



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

AGENDA ITEM 31

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

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I should first like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee [A/39/669]. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided (decision 39/407).

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 31 be closed today at 5 p.m. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Group of African States, Mr. Paul Bamela Engo, of Cameroon.

4. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): It is becoming increasingly difficult to subscribe to the proliferation of resolutions on the various aspects of the slur on the nature and character of the dynamism that ordinarily distinguishes this technological generation from others. This subject has drawn rhetoric and oratorical brilliance from the abundance of our human intellect. We have condemned racism and its active facet, *apartheid*, with vehemence and, on occasion, with an intensity of bitterness and profound indignation so strong as to be almost palpable. Yet, curiously inspired by a growing monotony of dwindling imagination, we seem to miss the point that, as George Orwell aptly put it, "The imagination, like certain wild animals, will not breed in captivity".

5. The ineffectiveness of our discourse and resolutions here appears to have the effect of a mere periodic grumble of formal protest. We appear not to have safeguarded the real imagination that is born of the finest aspirations of human ideals and enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Commitment to these ideals calls for more than what is proving to

be the unproductive rendition of old anti-*apartheid* themes syncopated to nationalist rhythms of the colonial era. To complicate the erosion of our imagination still further, we are seized of the proven hypocrisies of some who, although in a position to provide effective deterrents against *apartheid*, would prefer to join in the dangerous dance with arrogance and illusion.

6. It is the view of my delegation and that of the Group of African States that, as we prepare for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the universal Organization, we must address the interrelationships between the myth and the reality of *apartheid*.

7. For decades now, we have addressed this extensive and persistent crime in puritanical terms, preaching to a dedicated racist régime a lesson of morality for which the culprits already have a deep-rooted and almost aesthetic distaste.

8. The myth was, on the one hand, that the South African whites feared majority black domination and needed to be reassured by universal guarantees that a certain plague of communism and sacrilegious doctrines of natives would not pollute the culture of the whites, who by gun and long usage had acquired prescriptive rights to unfamiliar European traditions on African soil.

9. On the other hand, there was the myth that *apartheid* was fundamentally a curse on the immediate victims, that is, the Africans, calling for mere sympathy, humanitarian sentiments and missionary postures. The model of the world of the civilized aiding regions of cultural darkness influenced not only the policies of colonists but also the foreign policies of so-called mother countries. This is curious because those metropolitan countries themselves, which had declared religious abhorrence of slavery following an extended period of enterprise and acquisition of wealth from those lands afar, encouraged conditions of enslavement.

10. For those for whom the emergence of South Africa is but a minor footnote to history it is important to note that the struggle for power and political freedom waged against the British brought independence for the so-called white South African not only from the imperium imposed by Britain's Liberal Government but, as they saw it, also from the menacing will of the majority indigenous Africans.

11. By 1920 a qualified form of slavery was to be established, ensuring that Africans could only enter towns and cities "to minister to the needs of the whites". Between that year and now, history has recorded atrocities, monstrosities and deprivation at their characteristic worst. A guttersnipe of a régime has established itself in a continent that showed love and humanism in dealing with treasure-hunters arriving from other lands. The adventurers soon became

*Resumed from the 13th meeting.

occupation forces masquerading as innocent settlers, steadily using the African's generosity to deprive him of his fundamental right to the pursuit of freedom and better standards of living.

12. The plight of heroes like Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu have not been sustained by motivations of fear and a desire to improve the lot of their peoples. Many others, among them women and children, have been silenced either by redeeming death or by animal brutality. In a continent in which woman is considered the mother and the life-line of the family and the family the nucleus of society many have been systematically dehumanized, lust defying morality in countless instances. Even the offspring of shameless rape by their untamed males were to be categorized in the manner of the separation of species of poultry.

13. Take note of some of our mother heroes: Ethel Mtintso; Albertina Sisulu, the former leader of the Women's League of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and member of the South African Women's Federation; and Joyce Mokhesi. Take note of these noble women: Mohle Mohapi and Laura Levetan. Take note of trade unionist Mary Moodley and many more.

14. To ignore these facts, which explain the nature of the intensifying cancer known as *apartheid*, is to entertain sleep in the ugly face of war.

15. Yes, it is a myth that the racists of South Africa take seriously any appeal or condemnation made in resolutions passed here.

