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**70th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 23 November 1984,  
at 11.15 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

**Tribute to the memory of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learned with deep regret and sorrow of the death of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

2. The late Head of State was an educationist. He also devoted much of his life to the development of his country's economy. As a soldier, he played an active part in the defence of his country against fascism. In that way he made a personal and direct contribution to international peace and security.

3. In 1976 Mr. Vatchenko had another opportunity of increasing his contribution to international peace and security, when he became Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He performed his duties from the point of view of someone who had experienced war. That is why he worked tirelessly to enhance world peace.

4. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey our heartfelt sympathy to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to the family of the late Head of State and to the people of the Ukraine.

5. I now request members of the Assembly to rise and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

*The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.*

6. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Cameroon, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

7. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): It is my privilege to speak on behalf of the Group of African States in expressing our sorrow at the tragic passing of the Head of State, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Comrade Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. We share our sorrow and express our solidarity with our colleagues here of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

8. The occasion of the death of a leader of such importance and distinction may well provide an opportunity for his people and for the universal generation that he served to take stock of the path trod in the quest for cherished aspirations within his country and international peace and security outside it. The best tribute that can be paid would come from a determination to learn from the true meaning attached to the life of the departed leader.

9. We, the African peoples, who continue to struggle against foreign domination, both economic and political—peoples that must bear the impossible but primary burden of overthrowing dehumanizing conditions such as exist under prehistoric ideas like *apartheid*—deeply appreciate the constant support of the Ukrainian leadership in condemning the atrocities on our continent's south.

10. We trust that through you, Mr. President, our condolences and solidarity will be communicated to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as to the bereaved family.

11. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

12. Mr. KURODA (Japan): On behalf of the Member States of the Group of Asian States, I wish to express our deep sorrow at the untimely passing of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He was an eminent statesman and he had occupied the highest office of his country for the past eight years. His death is a profound loss to the Government and the people of his great country.

13. On behalf of the Member States of the Group of Asian States, I should like to extend our sincere condolences to the people and Government of his country, to the members of the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations and in particular to the members of the bereaved family of Mr. Vatchenko.

14. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Poland, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

15. Mr. NATORF (Poland) (*interpretation from Russian*): It was with great sorrow that we learned of the death after a long illness at the age of 70 of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and hero of the socialist struggle.

16. Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko was born in 1914. Until 1941 he was engaged in educational

work, and from the first days of the war until the final victory he was in the ranks of the Soviet army and fought gallantly against fascism. After the war Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko was engaged in responsible State and party work. From 1976, he was Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. All his efforts, knowledge and experience were devoted to the development of the economy and the culture of the Soviet Ukraine, to the solution of the most important problems in the struggle for the maintenance of international peace, the prevention of the threat of a nuclear war and the development of friendly relations and co-operation between States.

17. On behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, I wish to express to the Government and delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to the Ukrainian people and to the family of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko our most heartfelt condolences on the great loss that has befallen them.

18. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

19. Mr. DELLIMORE (St. Vincent and the Grenadines): On behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, my delegation extends its deepest sympathy to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

20. My delegation is keenly aware of the responsibilities and the burdens which rested on the shoulders of the deceased Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and knows that his value and worth will be enshrined in history.

21. My delegation requests the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to convey the condolences of the Governments and peoples of the Latin American and Caribbean Member States to the bereaved family of the late Head of State.

22. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

23. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): On behalf of the members of the Group of Western European and other States, I should like to express our deep condolences on the sad loss suffered by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was with deep regret that the members of the Group of Western European and other States learned this morning of the death of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

24. On this sad occasion, the members of the Group of Western European and other States share the grief of the Ukrainian people, Government and Mission, and wish to extend their sympathy to them and to the bereaved family.

25. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

26. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Group of Arab States, the delegation of the Syrian Arab

Republic wishes to express its most sincere and heartfelt condolences on the sad occasion of the death of Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We request the Ukrainian delegation to convey our sincere condolences to the Government and people of the Ukrainian SSR and to the family of the deceased.

27. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United States, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

28. Mr. RAY (United States of America): As representative of the host country to the United Nations, the United States delegation wishes to express its deep sympathy and condolences to the people and representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a Member of the United Nations since its beginning, on the death of President Vatchenko. His passing gives us all an opportunity to reflect on the importance of peace to the peoples of the world. We who remain behind will continue to work towards world peace and security through the Organization in which the Ukraine has been a Member since its inception.

29. We wish our condolences to be conveyed to the family and to the colleagues of President Vatchenko.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

31. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic expresses its sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Chairman of the Group of African States, the Chairman of the Group of Asian States, the Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, the Chairman of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, the Chairman of the Group of Western European and other States and the Chairman of the Group of Arab States, as well as to the representative of the United States of America on behalf of the host country, for the condolences expressed at the demise of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. We have been deeply touched by the warm words and feelings expressed here.

32. The whole of the life and activities of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko—and especially during the period in which he was Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic—was totally devoted to the solution of the most pressing problems of the social and economic development of the Republic and to the systematic struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the prevention of the threat of a nuclear war, as well as to the strengthening and extension of friendly relations and co-operation among nations.

33. The image of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko will remain for ever in our hearts. I should like once again to thank all delegations for the condolences they have expressed. We shall transmit them to the people and Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as to the members of the family of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

## 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

34. Mr. ELDEEB (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, I should like to convey the condolences of my delegation to the Mission, the Government and the people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the occasion of the sad loss of Chairman Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

35. Once again, the General Assembly turns to the question of the policy of *apartheid*, practised by the Pretoria authorities. Once again, the international community finds itself confronted with this standing crime South Africa continues to commit in violation of human values and fundamental human rights, dignity and existence.

36. The policy of *apartheid* is a constant act of defiance of the international community, but consideration of this agenda item at this particular juncture is of special importance because of the worsening of the situation in this part of the African continent and the threat it poses to peace and security, both in the region and in the whole world. Our debate on the situation in South Africa is being carried out at a time when the policy of the régime has taken on new dimensions and has become codified by its constitution, having moved from the stage of institutionalized racism. As a result, ever greater vigilance is needed by the international community in opposing the manoeuvres of Pretoria and the practice of that régime to deny the black majority their rights to self-determination and sovereignty.

37. The General Assembly was obliged, at an early stage of its work at this session, to take a categorical stand on the so-called constitutional reforms introduced by the Pretoria authorities to consolidate the policy of racial discrimination. General Assembly resolution 39/2 echoes the sentiments expressed in Security Council resolution 554 (1984) regarding the sham elections held by the South African régime, which the Council declared to be null and void. Those elections are further proof of the persistent desire of the racist régime to press ahead with its odious policy of *apartheid*, a policy that has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. The régime has also sought to sow discord in the natural alliance between the African majority and the other communities of South Africa who struggle against racial discrimination. It has sought to dupe international public opinion by engaging in a shifty process that was far from being a true referendum among the groups concerned.

38. The mass demonstrations that followed the sham elections were proof of the heroic resistance to the *apartheid* régime, but they could not halt the barbaric, bloody campaign that resulted in hundreds of victims among students, workers and others who demonstrated against the régime's policy. The op-

pressive nature of the régime was made clear when its forces encircled the township of Sebokeng and other African townships as part of the campaign of terror of the racist régime of Pretoria.

39. Past experience shows that the Pretoria racist régime is persisting in its stubborn attitude and continues to defy the will of the international community and the various resolutions of regional and international organizations, ignoring all appeals and requests to allow the African people to decide its own destiny. Its purpose is to perpetuate its domination over the great majority of the population and to continue to plunder their resources.

40. The racist régime has gone even further and continued its attacks against neighbouring African countries within the framework of its criminal aggression, which constitutes a very serious threat to the security, independence and territorial integrity of those countries. The whole world has seen the record of this régime repeatedly illustrated in its criminal policies against the refugee camps, killing hundreds of men and imprisoning opponents of its régime of *apartheid*. These actions have not contained the demonstrations; on the contrary, those demonstrations have spread and the prisoners and martyrs have become the symbol of the resistance of the people of South Africa in their efforts to ensure that their legitimate aspirations to independence and sovereignty are fulfilled.

