandon its evil policies of *apartheid*, to desist from its aggressive policies and to respect international law and morality.

273. We reiterate our fraternal solidarity with and total support for the struggling and heroic people of South Africa and assure them at the same time of our firm conviction that victory will be theirs. It cannot be otherwise; for history teaches us that no force,

however powerful and brutal, has ever proved strong enough to defeat the will of a people once it has determined to be free and master of its own destiny. We have no reason to believe that South Africa will be an exception. The racist régime in South Africa, together with its friends and supporters, might well reckon with this historical fact.

274. There are those who argue that the *apartheid* system is amenable to change and that, given time, it would organically reform itself through political and social evolution. Kenya differs with this view. The historical development and social tenets of the *apartheid* system point in the opposite direction. In its conceptual genesis, *apartheid* is basically founded on Nazi political and social beliefs, and depends on them for its inspiration and comfort. Like nazism, *apartheid* beliefs and teachings are based on the racial superiority of one race over another. All of its political, social, economic and industrial ties are specifically designed to protect these beliefs and to subjugate the black man in South Africa for eternity. Because of its political and social fanaticism, the *apartheid* system is blind to human logic, impervious to persuasion and totally resistant to change aimed at reducing its power to coerce and suppress.

275. That is not the kind of system in which peaceful evolution is possible. The Organization cannot, therefore, compromise with *apartheid*, for there can be no doubt that *apartheid* violates the fundamental principles of human dignity and the value and equality of man before the law. For the Organization to compromise with *apartheid* would be to abandon the very basis on which it was founded.

276. It was because of this realization that the international community declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity, a threat to international peace and security and a violation of international law. It was because of this that the General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]. That action underlines the seriousness and determination of the General Assembly to deal effectively with the evils of *apartheid*. But the mere adoption of the Convention is not, of itself, enough. The international community has yet to agree on specific, common measures to implement the provisions of this Convention in combating *apartheid*. Progress has been slow. We must now move faster in search of common measures for dealing with the crime of *apartheid*.

277. At this juncture we should perhaps remind ourselves of the fact that four and a half decades ago the Western countries and their colonial empires combined forces with the Soviet Union to fight and eliminate the evils of nazism and fascism. That task took less than six years to accomplish. Ironically, the destruction of nazism in Europe was immediately followed by the establishment of the *apartheid* system in South Africa. For over 30 years now the world has lived with *apartheid* and the end is not in sight. Most of the measures adopted by the United Nations against the racist régime of South Africa have been defied by that régime, crippled by veto power or frustrated by the technical manoeuvres of friends of South Africa.

278. In the meantime the Pretoria régime has progressively intensified its weapons of terror internally, and has extended its destructive activities beyond its territorial borders. Inside South Africa,

laws are continuously enacted specifically to protect and reinforce the policies of *apartheid* and the interests of the white man at the expense of the African people. In practically all walks of life, the African people of South Africa have been completely denied any say in matters affecting their lives and those of their children. Their demands for political, economic and social equality are ruthlessly and brutally suppressed by the racist régime, usually with heavy loss of innocent life and injuries to many. These brutalities have continued year after year. Only this year, in early September, the world witnessed, once again, the killing of scores of innocent people in various towns in South Africa.

279. Kenya vehemently condemned those atrocities and, on the same occasion, appealed to the international community to take brave, concrete measures to eliminate the *apartheid* system from South Africa. We repeat the same appeal here today. As my Minister said here last month:

"These inhuman practices are the most basic causes of political tension and social conflict in the whole region. The stage has been progressively set for unavoidable social violence, with potential consequences for international peace and security." [See 23rd meeting, para. 203].

280. We firmly believe that it is a moral duty of the international community collectively, as well as of individual Member States of the Organization, to do its utmost to achieve the complete and early destruction of this abhorrent system, thereby averting a potential social catastrophe in that part of the world.

281. With that objective in mind, Kenya strongly feels that no political, economic or ideological considerations are strong enough to justify accommodation of, or continued support for, the *apartheid* system; for we are convinced that the world's interest clearly lies in the early restoration of democracy and social justice to the African majority in South Africa. To urge the opposite is to ignore the reality of history, namely, that the African people in South Africa will sooner or later triumph over the *apartheid* system, no matter what the sacrifice.

282. As I mentioned earlier, the *apartheid* system has not confined itself to the perimeters of South Africa. In pursuit of its plans to protect, strengthen and expand itself, it has invaded and occupied Namibia and enslaved the people of that Territory. All attempts by the United Nations to dislodge South Africa from Namibia have so far failed. The Pretoria régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and its maximum plunder and exploitation of the material and human resources of that country. For how long can the Organization stand by hopelessly and watch South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations authority over Namibia and the prolonged suffering of the Namibian people under the yoke of *apartheid*? The Security Council should surely assume its inescapable responsibilities under the Charter and terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria authorities.

283. It is clear that the occupation of Namibia is directly linked to Pretoria's wider policy of destabilization of African States in the region through direct military invasion, subversion, political blackmail and intimidation, economic sabotage and blockade. Combinations of these measures are constantly applied by Pretoria against independent African States to silence them or to exact their political co-operation and

acquiescence and to strangle the liberation movements of South Africa.

284. Kenya views South Africa's policies of destabilization of African States with extreme seriousness. No country, however vital strategically or economically to others, should be permitted to pursue policies which undermine the basic principles of international law and morality, thereby making social conflict and war inevitable. The international community must, therefore, force South Africa to abandon its dangerous policy and to pay for its crimes of *apartheid* and unprovoked aggression against its neighbours.

285. South Africa must realize that neither aggression nor subversion nor blackmail of African States, will accord it the security it so blindly seeks. Real and permanent security for South Africa will be found only through its realization of the futility of the *apartheid* policies. Only through this enlightenment can there be peace and harmony in South Africa.

286. Inasmuch as the Pretoria régime continues to defy the various resolutions of the United Nations calling for the destruction of the *apartheid* system, the evacuation of Namibia and strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of its neighbours, the United Nations is under a moral obligation to institute comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In our view, this is the only way to compel South Africa to respect the authority of the United Nations.

287. For its part, Kenya will continue to do everything possible within its power to isolate South Africa from all activities of the international community and, at the same time, to extend material, moral and political support to the liberation movements in South Africa until they win their legitimate right to human dignity, democracy and justice in their own country.