16. It is imperative that the credibility of the Organization be enhanced by a rebirth of the political will that launched the United Nations at a time when nations were tamed by the nightmare of warfare.

17. The great Powers of this age, especially those which voluntarily assumed Charter rights and duties as custodians and guarantors of international peace and security, have a fundamental responsibility to save generations of Africans from the scourge of conditions of belligerency, of deprivation, of forlorn hopes, of untimely death.

18. The reality of the modern experience is that the régime in South Africa is more than racist; it is determined to assign to the African in that geographical region the character of an endangered species.

19. The truest reality of it all is the obvious threat that the trends in southern Africa hold not only for the inhabitants of the region but even for the major industrialized countries, especially the so-called allies, far removed from the front of the liberation struggle. The repressionists of South Africa are not decent civilized moralists who may be credited with democracy on the model of Washington, Whitehall, Paris and the like. We ask you to join us in facing this reality.

20. Today it is the black African who is the immediate victim. Who can tell what realities tomorrow will bring? The investments that lure today may dig the grave of loss in material as well as in credibility terms in the future. Generations of Africans are growing up in an atmosphere of war and despair; they may never know the love and brotherhood that sustains the viability of a nation. To what extent can the South African arrest the imperative of oppressed peoples justifiably seeking and legitimately receiving aid from an expanding sector of the world? What credibility would induce the withdrawal of troops and weapons accompanying that aid?

21. A new renaissance of knowledge thrust upon us by revelations in science and technology has widened the vision of man's potential on this globe and in the celestial bodies above. One clear lesson that emerges from this experience is that our attainments are not matched by a human capacity to channel them to peaceful and productive uses. It must be more frightening to those who possess nuclear weapons, than it is to our comparatively ignorant selves, that just enrolled in their number is a member whose arrogance of power mocks the impotence of the rest of the world.

22. To support the racist South African régime, directly or indirectly, is to programme the prolongation of *apartheid*. The list of activities involving economic, military and nuclear relations is long and fraught with disillusionment. In the cloud of dust that is raised by disappearing credibility the world has been treated once again to a new phenomenon almost romantically styled "constructive engagement". If we must bend over backwards to presume innocence through the absence of a kind of political *mens rea*, then we must draw the attention of our American friends to the failure this policy has met in trying to change the situation in South Africa. Instead of an engagement for peace, South Africa feels protected by the assurance of a non-disruptive engagement against the African majority and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some other Western countries carried this policy further by invitations to the so-called Prime Minister to pay what turned out to be a triumphal visit to each of their countries. He was accorded royal treatment. In the light of official South African reactions, as well as the sardonic smile mechanically worn on a hardly human Prime Minister's face, we call on those Western friends to examine post-mortem whether the aims of sanity against *apartheid* were even remotely met.

23. To the South Africans themselves, a medicinal word can never be out of place even though the form of communication they most prefer seems to be the language of violence.

24. As we approach the festive season of Christmas, the racists join the rest of the Christian world to commemorate the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. They, too, will sing carols and indulge in the buying and selling of Christmas cards—the commercialization of Christmas. They will sing "Joy to the world", "Peace on earth, good will to men", "What can I give Him poor as I am . . . give Him my heart". They will listen to sermons and praise God for his goodness. Once again thinking men, women and children in South Africa and across the globe will be perplexed by the paradox of professed Christians perpetrating acts so thoroughly opposed to Christian doctrines. More will wonder how their own leaders outside South Africa have the fortitude openly to give sustenance to such anti-God, anti-Christian régimes, yet pay lip-service to the universal anti-*apartheid* movement.

25. We call on all proclaimed friends of South Africa to join the rest of the world in seeking new ways of turning things around before it is too late. No resolutions have worked so far. Let us examine new ideas for luring the Pretoria régime away from the crime it commits daily against humanity.

26. Tell them that the will of the African populations cannot be twisted and turned and destroyed.

The fight for freedom and justice is a fight for survival, and in the long run a fight for peace.

27. Tell them how they are nursing a time-bomb through the breeding of generations of citizens, white, black and Coloured, who are growing up knowing no love. Tell them that the economy of war is bad for the nation and that peace with neighbours is the only hope for them. The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, of 1969,¹ showed the willingness of African States to rehabilitate those who suffer from illusions. Satellization of neighbours can provide no lasting peace; disarmament is the agent of peace and of economic development.