41. The international community has reaffirmed many times and on various occasions its dedication to the objectives of independence and freedom pursued by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, as well as their right to self-determination, to sovereignty over their territory and to benefit from their own resources. These principles have been emphasized in many international and regional conferences and meetings, as can be seen from the exhaustive report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* now before the Assembly [A/39/22].

42. Past experience has shown clearly that the *apartheid* régime will not of its own free will renounce its racist policies and that there is therefore no choice but to persist in the international effort to compel Pretoria to submit to the international will and give the people of South Africa their freedom. The continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the stubbornness of its Government in impeding the plan for a peaceful settlement also make it necessary to increase international action in order to make it possible for Namibia more rapidly to achieve independence, freedom and sovereignty.

43. The pioneering role played by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* arouses the admiration and commendation of the international community. The Special Committee has played a remarkable role in uncovering and revealing the practices of the Pretoria régime and in keeping the international community informed of events and developments in that part of the African continent in order that it may mobilize its efforts against this crime against humanity.

44. The report of the Special Committee reveals the intensive activity which has taken place in the past year. Its Sub-Committees and Task Forces have made considerable efforts at different levels and in different spheres. In this connection, we wish to express our gratitude and congratulations to Mr. Garba, representative of Nigeria and Chairman of

the Special Committee. Under his presidency the Committee has engaged in a vast amount of activity and taken very important initiatives which have made possible a great deal of progress in the international efforts against racial discrimination. We hope that in the coming period there will be even more intensive activity, as called for by the challenge posed by the deterioration of the situation in South Africa.

45. The fight against *apartheid* and decolonization is the permanent objective and basis of the foreign policy of Sudan. Therefore Sudan continues to support this cause and maintains its unswerving support for the objectives of independence and sovereignty so that the banner of freedom may fly over the southern part of our African continent, the bastion of *apartheid* may be destroyed and a non-racist democratic society may be established in South Africa, a society based on government by the majority, without discrimination or bondage.

46. Mr. BOUNDOUKOU-LATHA (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation, first of all, wishes to offer its sincere condolences to the members of the Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the passing of Mr. Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We extend our sympathy to the people, the Government and the family of that great statesman, who has done so much for the well-being of his country.

47. A year from now the Organization will be celebrating its fortieth anniversary, but before that date, a glorious one for the many peoples and nations that have faith in its noble ideals of peace and justice, it is worth recalling that it was from the ashes of the anti-Fascist struggle that our universal Organization came into being. At the time of its creation numerous peoples and nations based their hopes on the United Nations, which, as stated particularly in the purposes and principles enumerated in the Charter, was intended to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of ends which included the solving of the various international problems by "encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

48. Whether it is an irony of fate or a salient fact of modern history, Africa, a continent which is already struggling with the numerous problems of underdevelopment, continues also to suffer from the atrocities of the policy of *apartheid*, whose very close links with nazism have been highlighted by many previous speakers from this rostrum.

49. The delegation of Gabon believes it to be only right, therefore, that for more than a quarter of a century the Assembly has maintained on its agenda the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

50. That is especially true because the Gabonese Republic, which is governed in such an enlightened manner by President El Hadj Omar Bongo, our Head of State, attaches the greatest importance to the explosive situation in that part of the world, where the scourge of *apartheid* continues to defy the Organization in its mission to promote and ensure peace on our planet.

51. At the risk of repetition, may I recall that there are three reasons for the interest of the delegation of Gabon in the question we are now debating.

52. The first concerns principles. The foreign policy of our country is not only oriented towards dialogue, co-operation and development, but also—and especially—based upon the constant pursuit of peace and international justice. Since the *apartheid* system is the very antithesis of those principles, which are also upheld by the Organization, Gabon cannot fail to be concerned about the threat it poses to international peace and security.

53. Secondly, solidarity—both with the black population, daily enduring the cruelty of *apartheid*, and with the brother front-line countries, victims of the threats and pressures of the racist South African authorities—demands that our country should perceive *apartheid* as a scourge—indeed, genocide—that will spare no one in its headlong rush towards the extermination, pure and simple, of the black race.

54. Finally, in moral terms, *apartheid* is a phenomenon whose essence is derived from barbarous values that deny mankind's progress throughout history. Therefore, it is a categorical imperative for Gabon to be outraged by such an odious social system, which allows a white minority to deny a black majority, of virtually 74 per cent, the right to exist upon a territory bequeathed to it by nature and previous generations.

55. As I have already said, there are many similarities between the policy of *apartheid* and nazism, which 40 years ago led mankind into a monstrous war. Both involve a system that, sadly, proclaims the virtues of discrimination and belief in the superiority and special mission of one race.

56. Thus, since the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 the repressive machinery of the racist Pretoria authorities, based upon the guiding principles of Adolf Hitler, has ceaselessly and pitilessly operated against the black community.

57. *Apartheid*, which is contrary to the moral and legal rules of civilized societies, is designed as a policy of segregation intended to crush the black people regardless of age, sex or creed. Its various manifestations are cruelly imposed in all cultural, artistic, sporting, economic and social activities, where the black population is denied the right to take part.

58. As a policy, *apartheid* has a number of aspects, the most flagrant of which are the removal of citizenship, arbitrary arrests, the adoption of an arsenal of iniquitous judicial and constitutional measures, the usurpation of fertile lands, the policy of bantustanization, violence, terrorism, blackmail, threats and denial of the most elementary civil liberties.

59. There is no doubt that it is because of the régime's cruelty that the Organization has on a number of occasions described *apartheid* as a "crime against humanity". This gives validity to the justice of the implacable struggle waged against this scourge by the black community in that part of the world, that is, in that part of southern Africa.

60. In this context the delegation of Gabon renews its support for the South African movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]—in particular, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC]. Similarly, we once again condemn the racist Pretoria régime for the cruelty of its repressive policy, which is a challenge to the universal conscience.



61. In the view of the Gabonese delegation, the struggle for the right to exist waged by the black population in South Africa and Namibia is a just war comprising an integral part of that waged by the international community for peace and justice. How could it be otherwise in an age so marked by various forms of domination and oppression, such as racism, colonialism and hegemonism?

62. The struggle of peoples against the aggressive, criminal policy of *apartheid* must be waged on several fronts. We believe that in the economic field, for example, it involves the need for the international community to reject all forms of collaboration with the racist Pretoria Government, whose arrogance is based on its links with certain foreign Powers. The Gabonese delegation therefore endorses a number of the conclusions reached by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report [*ibid.*]. The recommendations in it coincide in many respects with those made from this rostrum on 10 October by Mr. Martin Bongo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Gabonese Republic, when he said:

"I continue to believe that the attitude of certain States which have important interests in that region . . . cannot fail further to exacerbate tensions between the black and white communities and expose the entire South African society to upheavals that will not be confined to that area alone. That is why Gabon is of the view that a progressive disinvestment of the transnational corporations that operate in South Africa and the halting of all new investment would help bring about a peaceful solution to this problem." [29th meeting, para. 127.]

63. Moreover, the Gabonese delegation believes that the international community must further intensify its struggle against *apartheid*. Such action, which must be global, requires even more active support from all the forces capable of opposing in various ways such an inhuman policy.

64. That is why our country is particularly interested in various kinds of action to inform and alert international public opinion with regard to the reality of the policy of *apartheid*, action taken both by the United Nations and by non-governmental organizations.

65. Gabon believes that *apartheid* can be banished from the earth only if the international community finds ways to push the Pretoria authorities further beyond the pale. The Pretoria régime must understand that the time has come for it to establish with its neighbours and the rest of the world relations based on mutual respect, non-interference and non-intervention.

66. It is therefore up to all the States Members of the United Nations that believe in peace and justice to compel the Pretoria Government to promote human rights in South Africa, where they are daily trampled underfoot. We were recently once again given the clearest proof of the denial of those rights by the Pretoria authorities when they tried to put forward so-called constitutional reforms, which had no other purpose than to elevate racial discrimination to the level of a system of government.