288. Mr. TERNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The year that has elapsed since the condemnation of the policies of *apartheid* of the Pretoria Government at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has witnessed a great many events, both in South Africa itself and in the region of southern Africa as a whole. The racist régime of Pretoria has made considerable efforts to represent those events as the dismantling of the system of *apartheid* and as a success for its own policy of "stabilization" in the region.

289. As is well known, in August this year so-called elections to the new "Parliament" were held, in which "members of Parliament" were elected from 2.8 million inhabitants of mixed race and 800,000 inhabitants of Asian extraction.

290. The representatives of the more than 20 million blacks were not given the right to vote and were not allotted a single seat in the upper legislative house created under the new racist constitution.

291. It must be noted that the majority of Asian and Coloured citizens realized the true meaning of the South African Government's "reform" of *apartheid* and did not participate in the propaganda farce of the elections. Even Pretoria's official data reveal that less than 30 per cent of registered Coloured voters and 20 per cent of registered Asians voted. Considering that only 60 per cent of Coloureds of voting age had registered to vote, it is clear that less than 20 per cent actually voted. Western correspondents covering these "elections" reported that at

many polling stations the blue-uniformed police outnumbered the voters. On the eve of the elections, 20 leaders of the United Democratic Front—a multiracial non-governmental organization in favour of boycotting the racist farce—were arrested, and in all more than 35 leaders of various opposition organizations were arrested. These pseudo-elections were depicted by South African propaganda and by certain Western mass media as a triumph for democracy in South Africa.

292. The real meaning of the events in South Africa has nothing to do with any Government plans to "reform" *apartheid*; what is really involved is the modernization of *apartheid*. On the pretext of negotiations on "gradual, peaceful changes" in its policies, the régime is strengthening its repression against its opponents; the policy of bantustanization, which has been condemned by the United Nations, continues; the occupation of Namibia continues; the blackmail and pressure against neighbouring States is increasing; and the militarization of South African society is being extended. Convincing evidence of the fact that the racists have not changed, but have rather intensified their exploitation and repression of the indigenous population is found in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] particularly in its section III, entitled "Review of developments in South Africa since September 1983".

293. The inhuman, criminal policies of the South African authorities with regard to the indigenous people of South Africa arouses just indignation and condemnation in all progressive mankind, as shown once again in the Final Communiqué adopted by the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October 1984 [A/39/560, annex].

294. As they cruelly crushed the mass protests and demonstrations against the implementation of the new racist constitution, the police committed 29 murders during the first week of September alone; that figure has now reached nearly 150. This explosion of violence is the biggest since the 1976 Soweto uprising. In order further to impede the expression of political dissent, the Pretoria Government, on 11 September 1984, introduced an additional ban on indoor gatherings in a large part of the country.

295. In pursuance of its policy of bantustanization, which is designed to fragment the black majority and to deprive it of citizenship in its own country, on 31 August the Pretoria régime declared a "self-governing territory", yet another homeland, Kwa Ngema, which is on the border with Swaziland.

296. In Namibia, the racist régime is trying to gain time in order to create some sort of political alternative to SWAPO. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has been putting forward one condition after another, blocking the implementation of the United Nations plan for a settlement of the Namibian problem.

297. Counting on concluding agreements with certain African countries, the Pretoria authorities are attempting to make it seem that today South Africa, acting as a regional super-Power, is protecting not only Western but also African interests. But such agreements and Pretoria's whole foreign policy in the region were and are based on the principle of military and economic force. The racist rulers continue

openly to threaten neighbouring independent States, shamelessly resorting to blackmail and provocation.

298. Loudly proclaiming the need to strengthen peace and stability in southern Africa, the South African authorities recently announced an increase in military expenditures exceeding 20 per cent, claiming that regional peace could not be achieved by a reduction in military strength.

299. Relying on the world's third-largest uranium reserves, South Africa has built up a considerable nuclear potential, the infrastructure of which was supplemented this year by the construction of a 2,000-megawatt nuclear power station in Koeberg. The Koeberg reactors and the Pelindaba and SAFARI-I reactors supplied earlier by the United States can be—and, as much evidence shows, already have been—used to manufacture nuclear weapons. South Africa's underground laboratories, including those at Fretoria's Aviation Medicine Institute, carry out secret research in the field of chemical weapons, in particular in the military use of sarin, a highly toxic nerve gas. On 26 May 1983, speaking before a United Nations Group of Experts, a white South African opponent of the *apartheid* régime, Mr. Gavin Cawthra, stated that work is under way in South Africa on the development of an ethnic biological weapon making use of specially selected viruses that affect the black population. Clearly, the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons by Pretoria is a grave threat both to the peoples of the African continent and to international peace and security as a whole.

300. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the Charter, and only vetoes by the United States and certain other permanent members of the Security Council have prevented the effective international isolation of the *apartheid* régime. In resolution 554 (1984), the Security Council strongly rejects and declares as null and void the so-called "new constitution" and the "elections" to be organized in August 1984 for the "coloured" people and the people of Asian origin. But even on that resolution condemning the "new constitution", which deprives the majority of the South African population of all their political rights, the United States and the United Kingdom preferred to abstain.

301. In General Assembly resolution 39/2 on this same item the international community reiterated its rejection of the so-called "new constitution" as null and void.

302. There can be no doubt that without the assistance and support of the imperialist States—above all the United States and the other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—the *apartheid* régime would long ago have found itself on the rubbish heap of history. Despite its widely advertised campaign to achieve self-sufficiency in energy, South Africa continues to import 75 per cent of the oil it requires. Oil shipments are organized mainly by the world's major trading firms, Phibro-Solomon and Marc Rich of New York, as well as by the United States firm Kaiser.

303. Since the Security Council's imposition of an arms embargo against South Africa in 1977, South Africa and Western propaganda have gone to great lengths to try to prove that South Africa has become self-sufficient in armaments also. That myth has been

assiduously fostered in order to play down the significance of the continuing military co-operation with Pretoria. The fact is that every year no less than 30 per cent of South Africa's weapons and military equipment comes from abroad, and almost 80 per cent of the components of weapons assembled in South Africa are of foreign origin. The growth of South Africa's military potential in recent years has resulted not in a weakening but rather in a strengthening of Pretoria's dependence on co-operation with foreign suppliers in the most important and most advanced fields of military manufacturing.