67. We were pleased to see Pretoria's latest failure following these sham parliamentary elections, which, furthermore, were declared null and void by the United Nations both through Security Council reso-

lution 554 (1984)—as subsequently confirmed in Security Council resolution 556 (1984)—and through General Assembly resolution 39/2.

68. In our view, the Organization's commitment signifies the justice of and encourages the heroic struggle waged by the black population in South Africa. I wish therefore strongly to reiterate the firm opposition of the Gabon authorities to this new strategy, aimed at dividing the South African community into various antagonistic entities.

69. *Apartheid* cannot be eliminated as a system through "reforms" of this kind. The eradication of this scourge rather requires adequate solutions able to attack its deepest roots.

70. The whole impact of the struggle waged for decades by the black community against *apartheid* in South Africa lies in this dynamic process, which appeals to our conscience daily. In this connection, I wish to conclude by speaking of the profound character of this painful struggle, in the words of Desmond Tutu, the current Nobel peace laureate:

"Blacks do not hate the whites because they are white. No: they hate a white system in which injustice and oppression predominate. It is that which must be changed or overthrown, for the good of South Africa and in the interest of its black and white population".

71. The international community should further intensify its hatred of the contemptible policy of *apartheid*, established as a government régime in South Africa.

72. Mr. HARLANI (New Zealand): New Zealand rejects *apartheid* and all it stands for. We do so as a member of the international community concerned to see respect for the standards to which we have all subscribed, and we do so on the basis of our own experience and beliefs. South Africa's system of *apartheid* runs directly counter to the New Zealand way of life. We are committed in our country to building a multiracial society based on freedom, justice and consent. As our Prime Minister observed in his general debate statement [7th meeting] at the current session, the South Africans have had occasion to learn that our Government will not compromise with a system that rejects the values on which New Zealand society is based.

73. New Zealand is committed to working with the international community for the elimination of *apartheid*. Again and again we have, like others, urged South Africa to change its policy and to bring the system to an end by peaceful means. Instead, South Africa continues to defy world opinion and to avoid real reforms. It continues only to tinker with the system: to give the appearance of change while keeping the majority of its people in subjection. We deplore the fact that, far from moving to dismantle *apartheid*, the South African Government has further entrenched racial discrimination by its adoption of a new constitution.

74. In the separate elections that were held recently, the Coloured and Indian communities spurned the attempt to draw them into an alliance. By so doing they have confirmed their rejection of the *apartheid* system. South Africa's black population was denied even that opportunity. But if ever there was a doubt about where the majority of the people of South Africa stand, the current wave of unrest removes it. To their demand for change, the South African Government has responded with police and military

action and with the detention of those who, like the United Democratic Front leaders in Durban, have claimed only what are their rights. If the policy of *apartheid* is not changed, it will sooner or later give rise to further, and greater, violence. My delegation has already recorded the New Zealand Government's view on South Africa's new constitution by supporting General Assembly resolution 39/2.

75. So long as the system of internal repression remains, peace will elude South Africa on its borders as well. Recently, the South African Government has concluded a number of agreements with its neighbours. These have been described as non-aggression pacts. They have been made possible by a combination of measures against nearby countries that have included armed raids, the promotion of internal resistance movements, and the application of punitive economic measures. All these actions violate international law. In the end they will fail, for, in reality, what the South African Government is fighting is not its neighbours but the despair and frustration of its own citizens. The problem is the South African system itself. It is a problem that no armed force can solve. The only answer is for South Africa to follow a different course and abandon its policies of *apartheid*.

76. The international community has a continuing responsibility to bring home to the South African authorities the unacceptability of their policies and the need for change. New Zealand has joined with other countries in taking action for this purpose. From the outset we rejected the idea of recognizing any of the bantustans as independent States. We continue to enforce the arms embargo against South Africa, as we have for many years. We have made clear our willingness to carry out any economic sanctions that may be imposed by the Security Council.

77. The Government actively discourages New Zealand sports-people from having contacts with South Africa until *apartheid* is abolished and South African teams are wholly representative. It has made clear that New Zealand will not issue visas to any sports-people representing South Africa. We have consistently supported international efforts to secure the release of political prisoners in South Africa. New Zealand recognizes that those who suffer from *apartheid* need and deserve help from abroad, and we contribute to the trust funds set up by the United Nations to provide such assistance.

78. To conclude, New Zealand rejects South Africa's policy of *apartheid* in all its manifestations. The system is an offence against the dignity of mankind and a travesty of the principles underpinning the United Nations. *Apartheid* is contrary to the New Zealand way of life and to the values of the multiracial society we are ourselves building. We continue to show our opposition to *apartheid* in various practical ways. We are committed to working with other members of the international community to bring about its end.

79. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The Chairman of our Group has just presented the sincere condolences of the African States Members of the United Nations on the occasion of the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. May I be allowed here to reiterate this message of sincere condolences.

80. I should like to begin with the following quotation:

"We should all be able to mix together. It is not natural. There is a girl who lives in a house not far away who says that we are the flowers of the good Lord, and that flowers are of all colours. . . . It is disgusting. They [the whites] could stay if they behave normally. But if they continue like this, really cruel, then there will be war. And I will fight like all my friends at school. We should all be equal. We were here first and we let them settle here later; now they must be polite to us. . . . Things will get better. It says so in the Bible. One day in Heaven things will get better, but not now in this country."

81. Representatives have no doubt read this interview with Luntu, a 12-year-old black child from CrossRoads, South Africa, published in the 25 November issue of the French weekly magazine *Le Point*. Those are the words of a child, but they are very revealing, lucid and moving words about life in South Africa.

82. For almost 40 years now, every year, the question of South Africa has been on the General Assembly's agenda. These have been 40 years of moralizing, of warning, of threats and sanctions. Is there anything that has not been said or done against the hideous monster of *apartheid*? The courageous policy of the front-line countries and the heroic struggle of the national liberation movements in South Africa itself and Namibia have proved unable to bend Pretoria's will. *Apartheid* is still there, as arrogant as ever before and even more threatening. The more isolated it becomes the more it tends to spring back; the more it is condemned the more aggressive and oppressive it becomes inside and outside its borders.

83. Pretoria has not been disturbed in the slightest way by the many United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 38/11 and Security Council resolution 554 (1984), reaffirming the condemnation of *apartheid* as a crime against mankind and rejecting most firmly the sham constitutional reforms. Pretoria has said nothing about the fact that the apostle of non-violence, Desmond Tutu, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. That is surely clear enough proof for those who are still inclined to think that *apartheid* might understand some language other than that of violence. Pretoria's arrogance is well illustrated by the following proverb of our people: "When a child insults you and threatens you, you can be sure that the mother is not far away." One cannot stand in defiance of the whole world with impunity.

84. Pretoria must be sensible. The racists must stop considering blacks as non-beings capable of serving as beasts of burden or parts of a machinery for the repression of their fellows. It is high time for those who might have some influence on Pretoria to impress on it that it is futile to try to go against the tide of history. It is in vain that they try to perpetuate their régime by excluding the majority of the South African population. The erection of the unanimously condemned constitutional barricades will not stop the wheel of history from turning or the wave of the oppressed from unfurling; nor will it stop *apartheid* from disappearing.

85. Only when the mother is close by does one feel strong enough to scorn one's enemies. And, when

Africa is coping with its own many contradictions, there are those who take advantage of it to sow discord. Africa, whose lethargy in recent years has caused a great deal of harm to the front-line countries, putting some of them in embarrassing situations; Africa, whose moral and material support to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia has been lacking; Africa has eventually come to terms with itself to complete its mission of decolonization and cope with the world economic crisis. Africa will achieve its unity to cope with the problem of *apartheid*.

86. Let the mother and big brothers whose assistance encourages the child to insult and act scornfully assume their own proper responsibilities. Niger, my country, has friends which have an approach to the problem of *apartheid* that is quite unlike ours. It is our principle to respect our friends and their policies. But we also have the right to state our position. In this respect, my country's position is unambiguous: there has not been, is not and cannot be any possible diplomacy that can work with Pretoria, so long as the legitimate and natural rights of the black population of South Africa continue to be trampled underfoot and so long as Pretoria fails to recognize, as a sacred right of all the population of South Africa, the principle of self-determination. The conclusions of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which we take as our own, say nothing less.

87. That is the core of the problem. If we emphasize that point, it is less out of a desire to reaffirm those principles than out of a feeling of certainty—the certainty that Pretoria has its own final solution, that of denationalizing the South African blacks, who will become foreigners in their own country while the immaculate Republic of South Africa, one and indivisible, will be proclaimed. We would very much like to be convinced that that will not happen.

88. Let me conclude by quoting from the interview with which I began my statement, this time the remarks of a young white South African who said:

“Mother says that we are putting our heads in the sand like ostriches. . . . Things must change. The blacks are almost three times as numerous as we are. They must come with us, otherwise we are lost.”

They must come with us, he said!

89. The Pretoria racists, and all those who support them, knowingly or otherwise, must ponder this child's remark, which is truly prophetic. The future of South Africa will be built only with the blacks: a multiracial and democratic South African Republic where each citizen will fully enjoy the right to life, liberty and justice.

90. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First I should like to extend to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the most sincere condolences of the Arab Republic of Egypt upon the death of Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

91. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa, the victims of which are the non-white Africans, is one of the few issues today that have mobilized unanimity among the Governments and peoples throughout the world, all of which, regardless of their doctrines, reject *apartheid*, and call for its dismantling, as is evidenced by the

numerous resolutions adopted on this subject by the United Nations and its various bodies.

92. In spite of this denunciation, the Government of South Africa is encouraged by its military power to continue its policies and plans, thus making it possible for it to impose its will against the majority of the non-white population and against neighbouring African States. As a result of the application of the policy of *apartheid*, it is a well-established practice in the United Nations for the representative of South Africa to speak before the Security Council during the discussion of any question concerning the situation in South Africa, categorically rejecting beforehand any resolutions that might be adopted by the Security Council and thereby confirming the persistence of its racist policy. In this connection, we wish to mention documents A/39/514 and A/39/531 concerning South Africa's response to the Declaration on South Africa [A/39/514, annex] adopted on 11 September 1984 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 10 States members of the European Community at the Ministerial Meeting on European Political Co-operation, and the discussion in the General Assembly of the situation in South Africa. In these replies South Africa refuses to accept the resolutions adopted by both bodies on the policy of *apartheid*, stating that it considers them to be interference in its domestic affairs.

93. It is well known that the international community has categorically rejected this claim. South Africa practises racial discrimination based on ethnic, religious and other grounds. Hence this matter concerns all mankind and cannot be considered as falling under domestic jurisdiction. Since when is a policy of repression, of genocide and of denial of human rights—which the whole world has defined and agreed to respect—considered as solely a matter of domestic affairs which cannot be discussed before international organizations?

94. What is taking place in South Africa with regard to the policy of *apartheid* and the classification of peoples according to a single criterion, namely, the colour of their skin, is of interest to the whole world, since it is a blot on the human conscience. We must eliminate that practice as soon as possible by using every means at our disposal. We hope that this will be brought about by peaceful means but the actions of South Africa and the obstinacy of its Government are such that this hope is becoming increasingly more remote.

95. Through General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the international Organization has already pointed out the serious consequences of what South Africa calls constitutional reforms, “reforms” which the international community has already rejected as being a new step towards consolidating the policy of *apartheid*. Yet the Government of South Africa, following its usual practice, has proceeded to implement these alleged reforms in defiance of these admonitions. As a result, the Coloured and Asian populations have boycotted the elections and the black majority has rejected these measures through protests and strikes, which are still taking place. We refer in particular to the strike at the beginning of this month that was advocated by the United Democratic Front, the black workers' unions and the anti-*apartheid* movements in which thousands of black workers and students took part in the Johannesburg and Pretoria regions. The Fascist authorities as usual responded to these protests by increas-

ing repression, violence, assassinations and arbitrary detentions—this time with the participation of the army.

96. Daily news reports clearly reveal what the blacks are suffering every day by way of violence, detention and assassination, without any hope at all of an end to this bloody repression. For the first time, this violence has been directed against white citizens who conscience-stricken at what is being done to the black majority have expressed their sympathy for that majority—something which shows the extent to which the South African authorities have gone in their cruelty.

97. The bantustans—now numbering 10—are considered the pillars of the policy of *apartheid*. This is a question that requires special attention because the South African Government would have world public opinion believe that they are the result of the application of the principle of self-determination and that thanks to the establishment of these bantustans the majority can live in minuscule independent States in keeping with its own customs, culture and civilization.

98. One of the most harmful effects of this idea is that millions of Africans who for generations have lived in townships in regions inhabited by the whites and who have no connection with the bantustans are today considered citizens of these bantustans and deprived against their will of their South African citizenship. As a result, in the eyes of the world—which has rightly refused to recognize the bantustans as independent States—those blacks are aliens.

99. Thus, the racist policies of the Government of South Africa have deprived millions of blacks of their nationality and of the possibility of acquiring another. This practice has been condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 37/69 A as an “international crime”.

100. Mr. John Dugard, a professor of international law and Director of the Centre for Studies in Applied Law of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, in a study on the *apartheid* policy of depriving blacks of their citizenship, has affirmed that since it is incumbent on all States to make no distinction between their citizens on ethnic grounds, it would seem that the relevant measures applied on a world scale in South Africa constitute a violation of international law, and that the argument that international law forbids States to deprive their citizens of their nationality on ethnic grounds is based on the practice of States, multilateral treaties and other legal provisions.

101. The bantustan policy has also resulted in the transfer of populations by force in conformity with what the South African authorities speak of as resettlement. According to some estimates, nearly 3.5 million African citizens have already been the victims of this resettlement and the resultant suffering and it is expected that by the time this operation is finished the number will be 5 million, or 20 per cent of the total population. These bantustans, which lack the means necessary for a strong economy, are totally dependent economically on the Government of South Africa, not to mention the fact that the inhabitants are subject to constant displacement and that the basis on which the bantustans are established is contrary to international law. All these things confirm unequivocally the groundless nature of the South African Government's claim that the bantu-

stans offer freedom to their black inhabitants who are thus given an opportunity to exercise their political, social and cultural rights. That claim is in no way corroborated by the facts.

102. If the world has refused to recognize the independence of the bantustans it is because it is aware of the true motives for their establishment. In other words, their whole purpose is to maintain the economic domination over the black majority and to strengthen that domination in order to keep a source of cheap manpower in the interests of the white inhabitants and to make all the blacks working in the areas reserved for the whites, where they have no right to live once their services are no longer required, aliens in their own country.

103. In the final analysis, the bantustans are considered to be the final stage of the policy of *apartheid* because they make possible the attainment of the goal revealed by one of those in authority in South Africa, who said: “We propose to so arrange things in the near future that there will not be a single black citizen in the interior of white South Africa.”

104. The Egyptian delegation has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] and wishes to express in this connection our gratitude to all the members of the Committee, in particular its President, Mr. Joseph Garba, for the valuable information given therein on the work of the Committee. The report deals with conditions in South Africa during the past year and we are fully in agreement with its conclusions and recommendations. Egypt reaffirms that it will continue to support the struggle of the heroic people of South Africa and its national liberation movements until the hateful racist policies are eradicated and a democratic State with a Government drawn from the majority, without distinction or discrimination, is established.

105. I want to conclude my statement by quoting something said by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, in the statement he made on 23 October 1984 before the Security Council. He said:

“We dream of a new society that will be truly non-racial, truly democratic, in which people count because they are created in the image of God.

“We are committed to work for justice, for peace and for reconciliation. We ask you, please help us; urge the South African authorities to go to the conference table with the authentic representatives of all sections of our community.

“ . . .

“I say we will be free, and we ask you: Help us, that this freedom come for all of us in South Africa, black and white, but that it come with the least possible violence, that it come peacefully, that it come soon.”\*1

106. Egypt hopes that the world will respond to this appeal so that the people of South Africa, whatever the colour of their skin, and indeed the whole region of southern Africa, may be spared the misfortunes that would follow a struggle whose consequences are unforeseeable.

107. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation joins in paying a tribute to the late Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. My delegation offers its

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.



condolences to the bereaved family and to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

108. The Assembly has debated the question of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa on numerous occasions. It has called upon the minority racist régime in Pretoria to relinquish its economic, political and military stranglehold on the black majority. To date, that majority continues to suffer at the hands of its oppressors; that majority is deprived of its citizenship; families and communities have been forcibly removed from the land and homes that they have occupied from time immemorial; the number of political prisoners is increasing and repression is endemic.

109. Within recent times the emergence of independent States in South Africa has tended to weaken the hold that South Africa has had over the region since the early days of colonialism. In order to maintain this *status quo*, the South African régime has employed changing strategies in an effort to impede the transformation of the social and economic conditions in these newly independent States. In addition, it has succeeded in extending its illegal occupation of Namibia. All of this is with the design of maintaining and even deepening its *apartheid* policies in South Africa itself.

110. The history of South Africa's regional policy clearly reveals a convenient shifting from a reliance on the economic domination of its neighbours for its own nefarious purposes to an increasing use of military and terrorist tactics. In recent years South Africa has flagrantly violated the territorial integrity of neighbouring States with increasing frequency; it has done this with a range of actions, including sabotage, assassinations and commando raids. In addition, it has taken deliberate measures to destabilize the front-line States by disrupting their fragile economies.

111. My Government has serious doubts about the policy of so-called constructive engagement advocated by some States, by which they maintain diplomatic and economic relations with the Pretoria régime. As we understand it, the argument of these Governments is that *apartheid* could better be subverted from within South Africa, that the racist régime could be informed directly that those States do not support the abhorrent system of *apartheid* and that those Governments would be better able to assess the internal situation to enable them to take appropriate action.

112. My delegation is of the view that such hopes are at best naïve and at worst a rationalization motivated by the lure of economic profits and economic gains—economic profits and economic gains derived from policies of exploitation and subjugation. This policy of so-called constructive engagement has not worked in the past, it cannot work at present and it will not work in the future. In fact, it would have the contrary impact, in that it would give the racist régime a measure of international support which would then be translated on the internal scene into a vicious enforcement of the policies of *apartheid*.

113. A new stratagem introduced by the racist régime is the adoption of a "new constitution" and it has proceeded to conduct elections giving the so-called Coloured and Asian peoples some political rights. We are concerned that some States consider

this to be a constitutional change and have proceeded to interpret it as a start in the right direction. It is to be regretted that some people have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by such a calculated ploy by the racist régime. The practical effect, in our view, of this so-called constitutional change is the entrenchment of the white minority, the conferring of illusory and useless rights and privileges on the so-called Coloured and Asian people and the disenfranchisement of the black majority, making them further dispossessed.

114. We are indeed surprised by the argument that once the constitution has been changed this opens up the possibility that it will change again in the future, that in due course the black majority will be permitted representation in the Government, which is its inherent right, and that through this mechanism and procedure the nightmare of *apartheid* will go away. Looked at in its true perspective this so-called constitutional change is a subtle but deliberate process further to entrench white supremacy by polarizing the other population groups, thereby fragmenting any concerted opposition to *apartheid*. This so-called new constitution has been courageously rejected by the South Africans themselves, as attested to by its rejection by the majority of the Coloured and Asian peoples and by the demonstrations which have shaken the régime in recent months.

115. We are witnessing yet another stage in the evolution of the entrenchment of *apartheid*. Any attempt by the racist régime in Pretoria to placate some members of the international community while at the same time tightening the heinous tentacles of its *apartheid* policy around the suffering people of South Africa, and any attempt by the minority rulers of South Africa to frustrate the efforts of this body and bring to naught the authority of the United Nations and its agencies, must be resisted. It is incumbent upon us to strengthen the role of the United Nations system to counteract the policies of *apartheid*. We have to ensure that our resolutions are respected and made effective and in this regard we have to obtain the support of the entire international community.

116. We need to maintain the pressure on the racist régime in South Africa in order to induce change, and the elements of that pressure must be the universal diplomatic isolation of South Africa, an embargo on all military supplies to South Africa, the effective social and cultural isolation of South Africa and, above all, the institution of an effective policy of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

117. We reiterate that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be entirely dismantled. The possibility of dismantling *apartheid* through peaceful means seems to be receding or already to have receded. It is time for the Organization to put an end to the machinations and prevarications of that repugnant régime and determine to deal with it effectively and unequivocally in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Mr. KI (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): It was with deep distress that my delegation learned this morning the sad news of the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We express our sympathy to the Ukrainian delegation to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and request it to

convey to the Government and people of the Ukraine and to the family of this distinguished leader the heartfelt condolences of the delegation of Burkina Faso.

119. The report submitted to us this year by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* hardly differs from its previous reports. It clearly shows that the stubborn, racist, minority régime of South Africa is continuing, against all common sense, its inhuman policy of *apartheid*, its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its savage repression of the black, Coloured and Indian majority in the country.

120. In a 1978 report concerning political imprisonment in South Africa, Amnesty International summarized the underpinnings of *apartheid* in the following way:

“It is because it holds the reins of power that the white minority has been able, through the structure of institutions, to consolidate its economic and social advantages, leaving the black community only a tiny part of the national resources, a part quite out of proportion to that community’s numerical size. Similarly, many laws prevent the blacks from evolving in any field whatever. For example, in order to prevent Coloureds from seeking jobs on the same footing as whites, a system of reserved employment has been set up, and discriminatory labour legislation has stifled the upsurge of black trade unions. Budgetary appropriations for education go as a matter of priority to white institutions. Blacks are trained for subordinate jobs. Moreover, the 1953 decree on segregation in housing makes it impossible for the blacks to exercise freely the right to reside in most of the country. The result of this is the division of South Africa into a series of homelands. It is only in these enclaves of territory that the indigenous population, grouped together on ethnic or racial grounds, are entitled to own land. This distribution—carried out, of course, by the Government, which emanates from the white minority alone—awards 87 per cent of all the land to the whites. In that part, where the main industrial and mining complexes are located, Africans cannot own land or move around freely, nor can they ever be without their identity documents, which they must show on demand at all times.

“While many of these types of discrimination were already current between 1910 and 1948, they became institutionalized in 1948 after the National Party came to power and introduced the programme of *apartheid*. That system establishes the complete separation of the indigenous inhabitants and the Europeans and is in principle designed to limit interracial contacts. In fact, however, it is through *apartheid* that the white minority has stayed in power and thus been able to protect its social and economic status.”

121. Thus, as can be seen, *apartheid* was designed from the very start with all the characteristics of an iniquitous system without parallel of any sort anywhere else, as a vehicle for a fascist ideology based on abject racism.

122. Since then, a lot of water has gone under the bridge, but nothing has changed in the land of *apartheid*. Its underpinnings are still there and are being strengthened through international support

which no one admits to. Its criminal laws, such as those on terrorism or internal security, or the anti-sabotage law, have been modified in various ways and have thereby acquired force over the years, while new laws or amendments of existing laws increasingly close the Africans of the country into an inextricable network of regulations, constraints and bans.

123. The policy of bantustanization, which was mainly designed to deny the Africans their nationality, thus making them foreigners in their own country, has been accelerated in recent years. Thus, the pass laws have been strictly applied and forced transfers of population have been stepped up. It is estimated that between 1960 and 1982 more than 3.5 million persons were displaced by force and that another 1.7 million will soon be thus displaced.

124. It should be noted that this year South Africa has a military budget of 2.86 billion pounds, an increase of more than 21 per cent over last year’s budget, and that it has entered upon a programme of sophisticated militarization, including efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. The obvious purpose of this over-armament is, on the one hand, to provide means of repression of the innocent population of the country and, on the other, to intimidate independent African States by brandishing the military threat over them. If the South African Government wants us to believe in its alleged desire for peace, let it start by engaging in a dialogue with its own population, which calls only for equality and a little more social justice.