304. In 1982 the United States Secretary of Commerce spoke of "progress" in the Administration's policy which made it possible to export to South Africa certain articles used in the nuclear field. In accordance with its proclaimed strategy of "constructive engagement", in September 1983 the United States Department of Energy permitted the Westinghouse corporation to conclude a \$50 million contract to maintain the two reactors at Koeberg. These and many other shameful violations of the United Nations embargo by Western countries and transnational corporations are proof of the continuing and sometimes growing military co-operation by the major NATO Powers with the racist régime of Pretoria.

305. On 3 April 1984 the Special Committee against *Apartheid* held hearings on the question of the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa. Participants condemned the military and nuclear co-operation of certain States and multinational corporations with South Africa and noted that "materials provided by the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel had enabled South Africa to develop its nuclear capability to the extent that it had now become capable of exploding a nuclear device" and that the "Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement had already led to a significant relaxation of the arms embargo". [See A/39/22, para. 19.]

306. The reception given to the head of the *apartheid* régime this past June by the leaders of Western European countries was a new act of political collaborationism.

307. The NATO countries' co-operation with Pretoria is supplemented by South Africa's alliance with the most militarized and repressive régimes in the world, including Israel. The General Assembly has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the close links established between Israel and the *apartheid* régime. In the declaration adopted by the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, the following was stated:

"The Conference . . . condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom of African and Arab peoples. The growing co-operation between these régimes in the military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields represents a menace to both Africa and the Arab States and people.

"This collaboration, especially in the nuclear and military fields, furthermore constitutes a grave threat to international peace. . . ." [See A/39/450, annex.]

308. Thus I think that the self-serving statement by Israel this evening can in no way confuse anyone as to the true situation.

309. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, decisively condemned the policies and practices of *apartheid*. They declared their full support for the people of South Africa in its courageous struggle against the racist régime. The declaration says: "The struggle against *apartheid*, and the struggle for Namibian independence, is part of the total struggle for African freedom."⁴

310. The nature and direction of the present development of the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* again confirms the need for the adoption of urgent and effective international measures to curb Pretoria's hegemonistic and racist aspirations and as a first step of mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations. It is also necessary to do everything possible to strengthen assistance and support to the liberation movement in South Africa which, led by ANC, is waging a courageous, arduous and unequal struggle with the inhuman régime. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is convinced that, despite all the tricks and manoeuvres of those in South Africa's ruling circles and their protectors, the days of *apartheid* are numbered. It will inevitably be swept away by the national protest movement. We fully share the conviction of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that "lasting peace and security in the region of South Africa can be attained only when *apartheid* is completely eliminated and when all the people of South Africa have an opportunity to create a non-racial, democratic State".

311. Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking on this agenda item, concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, my delegation wishes first of all to express its satisfaction with the quality of the reports submitted on this question.

312. I should like next to extend my most heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria on his unrelenting efforts as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to intensify the campaign against the scourge of *apartheid*.

313. The reports before us amply demonstrate once again that intolerance and the total disregard of human rights characterize life in South Africa. As stated by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], "in the field of human rights, gross violations, such as the system of *apartheid*, are obviously the first priority of the Organization".

314. The Pretoria authorities continue to subjugate the black people, denying it its most elementary rights. The policy of *apartheid*, which has been institutionalized since 1948, has been further strengthened and is backed by laws which raise every kind of barrier between the white community and the rest of the population. Racial segregation continues to be applied in all spheres of public and private life, in particular in the fields of employment, education, public health, sport and entertainment. In its desperate attempt to protect the privileged position of the white minority, the Pretoria régime strictly applies the so-called security laws which enable it to detain

indefinitely without trial any person suspected of disturbing the public order. It is by virtue of those laws, with which we are all familiar, that so many of anti-*apartheid* militants have been executed and thousands of others thrown into gaol. It is on the basis of those laws that the South African régime increases arrests and torture, intensifies repression and pronounces countless death sentences, in particular on freedom fighters, whether of ANC, PAC or even SWAPO in Namibia. It is in the name of those laws that husbands are separated from their wives, and children from their parents, and families are broken up.

315. Pursuing its odious policy of racial segregation, the racist Pretoria régime is creating so-called "independent" bantustans the better to contain and control the blacks, while depriving them of their South African nationality. It is easy to understand the Machiavellian aims of this bantustanization policy, which has taken on a more civilized but more cynical appearance with the alleged constitutional reforms. Indeed, the alleged "constitutional reforms" have but one objective, namely, to systematize and further strengthen the policy of *apartheid*—that is, to isolate the blacks even more. It is easy to draw such a conclusion when one knows that these measures are designed to enable the Coloured population and persons of Asian origin to participate in the political life of the country, whereas 23 million blacks, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, are excluded. As Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Togolese Republic, said during the general debate:

"Togo, for its part, regards these expedient modifications as new manoeuvres by South Africa to mislead international public opinion about the development of *apartheid*. In fact, the system has not been fundamentally modified at all by these bogus reforms, which, ironically, are rejected by the great majority of those for whom they were devised." [5th meeting, para. 178.]

316. How long will the international community continue to put up with the defiant attitude of South Africa, with its policy of *apartheid* and its refusal to give up Namibia? Everything points to the fact that that régime will continue to challenge the international community so long as it can rely on certain countries of which South Africa remains a privileged partner. Those countries, as a result of their "understanding" attitude towards the Pretoria régime, refuse to accept the United Nations resolutions or to implement them. The purpose of those resolutions calling on all States to put an end to diplomatic, economic, military, sports and other relations with the racist South African régime, in order to impose on South Africa sufficiently significant penalties to compel it to abandon its inhuman policy of *apartheid*, has never been achieved. The principal partners in question take refuge behind the screen of their Constitutions and their public opinion, as if the peoples of those States were unable to understand the suffering of other peoples.

317. It is too often forgotten that the ultimate *raison d'être* of all our activities is and will always remain man, man alone, irrespective of his race. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes that man has the right to a social and international order in which human rights and fundamental freedoms can be respected. It is too often forgotten that the Charter of the United Nations was signed and

adhered to, and that a profession of faith was thereby made with the other peoples, stating that we the peoples of the United Nations have proclaimed our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person.