125. At one point, reeling under the impact of the economic crisis, the minority régime adopted measures designed to put an end to what has come to be known as “petty” *apartheid*. Attempts were made to present and have us accept these tiny reforms as a large step forward, which would sound the death knell of the system of *apartheid*. But we did not allow ourselves to be fooled. The same “magicians” are now presenting the “constitutional reforms” recently enacted as harbingers of a will for change. But this is obviously only another subterfuge used to perpetuate the racial division of the country, because the legal and philosophical foundations of *apartheid* have never for a moment been shaken.

126. Indeed, the South African people were not fooled either. They quickly saw through this trickery. In a mass movement, they rejected it by refusing to go to the polls. Moreover, they decided to show the racist régime their determination to fight on, even at the risk of their lives, against the unjust political, economic and social measures imposed upon them.

127. The white minority régime of South Africa has also continued its practice of political and economic pressure, of threats and even military aggression against the neighbouring independent African States; it has also continued its illegal occupation of Namibia.

128. The front-line States, such as Lesotho, have been the victims this year of intense pressure, particularly because of a policy known as “constructive engagement”, which merely seeks to build up *apartheid* and destroy the hopes of the Africans. In order to put an end to the flagrant aggression against their countries, some front-line States have thus been induced to sign so-called security agreements with South Africa. But can sheep really live together with wolves for any length of time?

129. We must acknowledge that if the front-line States have reached this situation it is partly the fault of the international community, which has not given them the necessary political backing. Some members of the international community have abandoned them for selfish, short-term interests; others have done so because of their anti-African political policy. But the African peoples are awakening, and those who would bury their interests are going to have to take them increasingly into account in the future.

130. While it is true that the problems of the front-line States have created some difficulties for the liberation movement, as South Africa and certain other Powers hoped they would, they have not defeated that movement. It remains determined to meet the challenge, together with the oppressed people of the country. The intensification of the struggle inside South Africa proves, if proof were needed, that the wind of freedom is blowing ever stronger in response to the spread of repression.

131. In any case, it is undeniable that the security of South Africa's neighbours is linked to the victory of that country's liberation struggle. It is high time that the international community recognized this and agreed to pay the price for it.

132. We have repeatedly denounced the continuation of South Africa's colonization and plundering of Namibia. The increasingly striking successes of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] in the struggle to liberate its territory are encouraging to us. We reaffirm that the United Nations bears particular responsibility for that country and it is the duty of the United Nations to do its utmost to make sure that Namibia accedes to independence as soon as possible. As the President of Burkina Faso said at the current session:

"But the most tragic factor is not that South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community because of its *apartheid* laws, not even that it continues to occupy Namibia illegally and keep it under its colonialist and racist boot or that it continues with impunity to subject its neighbours to the laws of banditry. No, what is the most abject and the most humiliating for the human conscience is that it has made this tragedy a matter of everyday reality for millions of human beings, who have only their body and the heroism of their bare hands to defend themselves. Sure of the complicity of the big Powers and the active support of certain among them, as well as of the criminal collaboration of some pathetic African leaders, the white minority simply ignores the feelings of all those people, everywhere in the world, who find the savage methods of that country to be absolutely intolerable". [20th meeting, para. 69.]

133. These words, from the speech of President Thomas Sankara from this rostrum, reflect the feeling of revolt which we all feel in connection with the repressive methods of the *apartheid* régime which deny the majority population its elementary rights.

134. South Africa is in fact a vast prison in which 4 million whites are the vigilant and merciless watchdogs guarding 20 million blacks whom they bully, rape, assassinate and shunt into reserves.

135. As indicated in the report of the Special Committee [A/39/22], in the year under review the number of political arrests and detentions increased in comparison with 1982, affecting freedom fighters, trade union leaders, militants from religious and

community groups, students and journalists. These arrests and detentions occurred mostly in connection with the exercise of the most elementary human rights, such as the right of freedom of association and assembly. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, in 1983 there was a dramatic rise of 70 per cent in the number of imprisonments without trial in comparison with 1982. This increase, due to the intensification of the repression, shows also that the level of opposition to the policy of *apartheid* among the population has been rising.

136. In 1983, according to the same report, 262,904 Africans were arrested for breaking the "pass laws", that is, 720 arrests per day or 30 arrests per hour. As we all know, after the fraudulent adoption of the "new constitution" and the fierce resistance which followed, South African forces of repression, including the army this time, struck at the African people in Sharpeville, Boipatong, Soweto, Sebokeng and other townships, ransacking the houses and arresting at will and shooting at all suspects on sight.

137. This is the image of the régime which is being openly or covertly helped by certain Western Powers which are concerned more with juicy business deals than with human rights.

138. This is the time to have particularly in mind those hundreds of men, women, children, students, workers and dozens of people like Steve Biko and Malesela Benjamin Moloise who each day are being imprisoned, tortured and massacred because of their struggle against the odious system of *apartheid*. All these anonymous brave people are represented in a striking concentrated form, as it were, in the persons of Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 20 years, and his wife Winnie, and Walter Sisulu, who was imprisoned for life, and his wife Albertina. We reiterate President Thomas Sankara's demand for an intensification of the world campaign to liberate all prisoners and detainees in South Africa, and particularly Nelson Mandela so that he will be able to come here to bring his message of love and peace for the coexistence of all the inhabitants of South Africa.

139. What are we going to do at the end of this debate? Are we going merely to pass the customary "resolutions that do nothing more than call on a nation of pirates which 'destroys a smile as hail kills flowers'" [20th meeting, para. 70], or are we going at last to decide to take other more vigorous actions to make South Africa heed reason? My delegation believes that the second choice is absolutely necessary because major ills require strong remedies.

140. But in order for action, however vigorous, to bear fruit, certain prior conditions must be accepted.

141. First, we must be convinced that the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime is necessary. Those who had thought, hitherto, that a dialogue and collaboration with Pretoria could change the course of events are not now so convinced. The so-called policies of "constructive engagement", "dialogue" and "keeping open links" have so far done nothing but consolidate the South African Government by breaking its isolation. In any case, they have so far failed to produce any results of benefit to the African peoples in general or to the people of South Africa in particular. Under the cover of these vague concepts, there lies a real desire not to allow white South Africa to fall; this is for all kinds of reasons, the most prominent among which are the profitable business connections, flourishing trade relations and military

co-operation, all of which are maintained by Western and other countries with South Africa.

142. The first prize in this respect goes to Israel which has openly collaborated economically, politically, culturally and militarily with the land of *apartheid*, thus contributing to its military and economic health. There is an old saying that birds of a feather flock together, but we would dare to hope that Israel will understand it is engaging in a wholly unnatural alliance by so doing and it is in its interests to revise its policies.

143. Taking advantage of the breathing space accorded him by the openly friendly attitude of the Western countries, the racist Prime Minister Mr. Botha took his pilgrim's staff and off he went to improve the image of his country in Europe. On this occasion we would have expected a response of outrage from those countries who come here to the Assembly as champions of human rights. Instead of that, we heard embarrassed and vague declarations in response to the anger of their peoples.

144. Secondly, we must be determined to provide active support to the oppressed people of South Africa and to the front-line countries in order to enable them to face up to the pressures of southern Africa. In this struggle, the front line lies everywhere, in the Western countries as elsewhere, and it consists in political support and constant pressure on our Governments so that they will bear this concern in mind at all times.

145. Thirdly, at the African level, we must convince ourselves that it is from our political will that the weapons will be found which can be used to fight injustice and racial discrimination in South Africa. It is not by chance that the strengthening of co-operation with the *apartheid* régime, the political weakening of the front-line countries and the decline of African support for the liberation struggle have corresponded with the momentary eclipse of the OAU. It is salutary for all Africa that this continent-wide organization, since the twentieth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, has returned to the path of unity in dealing with the true problems facing Africa.

146. We believe in the light of these considerations, first, that all States should be invited to respect scrupulously the United Nations resolutions concerning the arms embargo on South Africa; secondly, that the Security Council should adopt vigorous measures under Chapter VII of the Charter; thirdly, that the legitimacy of the arms struggle in South Africa should be recognized, and fourthly, that in the last analysis we should fully support all the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and congratulate it on its work.