318. It is too often forgotten that human rights are universal and inherent in the human species, and that they must not change according to the pigmentation of the skin. For its part, the delegation of Togo can never repeat too often that, as has been stated by General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, Founding-President of the Assembly of the Togolese People and President of the Republic of Togo:

"Togo could never accept the situation of injustice and oppression prevailing at present in that region, where a régime unworthy of man and of our times, a régime that is contrary to all morality, remains in power at the cost of unprecedented violence against a population whose only fault is the colour of its skin."

319. The time has come for the States that have, in one way or another, self-interested relations with the racist Pretoria régime to understand that it is they who support and encourage *apartheid*, showing disrespect for the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and disregarding the dignity of man in South Africa and the independence of Namibia.

320. My delegation believes that if those States so wished, the death knell of *apartheid* could sound in South Africa and the white men, the black men, the Coloured men, the Indian men, could all become simply South Africans—or, rather, the South African man, in all his dimensions and fullness, at the core of the progress and civilization of the whole of mankind.

321. Mr. AIDARA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): For almost 40 years now, the General Assembly has been regularly inscribing on its agenda the question of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. This year, the debate on this question is of particular importance. For the General Assembly is considering the question of *apartheid* at a decisive point in the history of the oppressed people of South Africa.

322. As everyone knows, 1984 has been marked in South Africa by a resurgence of violence and repression inflicted on the South African people following its refusal to approve the so-called constitutional reforms unilaterally worked out by the racist Pretoria régime.

323. In the townships, in Sharpeville and Soweto—which have now become symbols of the resistance of the black people—and in other places, the police, supported by units of the South African armed forces, have once again opened fire, causing the death of hundreds and the wounding of thousands.

324. Successively, the Security Council in its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) and the General Assembly in its resolutions 38/11 of 15 November 1983 and 39/2 of 28 September 1984, have once again vigorously condemned the policy of *apartheid* of the racist Pretoria régime and declared the so-called new constitution null and void.

Mr. Barma (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

325. We in Senegal are convinced that *apartheid*, the basest manifestation of racism and racial discrimination, cannot be supported or justified, let alone

reformed or improved. That is why we continue to believe that the international community, inasmuch as it is aware of the seriousness of the situation in South Africa and its serious implications for the stability of the region and for international peace and security, has a duty to take vigorous measures to force the Pretoria régime to heed the voice of reason and wisdom before it is too late.

326. The recent bloody events in South Africa following the so-called elections on the alleged constitutional reform prove, if proof were needed, that verbal condemnation is hardly enough to bring *apartheid* to an end. What is needed is a resolute attack involving concrete actions, which should be planned as soon as possible in order to force the racist régime of Pretoria to respect fundamental human rights and majority rule in South Africa.

327. We believe that only in this way will the proponents of *apartheid* be led to abandon that hateful doctrine of separate development, elevated to the level of a political system, with a view to creating in South Africa, whose people have suffered so much, a climate of peace favourable to the unimpeded exercise of democratic freedoms.

328. To that end, the developed countries have a primary role to play in bringing increased pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime.

329. My delegation would like to take the opportunity given by this debate on this burning issue to make an urgent appeal to them, acting together, to lead the Pretoria authorities to see reason in such a way as to ensure stability in the region and, above all, dispel the serious threats posed by *apartheid* to international peace and security.

330. We could not conclude without solemnly repeating here our unequivocal condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and our total support for the action that the international community means to take in the struggle against this vile scourge, regarded as a crime against humanity, which constitutes a cause of constant concern to all countries that cherish peace and justice.

331. We remain convinced that only the complete eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society, without distinction as to race, and based on the principle of government by the majority through the free exercise of the right to vote, can lead to a just, fair and lasting solution to the situation in South Africa.

332. That is the goal towards which my country will work, unreservedly supporting the South African people and their liberation movements, ANC and PAC, in their legitimate struggle for emancipation, the release of all political prisoners and the establishment in South Africa of all the democratic freedoms in a united and multiracial society.

333. Mr. SASORITH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): *Apartheid* has been the primary concern of the United Nations for more than 30 years. The General Assembly has declared in paragraph 2 of resolution 38/39 A: "the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements".

334. It is regrettable that this great moral challenge of our time and serious threat to international peace and security should have lasted until the thirty-sixth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declara-

tion of Human Rights, article 1 of which proudly proclaims that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", as well as the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. Those are two historic dates that the whole of mankind will soon commemorate, as it should, with happiness and solemnity.

335. Of course, not everyone shares this opinion. The President of South Africa, Pieter Botha, like his predecessors in 1833, described that historic date of the emancipation of slaves as ungodly. Johannes Vorster even declared in 1970: "The South African nation is for whites only", and he adamantly opposed the most elementary democratic principle of one man, one vote.

336. Security Council resolution 473 (1980) stressed in paragraph 3 that: "the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights . . . of man . . . and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

337. It should be pointed out that in a number of its resolutions since then—the most recent of which was resolution 556 (1984)—the Security Council has continued to condemn *apartheid* in the same strong terms. While *apartheid* is an affront to the whole of mankind, it is also a direct challenge to Africa. The OAU, like all peace- and justice-loving countries, has made of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia its sacred duty and has included it in the very charter of OAU.

338. What is the present situation in South Africa under the godless *apartheid* régime, which oppresses the great majority of the South African people and brutally represses all its opponents? What are the fundamental causes that enable the régime to endure? And how do the South African blacks fight against that oppression and for freedom and democracy? These are some of the questions that concern us.

339. Although many conferences have been organized and many resolutions have been adopted in order to eradicate *apartheid* from South Africa, that country continues to be a serious threat to international peace and security and commits acts of aggression that often cause breaches of the peace in the region. The policy of creating homelands, or bantustanization, continues unchecked. It seeks to remove all Africans from those areas where *apartheid* no longer needs them. That criminal policy has led to the creation in South Africa of four mini-States, claimed to be independent, thus depriving over 8 million blacks of citizenship. The final accomplishment of those ghettos on a continental scale is not only to deprive the African majority of its nationality but also to dispossess it of its inalienable rights. That means that 15 per cent of the total population—4 1/2 million people—have deprived 75 per cent of their fellow citizens—25 million people—of their nationality and banished them.

340. The bantustans are no more than arid deserts, ruled over by an oligarchy of feudal chiefs, who, with an iron hand, impose *apartheid* through black intermediaries. Those areas are in fact no more than enormous racist prisons, where the blacks enjoy the autonomy to die of hunger. They constitute so many indelible blots for South Africa. When ten of those homelands have been forced to accept tribal independence, 87 per cent of the country will have become the country of the white man, whereas South Africa

should be the common heritage of all those who live in it.

341. In the face of the growing resistance of the freedom fighters, the notorious South African prisons of Pool Smoor and Robben Island, of unhappy memory, are as full as ever. More than 265 freedom fighters have been tried for crimes against the security of the State and more than 244 other persons judged guilty of crimes against *apartheid* languish in Robben Island. That is where Toivo ya Toivo, the Secretary-General of SWAPO, who has just been liberated thanks to international pressure, languished for 16 years. All in all, some 55,000 persons now languish in those racist gaols. Nor have we forgotten Steve Biko, Neil Aggett, Solomon Mahlangu and other comrades who have made the supreme sacrifice. Their blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Nor have we forgotten Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and the others who continue to languish in the racist gaols. Nelson Mandela, who was condemned to life imprisonment in June 1964, had proclaimed out loud his attachment to the ideal of democracy and a free society, saying, "It is an ideal for which I hope to live and which I hope to see achieved; but if necessary it is an ideal for which I am ready to die."

342. In the opinion of my delegation the South African freedom fighters should be given prisoner-of-war status as provided for in the Additional Protocol I⁵ to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. All mankind should strongly condemn all acts of brutal repression against the opponents of *apartheid*, torture and the massacre of prisoners. The repression of the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the Sharpeville riots in 1960, the assassination of Steve Biko and the scandalous imprisonment of Nelson Mandela are still fresh in our memories.

343. In order to consolidate even further their domination over the country, the racist régime recently undertook "constitutional reforms" in order to deceive world public opinion and to divide its opponents. In other words, it has applied the old theory of divide and rule. Those "reforms", which have been condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council as a farce, are null and void. They are in fact nothing more than the adjustment of the racial policy that has turned 800,000 Indians and 2.8 million Coloureds into associates of a lower order in its policy of aggression. From the purely constitutional point of view, unicameralism has been replaced by tricameralism, which is composed of an assembly of 168 whites, a chamber of representatives of 85 Coloureds and a chamber of deputies of 45 persons of Indian origin. This constitutional subterfuge is a poor mask to hide the white supremacy of the past, when 70 per cent of the population, comprising 21 million blacks who are regarded as being insufficiently developed to understand the democratic process, is still denied participation. These second-class citizens are, it is said, only good enough to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man. They have in fact become foreigners in their own land, and are still beasts of burden in the land of their ancestors.

344. The massive boycott exemplified by the 70 per cent rate of abstention for the Coloureds and more than 80 per cent for the Indians was in fact a massive and unequivocal rejection of the new constitution. This is what some have not failed to qualify as "a step in the right direction"

345. To strengthen its domination in the region, the racist *apartheid* régime does not hesitate to resort to force. Thus it does not stop launching attacks against independent neighbouring countries such as Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho or using mercenaries in its pay in clandestine operations to carry out sabotage, assassinations or kidnappings against other countries with a view to destabilizing them economically, politically or psychologically. For these evil acts Pretoria uses so-called resistance movements—in the case of Mozambique, RENAMO;⁶ in the case of Angola, UNITA;⁷ in the case of Zimbabwe, Super-ZAPU;⁸ and in the case of Lesotho, the Lesotho Liberation Army. Virtually no country of the region, even the far-away Seychelles, has been safe from the brutality of the racist régime.

346. None of this insolence would last without collusion and active support from outside. Security Council 418 (1977) clearly decreed a mandatory embargo on weapons and the same goes for the supply of petroleum products.

347. We are obliged to note that the racist *apartheid* régime has succeeded in obtaining weapons, munitions, technology and even the necessary knowledge to develop its own arms industry and to manufacture nuclear weapons and neutron bombs. In short, the embargo on weapons and the imposition of global mandatory sanctions in the event of a threat against international peace and security have not been implemented in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. This grave violation of the Charter is seriously damaging to the credibility of the world Organization and harms its capacity to settle the problems besetting mankind. It is common knowledge that it is precisely some of the large Western Powers and Israel that are protecting the racist *apartheid* régime against those international sanctions and continuing to collaborate closely with it in many areas, thus encouraging it to pursue its criminal hostile policy against the oppressed people of South Africa and the whole of the African continent. It is thus too that their strategic interests, their sea lanes and above all their supplies in minerals such as uranium, chromium and non-ferrous metals, to say nothing of gold and diamonds, are better protected.

348. Their appetites whetted by large profits, 2,000 transnational corporations, 20 per cent of which are American, and 6,000 other American companies carry out financial and commercial transactions in South Africa. Fifty-three transnational companies, 15 of which are American, unashamedly exploit the human and natural resources of Namibia. Since money has no smell, even our neighbour on the other side of the Mekong is climbing on the bandwagon and maintaining both trade and consular relations with the *apartheid* régime.

349. In short, the trading partners of South Africa are also accomplices in crimes perpetrated against the South African people and the neighbouring States. The \$1.1 billion granted to the Pretoria régime in 1982 by the IMF despite the opposition of the majority of the Members of the United Nations simply accentuated the trend.

350. In spite of resolutions and appeals to reason from the whole world, the hegemonistic white rulers continue to rely on the force of weapons to stay in power. There has been increased militarization of the régime in recent years. The 1983–1984 defence

budget amounted to \$3 billion, representing a 20 per cent increase, while the police budget rose by 41 per cent, to the point at which the South African President, Pieter Botha, believes that his country's military and economic power authorizes him to impose his will on the rest of Africa. Certain of his "invincibility" and thanks to the policy of so-called "constructive engagement" of the United States which describes the racist *apartheid* régime as a friend and ally, the appeals for peaceful settlement advocated for the past 30 years by the United Nations are often met with acts of repression and brutality.