147. The people of Burkina Faso are mobilized to give whole-hearted political support to the national liberation struggle in South Africa. We have been following the developments of the struggle step by step. Our heart is beating in unison with their hearts because it is our struggle also—the fight for the dignity of the black man, indeed, of mankind. Our purpose in so doing is the establishment of a democratic society without racial segregation based on government by the majority in that part of Africa.

148. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): I should like at the outset to express to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the condolences of the

Nigeria delegation on the sad loss of their Head of State.

149. A few days ago this Assembly was seized of the important issue of the critical economic situation in Africa. The thoughts expressed in the statements of various delegations on that subject reflected the serious concern of the international community for peace, stability and progress in that continent. Today we are faced with another African issue of fundamental importance which, in this case, not only threatens the peace and stability of Africa but also stirs the conscience of all mankind.

150. I must say that the very long list of speakers on agenda item 31, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, symbolizes the deep abhorrence and repugnance of this world body for the dehumanizing system of *apartheid* based on institutionalized racism.

151. Another, somewhat related, item on the agenda of the General Assembly—agenda item 140, concerning celebration of the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire—which was to have been considered this morning but which was, mercifully, postponed, reminds me of Ali Mazrui's characterization of *apartheid* in his book, *The African Condition*.<sup>2</sup> Professor Mazrui wrote:

“The system in South Africa is an amalgam of slavery and colonization. *Apartheid* shares with slavery the assumption of hereditary caste roles, that is, status based partly on descent and partly on ascriptive rules of master and servant. Just as racism and contempt for black people were at the core of the slave trade, so once again are racism and contempt for black people at the core of *apartheid*.”

152. Against this background, any Government and any people that value human dignity, justice, freedom and equality cannot and must not be seen to waver in their determination to bring about the total eradication of *apartheid*. Adherence by Governments to the Charter of the United Nations, and the undertakings expressed therein by “We the peoples of the United Nations”, commit us all, irrespective of racial origin, geographical location or economic circumstance, to join the battle against a system based on the very antithesis of the fundamental principles of the Charter. We—and I mean all Members of the United Nations—have no other choice if we are to be faithful to our commitments and if we are to be true to ourselves.

153. It is therefore natural that since 1946 the policies of *apartheid* of the régime in South Africa have been a subject of concern to the United Nations. Since that time, the increasingly multiracial nature of world diplomacy has undoubtedly continued with time to induce a correspondingly increased hostility to racism and, in particular, to the institutionalized form of racism called *apartheid*. What is required today, after years of discussion of this item by the United Nations, is a translation of that expressed hostility into effective action to replace the minority régime in South Africa by a Government in which all the citizens of that country will and can participate.

154. The United Nations is aware that the situation in South Africa has never been more explosive than it is today; nor has it ever constituted a greater threat to international peace and security. The police brutality



associated with the racist and *apartheid* régime has taken a dangerous step forward with the recent deployment of the army at black townships near Johannesburg, for the first time, against unarmed innocent civilians, in the enforcement of *apartheid*. This demonstration—and, what is more, this use of military might by the South African régime against the black people of South Africa—should give food for thought to the Assembly.

155. Many of us have always expressed the belief that when *apartheid* came under severe pressure the régime in Pretoria would not stop at any measure to perpetuate itself. The warning which many have given in the Assembly that any collaboration that strengthens the *apartheid* régime increases the potential for a bloodbath of unimaginable proportions in South Africa is beginning to prove only too right. Who can now doubt the ability of the ruthless group in Pretoria to resort even to the use of the nuclear-weapon capability with which it has been endowed through years of collaboration by certain Western countries and corporations?

156. This year's debate therefore carries a greater sense of urgency and gravity, given the current crisis in South Africa spurred by the implementation of the so-called new constitution. It was predictable that this constitutional fiction would provoke, as it did, one of the most massive acts of resistance in the history of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The savagery and brutality shown by the racist régime did not deter black expressions of defiance of the so-called new constitution. Several blacks were killed in the process, babies were attacked and police even swooped down on funeral processions. Unfortunately, instead of totally condemning this blatant sham, some States Members made strenuous efforts to persuade the international community that what took place in South Africa was an encouraging sign of democratization. Well, that must be democracy stood on its head. Certainly it is a strange democracy which enshrines in its constitution the exclusion of 73 per cent of its population—23 million of its own citizens—from the electoral process. Indeed, those sections of the population that the *apartheid* régime sought to bring for the first time into the electoral process in order to give greater legitimacy to its strange brand of democracy were not deceived. The massive boycott of the elections by the Asians and the Coloureds was a clear rejection of the so-called constitutional reform. It should be a clear signal to those that refused to join the Security Council in its condemnation of the elections, whose results the Council thereby declared null and void. Rather than seeing progress in South Africa where none has taken place, all countries should resolve to render all necessary assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial and truly democratic society.

157. There is no ray of hope that the rulers in Pretoria will give up power simply through a liberalizing process, in spite of the wishful optimism in this direction on the part of some States. It would indeed be an exercise in self-deception to believe that the white-dominated régime in Pretoria will peacefully or willingly accept the principle of the equality of all races. Years of self-delusion that they are the master race implanted in South Africa to do God's will have hardened the racists in Pretoria into a group capable of perpetrating any crime in God's name. Let delegations hear the opening words of their so-called new

constitution: "In humble submission to the Almighty God who controls the destinies of all peoples and nations". Let them hear only the first national goal as stated in the so-called new constitution: "To uphold Christian values and civilized norms with recognition and protection of freedom".

158. How can anyone still be under any illusion about the rationality of this group of evil-spirited men who evoke the name of God in the perpetration of one of the greatest crimes against God's creatures?

159. The solution to the South African problem cannot be found in appeasement, whatever name is given to it—direct communication, dialogue or even constructive engagement. For this approach presupposes the rationality of those who operate *apartheid*. It presupposes that they can be persuaded by argument to see the folly and pitfalls in the system. It ignores the fact that to remain in power by all means, to maintain their high standard of living through exploitation of the non-white populace, are fundamental to the thinking of the apostles of *apartheid*.

160. The situation is then further compounded when those who should convert through so-called direct communication, dialogue or constructive engagement themselves become converted. Investments in South Africa and other collaboration with the régime are justified on the grounds that these help the oppressed people of South Africa. Such arguments serve merely to encourage and strengthen the *apartheid* régime by confirming that Western Powers which are both investors and the proponents of dialogue or constructive engagement lack the political will to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. Yet unless South Africa realizes that the price of further intransigence on its part will be very high it will not be amenable to any engagement. Western countries should shed the illusion that their investments serve any other purpose than to strengthen *apartheid* and unwittingly to sustain Western interest in the survival of the régime.

161. In the view of the Nigerian delegation, the ultimate solution to *apartheid* lies in armed struggle by the South African nationalists coupled with sustained and concerted action by the international community to isolate the *apartheid* régime totally. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria will continue to exert its utmost endeavours towards this end. In furtherance of the efforts of the United Nations through its Special Committee against *Apartheid*, whose Chairman is a distinguished Nigerian, the Federal Military Government was a co-sponsor in Lagos in August this year of a Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*. That Seminar brought together jurists and social scientists representing the main legal systems of the world. The conclusions of the Seminar should provide a new impetus for concerted international efforts aimed at the total isolation of South Africa. The Seminar accepted that *apartheid*, the most monstrous form of racial discrimination, which also contains elements of genocide, constitutes a special case of the violation of *jus cogens* and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

162. The South African régime by its persistent violation of international law has isolated itself from the system of fundamental values which constitutes the very essence of the international community. The General Assembly, as the mouthpiece of the interna-

tional community, is entitled to proclaim that the South African régime has placed itself in a situation of illegitimacy, and therefore has a right to expel South Africa from the Organization, whose basic values it continues to violate. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria endorses these conclusions.

163. The situation in South Africa today has reached a dynamic stage. *Apartheid* is in crisis. The non-whites and particularly the blacks are increasingly showing that they are willing to make the supreme sacrifice to force a fundamental change in their country. The international community is under an obligation to assist them to make the change as painless as possible. Nigeria will certainly continue to do its utmost to accelerate the removal of the contradictions within the *apartheid* State.

164. Mr. OCHIENGHS-WELLBORN (Uganda): Before I make my statement on the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, allow me to convey my delegation's deepest condolences to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the passing of its Head of State, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

165. My delegation notes that this is the second time during this session it has expressed sympathy upon the loss of a world leader.

166. Mr. Vatchenko was a leader who served his Party, Government and people faithfully and contributed a great deal to world peace and security. We in Uganda have lost a dear friend and a champion of peace and progress. We join the Ukrainian people in mourning the death of this great leader. May his soul rest in peace.

167. The General Assembly has before it the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We are grateful to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, and its members for the commendable work they continue to perform in the services of national liberation. This report comes before us for consideration during a very critical phase of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia are mourning hundreds of fallen compatriots.

168. When last year at about this time the General Assembly took up the item concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, a white-only referendum had just taken place in South Africa to adopt a new constitution. That constitution was aimed at bribing certain sections of the oppressed majority with a view to co-opting them into the *apartheid* power structure. Under that constitution racially segregated chambers were fabricated for the Coloured people and people of Indian origin. It tightened the reins of oppression around the necks of the African majority and entrenched racist minority rule. The clear design of the fraudulent constitutional changes was permanently to deprive the African majority of their inalienable right to citizenship, foment internal conflict among the oppressed and impede the emergence of universal suffrage. The General Assembly and the Security Council quite properly rejected and condemned this development.

169. As we deliberate today, the Indians and so-called Coloureds, before whom this bribe was dan-

gled, have resoundingly rejected the fraudulent constitutional changes. Through non-participation in the vote and non-violent demonstrations they have made known their stand. The struggle for the liberation of South Africa is escalating, with the black masses coming into direct confrontation with their oppressors. There is a clear determination to make the *apartheid* institutions unworkable.

170. Faced with the courageous and principled opposition of the majority, the racist régime has been forced to drop the mask of reform with which it disguised its oppression. In recent months many of the peaceful demonstrators have perished by cold-blooded murder at the hands of the racist police and the army. Thousands more languish in detention cells. The machinations of the régime have once again been exposed for what they are. These so-called constitutional reforms do not represent progress but are an attempt to consolidate the *apartheid* system. Current developments have clearly demonstrated that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.

171. We are dismayed to see that some friends of South Africa have portrayed the cosmetic constitutional changes in South Africa as a step in the right direction. It has also been argued by some that it is not for the other countries to prescribe how a free and equitable society in South Africa can be organized. The entrenchment of the *apartheid* apparatus cannot be defended as a step in the right direction. Indeed the people in that country have revolted against that inhumane policy. It is incumbent on us to give them the support they deserve.

172. It is to us a matter of profound regret that the efforts of the international community to eliminate that crime are being seriously undermined by a deliberate refusal on the part of many powerful countries that are in a position to put pressure on South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations. Instead, they have continued and intensified their collaboration with the *apartheid* régime. Such collaboration obstructs the efforts to dismantle the system. It emboldens the régime, which sees such collaboration as a stamp of approval. South Africa seems to have acquired immunity from condemnation in the Security Council because of the blanket protection being given it by certain Western countries with the power of veto.

173. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has outlined the various acts of repression perpetrated by the racist régime. The situation in South Africa is becoming more explosive. Each passing day brings acts of terror into the houses of the oppressed masses of South Africa. Fresh acts of torture, death, imprisonment and detention are unleashed upon them. The policy of bantustanization continues unabated. Entire villages are razed to the ground and their occupants dispatched to starve in arid lands. Lately, as my Minister of State pointed out when he addressed the Assembly during the general debate [21st meeting], the racists have even been contemplating the reduction of the African population through forced sterilization. Faced with the increasing brutalities of the *apartheid* régime, the oppressed masses have intensified their struggle.

174. The racist régime has not confined itself to oppression of its own population; it has continued its subversive activities and aggressive actions against the front-line States. The illegal occupation of Na-

mibia continues, with every trick or pretext being invented to frustrate the United Nations plan for the independence of the Territory. Aggression against and continued occupation of the Angolan territory by the racist forces seem to be taken for granted by some. The front-line States, in particular Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe, daily experience acts of destabilization perpetrated by South Africa.

175. The past year has seen the further militarization of the *apartheid* machine. South Africa has installed some of the world's most sophisticated radar tracking equipment in its northern part. According to South Africa's own admission, this project serves to make efficient use of the country's airspace for military purposes.

176. After General Magnus Malan had conducted what he boasted was a successful military exercise, code-named "Thunder Chariot", *The Johannesburg Star* of 13 September 1984 quoted the racist Defence Minister as saying: "With what we witnessed yesterday we could go right through to Cairo". General Malan added that "Thunder Chariot" would make an impression on South Africa's enemies and "make them think twice". Asked whether the cost of the exercise was justified in the current economic climate, General Malan said that his country had to pay for military preparedness. The military exercises were conducted in the presence of military attachés of some of South Africa's allies both in the West and elsewhere.

177. Another dimension of the growing militarization of *apartheid* is its nuclear programme. The study just submitted by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research [A/39/470] has brought this out very clearly. Since the Secretary-General's report on this subject four years ago, uranium exploitation in South Africa and Namibia has increased by about 50 per cent. Detailed data are also provided on South Africa's nuclear policy. The report reaffirms in categorical terms the racist régime's technical capability of manufacturing nuclear weapons.

178. These events continue to take place not only within the full view of the international community but, regrettably, also with the complicity of some reputable Member States of the Organization. It is through their collusion that the South African military machine has been strengthened. South Africa's nuclear capability, as the report of the Special Committee shows, was achieved and is being enhanced with the active assistance of Western countries and Israel. This has been done in flagrant violation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. It will be recalled that when the arms embargo was imposed a Committee of the Security Council was established under Security Council resolution 421 (1977) to monitor the operation of the embargo and to make recommendations to close any loopholes. The Committee's work has, since its inception, been frustrated by those that violate this embargo and are eager to give a protective shield to racist South Africa.

179. Four years ago the United States embarked on a policy of constructive engagement with South Africa. We were assured then that the policy would

result in the early independence of Namibia, the improvement of the human rights situation of the population in South Africa and security for the countries of the region. The objective situation is that that policy has had no positive results. The South African régime saw it as a licence to create, arm and finance dissident groups in the front-line States. These, together with South Africa's direct intervention, have increased the insecurity of the States in the region. The independence of Namibia remains elusive as South Africa places fresh obstacles in the way of the United Nations plan. At the same time, *apartheid* has been strengthened. Hardly any positive result can be credited to the policy of constructive engagement. It has only provided a cover so that South Africa can violate the Charter of the United Nations with impunity.

180. Coupled with the collusion with South Africa, there have been strenuous efforts to rehabilitate that pariah State. Recently, Mr. Botha, the racist Prime Minister, was treated to a full diplomatic fanfare as a peace broker when he visited certain European capitals. Africa and the rest of the international community must object to and categorically condemn all moves aimed at conferring legitimacy upon *apartheid* South Africa.

181. Like the fascism and the nazism that preceded it, *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. Just as fascism was led to its demise by the global opposition it aroused, so must *apartheid* be crushed.

182. The danger posed by the racist régime not only to regional but also to international peace and security must be clear to all. The international community must mount all-out opposition to *apartheid* until it is eradicated from the face of the earth. All those that four decades ago united against fascism must join in this struggle.

183. In conclusion, we wish to thank the front-line States for the great sacrifices they have made in the struggle carried out against heavy odds. I wish also to reaffirm my country's unswerving support for the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their determined struggle, under their national liberation movements, against racism and colonialism. Uganda will continue to render them all support in their just cause.

184. History is on their side. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

*The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, 2560th meeting.*

<sup>2</sup>Ali Mazrui, *The African Condition*, Cambridge University Press, 1980.