351. In the face of such brutality, the national liberation movements, in their resistance to the régime, have the right to resort to every means available to them, including armed struggle, to establish a democratic, non-racial society in which human rights and fundamental freedoms will be guaranteed to all without distinction as to race, colour or creed. The idea of freedom cannot be killed. Its freedom fighters may be killed or imprisoned, but the spark will remain and will become an enormous fire which will lighten and inflame hearts and lead the oppressed peoples to final victory.

352. Bishop Desmond Tutu, President of the South African Council of Churches and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, who has also condemned recourse to violence, now believes that the overthrow of the régime by violence is inevitable and has even declared that

"White South Africans are not demons; they are ordinary human beings, scared human beings, many of them; . . . blacks are intent not on driving whites into the sea but on claiming only their rightful place in the sun in the land of their birth."

353. The racist *apartheid* régime must understand before it is too late that nothing can stop the national liberation movement and that democratization of the country is the only course in keeping with both its long-term interests and those of the West. If the Sharpeville riot of 1976, which officially left 600 dead, involved essentially young people and was the result of dissatisfaction with the educational system, the recent uprisings against the régime are much more disquieting because they mobilize blacks from every social sector.

354. Apart from South Africa itself, we are obliged to note that the racist régime of *apartheid* has not relinquished its hold on Namibia. Virtually nothing has been done 18 years after the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over that country. It is also 13 years since the International Court of Justice decided that the continued presence of South Africa was illegal and that South Africa must withdraw forthwith from that country. We believe that prompt and scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) has become imperative so that Namibia may rapidly recover its independence and freedom.

355. My delegation vigorously condemns the attempts to establish a "linkage" between the problems of Angola and Namibia, which merely encourages the Pretoria régime to block negotiations for the independence of Namibia, to pursue its unlawful occupation of part of the Angolan territory and to intensify its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent countries.

356. My delegation demands the immediate unconditional withdrawal of the South African régime's troops from Namibia, but in order to achieve this objective, it is urgently necessary that all countries that cherish peace and justice throughout the world and all international organizations opposing *apartheid* provide the South African and Namibian liberation movements recognized by OAU—that is to say, ANC and SWAPO—with the essential material, political and moral assistance.

357. In this connection, my delegation wishes to congratulate the front-line States especially for the sacrifices they have made in supporting the struggles for independence and human dignity. If the situation has not yet taken a more serious turn it is thanks to the moderation of the national liberation movements and the independent States in southern Africa and their faith in the United Nations and the international community.

358. In this connection too, my delegation wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations on having emphasized recently that: "Peace in southern Africa is of the highest priority for the United Nations. I shall do everything in my power to promote the attainment of that objective."

359. My delegation wishes also to congratulate the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic guidance of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, on the excellent work it has accomplished, especially in establishing the Centre against *Apartheid* of the Secretariat for the purpose of obtaining the support of Governments and organizations for the adoption of sanctions, working untiringly for the elimination of *apartheid* and helping the people of South Africa to establish a democratic State in the true interest of all its inhabitants.

360. My delegation will unreservedly support all the actions and resolutions of the Security Council, and all the resolutions of the General Assembly likely to lead to the achievement of the objectives set in this area.

361. In conclusion, the Lao People's Democratic Republic will continue to spare no effort to demonstrate its solidarity with the South African people and to support its struggle in its crusade for freedom.

362. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): I wish to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the valuable work it has done in promoting action in the campaign against the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. I also wish to express my sincere congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba for his untiring efforts to ensure that the Special Committee fully accomplishes the task entrusted to it by this community of nations.

363. United Nations records indicate that the issue under consideration today has been under discussion in this body since 1946. Thus, throughout nearly 40 years many resolutions and decisions have been adopted under this item. Summing up the essence of those resolutions it can be said that they have condemned the abominable policy of *apartheid*, demanded that South Africa abandon this policy, and called on all States to cease providing arms and related materials and engaging in the sale and transfer of weapons, ammunitions and so on. They have also urged all States to refrain from co-operating with the régime in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons and called for embargoes against South Africa.

364. Regrettably, the South African régime has responded to these efforts by the international community, with more violence, more brutal oppression, wanton killings, massacres and the bantustanization policy. It has tried to transfer its internal contradictions to the countries of the region by means of constant aggression against them in the form of armed banditry and direct intervention, as typified by the continuing occupation of parts of Angola.

365. One might wonder why: the answer is simple. South Africa has totally and deliberately ignored all United Nations resolutions. The United Nations has been unable to make South Africa comply with its decision.

366. Members of the Assembly will recall that very recently the South African representative declared before the Security Council that the Government of South Africa categorically refused to abide by United Nations resolutions—those already adopted and those to be adopted in future on the situation in South Africa.

367. Some Member States have continued to render material, moral and diplomatic support to the régime, in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

368. The Organization was set up as an instrument for maintaining peace and international security. Therefore, the time has come for the United Nations to adopt the necessary measures so as to ensure that their resolutions and decisions are fully respected by the South African régime. Any failure to do so will challenge United Nations credibility as an organ fully committed to preserving international peace and security.

369. The *apartheid* system has been defined as a crime against humanity. It has been stated many times and in different forums that only the total and complete eradication of *apartheid* will bring about peace, security and stability not only in South Africa but also in the region.

370. Our profound aspiration to peace, freedom, democracy, equality and progress has compelled us to fight against colonialism. Portuguese colonialism was a threat to the freedom, self-determination and independence of the Mozambican people, but it was also a threat to international peace and security. Our heroic armed struggle for national liberation ended soon after the recognition by the colonial Power of our inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. After independence we were able to translate into vivid reality our profound aspirations for peace, democracy, progress and equality, through the building of a society free from any kind of discrimination based on race, sex, colour, religion or ethnic origin.

371. The emergence of a society professing those lofty ideals broke the reactionary and racist harmony of the region represented by the racist and minority régimes—the Smith régime and that of South Africa. Because of this, the People's Republic of Mozambique became a direct target of aggression and destabilization carried out by those régimes. Their main aim was to destroy our sovereign and independent State. They wanted to destroy the example of a democratic, socialist and anti-racist society we represent in the region.

372. The South African régime has resorted to direct aggression and to the use of armed bandits trained, equipped and dispatched into neighbouring

States. The armed bandits have plundered, kidnapped, raped, destroyed and assassinated. They have destroyed and burned our infrastructure. No figures can tell the consequences of the damage caused by this neo-mercenarism.

373. South Africa still occupies parts of Angolan territory despite the persistent demands by the international community for the total and unconditional withdrawal of its troops. It persists in giving support to armed bandits acting against the legitimate Government of Angola.

374. The people of Namibia are still prevented from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. South African intransigence in refusing to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) still stands.

375. Inside South Africa, the condition of the majority of the South African people continues to deteriorate. More and more people are thrown into gaol. Legitimate strikes and peaceful political demonstrations by workers, students and other democratic forces are savagely repressed. The fundamental rights of the majority are still denied, as evidenced by the so-called new constitution. More recently, the international community has been shocked by the further intensification of brutal oppression, repression and violence, including the use of armed forces against the black people.

376. All that is evidence that the South African régime is the sole cause of the tension and the climate of war prevailing in our region. The *apartheid* régime is indeed the only destabilizing factor and source of conflict in southern Africa.

377. As Members of the United Nations, we bear a special responsibility to ensure that *apartheid* ceases to be a reality of this contemporary world.

378. It is our belief that one of the major contributions the international community can make towards this end is to render its full support to the struggle for the establishment of a non-racial, undivided and democratic society in South Africa, a society wherein each South African regardless of race, sex, and religion may benefit from the wealth of the country and attain the social development to which each individual is entitled.

379. The international community should seek ways and means to oblige the Government of South Africa to undertake a policy of dialogue and negotiation with the legitimate representatives of the South African people in order to bring about the establishment of a new South African society for all South Africans.

380. Before I conclude my statement, allow me once again to reiterate my Government's strong condemnation of the *apartheid* régime and bantustanization and our moral, political and diplomatic support of ANC.

381. In conclusion, I want to draw the attention of the Assembly to the relevant parts of the statement delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique in the course of this session of the General Assembly:

"... we firmly believe that relations between Mozambique or other countries of the region, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, should not be used as a pretext by some members of the international community to shy away from their duty to isolate the *apartheid* régime. Our

relationship with South Africa stems from the geographical contiguity of our countries and from the historical past colonialism imposed on us. What prompted the isolation of Pretoria was not only its policy of destabilization; it was not just its aggressive acts against neighbouring countries; it was mainly its inhuman and cruel policy of *apartheid*, which is still in force in South Africa.

"The Western countries must clearly dissociate themselves from the *apartheid* system and join the forces fighting for freedom, justice and peace in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. . . ." [See 15th meeting, paras. 41 and 42.]

382. *A luta continua!*

383. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria): The question of the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa's racist régime has been on the agenda of the Organization since 1946. The General Assembly has for 38 years expressed the profound indignation of the international community over this anachronism in the history of human civilization and has called for effective efforts for the eradication of this monstrous crime against humanity.

384. Today, at the end of 1984 and on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, we are once again deeply disappointed to see the continuing existence of this criminal régime. We are faced with the attempts of the South African racists to expand their repressive machinery for the purpose of perpetuating their domination and the ruthless exploitation of the indigenous population and the natural resources of South Africa and Namibia.

385. As early as 1960 the Security Council, in its resolution 134 (1960), expressed its concern at the situation in the Union of South Africa and warned that, should that state of affairs continue, the situation in South Africa could become a threat to international peace—and, as a matter of fact, today, 24 years after the adoption of that Security Council resolution, the world community is confronted with a highly explosive situation and a real threat to international peace and security.

386. The reports and documents prepared by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other United Nations organs provide comprehensive information about the continuing crimes against humanity perpetrated in southern Africa. The racist Government continues to step up its policy of bantustanization of the country, which in fact is aimed at depriving the indigenous South African population of their own native land.

387. Hunger, disease and unemployment are daily occurrences in the life of the overwhelming majority of the South African population.

388. Between 1960 and 1982 the police apparatus of South Africa more than tripled. For the purpose of strengthening their repressive military machine, the racists increased their military expenditure by more than 30 times between 1960 and 1984. Thousands of the sons and daughters of the heroic peoples of South Africa and Namibia were murdered, gaoled and tortured owing to this unprecedented escalation of the oppressive military power of the racists.

389. Has the racist régime achieved its goal of suppressing the struggle and silencing the voice of the 23 million South Africans and deceiving world public opinion? Not at all. Under the leadership of ANC,

the people of South Africa have intensified their valiant struggle. Following the latest manoeuvres for the adoption of the so-called constitution and the holding of "elections" in 1984, a tidal wave of protests, strikes and mass demonstrations has swept through South Africa and has been met by the racists with brutal force and mass killings.

390. We agree with those representatives who have stated here that a new phase has started in the struggle of the South African people and the world community against the *apartheid* régime. The United Nations has acted promptly and given new support to the struggle of the 23 million black people. As we know, the Security Council and the General Assembly have declared the new constitution null and void.

391. What new crimes have been added to the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto? Obviously the police, though well steeped in all fascist methods, can no longer do the job alone. It seems that for the first time more than 7,000 Army personnel have joined in the repression against thousands of people—trade unionists, clergy, women and children. With the help of the Army thousands of black people have been subjected to forcible removal to bantustans, eviction from work-places or imprisonment.

392. Now we are witnessing a new phase in the régime's defiance of the United Nations and new measures *vis-à-vis* the problem of Namibia. Along with the aggressive war against the Namibian people, the racists in Pretoria have escalated their acts of aggression against the neighbouring States for the purpose of destabilizing the entire region and turning back the wheel of history. The régime of *apartheid* has assumed not only the role of gendarme but has also become the source of a global threat to all peoples in the world, trying to turn the independent States in southern Africa into hostages of that racist régime. We are faced also with its disregard of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). A part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola continues to be occupied. Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe continue to be targets of bandit raids supported by South Africa.

393. After trying for 38 years to cope with this most challenging problem, what shall we do? The discussion in the General Assembly has provided an answer to the cardinal question of whether the racist régime would have had the audacity to continue its criminal policies and defy the international community had it not been enjoying the generous support and assistance of its virtual allies and friends.

394. As early as the spring of 1981 the United States Administration set out the guidelines of a policy, which became known as the policy of constructive engagement, that opened new vistas for the development of all-round co-operation between the United States and South Africa and for the promotion of economic, political, financial, military, technological and other relations between the two countries. Direct United States investments in South Africa amount to \$2.6 billion. About 300 firms headquartered in the United States have direct investments in South Africa. United States-affiliated multinational companies are the most important suppliers of cars, trucks, chemicals, computers, high technology and know-how of military significance for South Africa.

395. Throughout these four years of constructive engagement the United States Administration has

been asserting that that policy has been a force for progress and change in South Africa and in the region. What is the reality? We have seen the further development of co-operation, the result of which is the perpetuation of *apartheid* and turning the region into a bastion for destabilization of the front-line African States. Especially alarming is the fact of South Africa's emerging nuclear capability.

396. In the light of the recent developments and the utter failure of South Africa's attempts to deceive world public opinion, the role of the United Nations and the organizations affiliated with it has assumed ever-greater importance. The decisions of the United Nations should once again denounce clearly and unequivocally the attempts to give a human face to the South African régime through co-operation and constructive engagement, which can only aggravate the sufferings of the vast majority.

397. The representatives of the African countries who have spoken here have once again urged the General Assembly to condemn the co-operation of certain countries with South Africa. In this respect we await with great interest the position of the Western countries which are still partners of South Africa. That position was partly reflected in the statement of the representative of Ireland, speaking as the spokesman of the 10 members of the European Economic Community [EEC]. We concur in his condemnation of the *apartheid* régime and in his opinion "that the time for peaceful change . . . is running out". [See 67th meeting, para. 46.]

398. In the light of the new grave developments we could have expected some new ideas and "new measures to turn things around", as Mr. Engo, the Chairman of the Group of African States, suggested here yesterday. Unfortunately, we have been disappointed, as, I assume, are the overwhelming majority of the delegations, with the conclusion of the representative of the EEC countries that, in spite of everything, the "channels of communication with South Africa [should] remain open". (*Ibid.*, para. 47.)

399. Year after year, the United Nations and the overwhelming majority of the world community have emphatically stated and proved that this is not the means if we are to break the vicious cycle. We recommend to those who advocate open channels of communication with South Africa to recall the wise words of the late leader of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, referred to here by the representative of India, that "*apartheid* cannot be reformed; it should be eradicated".

400. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the able guidance of Mr. Garba of Nigeria, has delivered the only correct answer to the question of how the United Nations should contribute to the eradication of *apartheid*. I refer to the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee [A/39/22].

401. First, the Special Committee considers it appropriate for the General Assembly to reaffirm the legitimacy of the armed struggle by the oppressed people and their national liberation movement; to hold the Pretoria régime totally responsible for any violence and conflict; and to urge all Governments and organizations to support the oppressed people and their national liberation movements in their just struggle.

402. Secondly, the Special Committee, emphasizing that this is no time to relax action against the

apartheid régime as advocated by the collaborators with *apartheid*, recommends that the General Assembly request the Security Council urgently to consider the situation in southern Africa and institute comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the illegitimate régime in South Africa. It further urges the General Assembly again to condemn all collaboration with the Pretoria régime by Governments, transnational corporations and institutions.

403. We fully subscribe to those recommendations and I can assure the General Assembly, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, that we shall spare no efforts in the effective fulfilment of those recommendations.

404. In conclusion I should like to express once again from this rostrum our solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against the criminal régime of *apartheid*. We solemnly declare that the Bulgarian people will continue to provide full support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to their national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO, in their fight for the total elimination of *apartheid* and colonialism in that part of the world.

405. Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The continuation of *apartheid* not only diminishes those who impose and practise it. In this last part of a century which has witnessed unprecedented social, political and technological progress, the survival of this anachronistic remnant of intolerance diminishes us all.

406. The United Nations has correctly pointed out that the inhuman policy daily subjecting millions of human beings to the horror and degradation of racism is an affront to the conscience of the world, an affront which, as is shown by the grave and prolonged conflict in southern Africa, has dangerous consequences for international peace and security.

407. By means of certain diplomatic steps, as well as the so-called "constitutional reforms" and other cosmetic measures, South Africa has attempted to gain time and respectability for its policies. The rejection by the South African people and the international community of those partial and insufficient measures has been logical, especially since it is obvious that South Africa has no intention of eliminating the most violent and offensive manifestations of the *apartheid* régime. Internal repression is as severe now as it was a year ago, if not even more intense. Bantustanization has not been abandoned. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally and ignores the fundamental right of neighbouring countries to territorial integrity and independence.

408. It is therefore not surprising that, together with the vast majority of States represented here, we urge the Security Council to adopt urgent, concrete and binding measures which would confirm that there is no international tolerance for State racism. Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations offers the

most appropriate framework for such measures. We urge members of the Security Council to shoulder fully their responsibilities in accordance with the Charter. Forty years of defiance of the United Nations by Pretoria leave the Organization no choice.

409. We agree with the General Assembly that, without prejudice to binding sanctions which the Security Council should decide upon, States should individually adopt measures directed towards increasing pressure on Pretoria effectively, with a view to establishing a democratic and egalitarian society in South Africa.

410. The Government of Argentina scrupulously complies with the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa as well as with General Assembly resolutions on the question of *apartheid*. It is the official policy of our Government to discourage any connection with South Africa in sports. Recently my Government adopted severe sanctions against South African sportsmen who had entered the country fraudulently. They were immediately expelled. We have kept the Special Committee against *Apartheid* adequately informed of these circumstances, through its Chairman, Mr. Garba. Furthermore, the Government of Argentina intends to send to Congress in the next few days for ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]. Obviously, such ratification would imply the adoption of even more effective and serious measures against *apartheid*.

411. All these actions simply reflect the firm support of Argentina for the struggle of Africa against racial discrimination. My country, which sees in *apartheid* one of the serious evils of contemporary society and a source of international conflict, energetically condemns the racist policy of South Africa. As long as *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia persist, Pretoria can only expect our growing and active support for the legitimate struggle of the oppressed South African people against a policy which is in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to the basic principles upheld by my country.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹Desmond Tutu, *Crying in the Wilderness*, 1982, Eerdmans.

²See A/AC.131/20.

³See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2560th meeting.

⁴See A/40/87, annex, Declaration AHG/Decl.1 (XX).

⁵United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1125, No. 17512.

⁶Resistência Nacional de Moçambique.

⁷União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

⁸Zimbabwe African People's Union.