28. Tell them of the frightening prophetic laments of many writers, some of whom are studied more for examination purposes than for education in the wider sense.

29. Tell them of the apt words which William Shakespeare put into the mouth of his character Mark Antony:

“A curse shall light upon the limbs of men;
Domestic fury and fierce civil strife
Shall cumber all the parts of [South Africa];
Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war;
All pity chok'd with custom of fell deeds:

Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry 'Havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war;
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
With carrion men, groaning for burial.”

(*Julius Caesar, act III, scene I*)

I believe it was also Mark Antony who cursed “Woe unto the hand that shed this costly blood”.

30. Let us together devise new means of ridding this generation of the curse of *apartheid*. Let us do even more: let those Powers among us that must meet the same frustrations under the approach of “constructive” or “unconstructive” engagement tell the backward racists in South Africa that they cannot stop the dictates of history. As history continues its crushing exercise on oppressive régimes, wiping out the arrogant among great empires and kingdoms and nations, *apartheid* will be a successful candidate on the list.

31. When that time comes, South Africa's allies of today will make only a few noises in protest and take shelter under convenient principles, even under the Charter of the United Nations. There can be no better way of maintaining lasting international peace and security than by full commitment to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter.

32. In conclusion, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is no time to address South Africa as if it can survive in isolation. Nor should heroic African freedom fighters be treated as if the moral and legal issues are beclouded by resort to the only means they have of self-defence. The time has come for the broad underlying issues to be squarely addressed well beyond the reach of rhetoric.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

33. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Garba of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

34. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: The agenda item con-

cerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa has been featured on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than two decades—and indeed, under somewhat different titles, ever since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. Along with the issues of disarmament and Namibia, it remains an unfulfilled task of the Organization and, on the eve of its fortieth anniversary, a matter of the gravest concern.

35. For Africa, which has been struggling to emerge from centuries of humiliation and inhumanity and which has, during the lifetime of the Organization, thrown off the shackles of colonialism, the persistence of racist domination in South Africa, and in Namibia, under the illegal occupation of the South African racist régime, remains the last and most difficult hurdle before the total emancipation of our continent can be attained. *Apartheid* in South Africa has, moreover, become a constant menace, threatening the independence and territorial integrity of African nations and undermining their efforts for economic and social progress.

36. The title of the agenda item hardly conveys the gravity of the matter under consideration at this time. The situation in South Africa today is very grim. The racist authorities in that country have deployed thousands of troops in African townships to intimidate the people who have been forced into poverty, deprivation and mass unemployment, and to suppress their legitimate protests against raises in rents and bus fares and against gross discrimination in education.

37. Backed by the armed forces, the racist police have been resorting to mass arrests of thousands of people. Scores of helpless citizens have been killed, including many schoolchildren. In township after township the police have attacked people indiscriminately with tear gas, rubber bullets and the so-called birdshot, wounding even infants in their mothers' arms. Many leaders of the people have been arbitrarily detained under obnoxious security legislation and held incommunicado without access to families or lawyers. The spiral of repression and resistance is at an extremely critical stage.

38. The black majority, driven to the wall, has mobilized itself to fight for its very survival. The overwhelming rejection of the so-called new constitution, the school boycotts by hundreds of thousands of black students and the general strike two weeks ago, in which half a million workers are reported to have participated, show that there can be no return to so-called normalcy.

39. The present session of the General Assembly cannot afford to deal with the situation as a routine matter. It cannot limit itself to mere condemnations or to demands which will again be spurned by the racist authorities, or to appeals for action by the Security Council which will again be frustrated by the major Western Powers. This session of the General Assembly must mobilize the international community for action that is commensurate with the gravity of the situation.

40. *Apartheid* was proclaimed a state policy by a white racist group which came to power in South Africa in 1948. It meant not only a perpetuation of racist domination and discrimination, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, but the deprivation and dispossession of even the meagre rights that the black people had previously enjoyed.

41. Thus, even token representation of blacks in Parliament was abolished. Numerous settled communities were uprooted in order to enforce residential segregation. Africans were dispossessed of their ancestral land in the name of the removal of "black spots". The limited residence rights of Africans in urban areas were curtailed. Education was segregated, so that the African child was subjected to gross discrimination. Scores of discriminatory regulations were enacted, so that any assertion of human rights and human dignity by the black majority became an offence. The ultimate objective was nothing less than to exclude the African majority even from its citizenship and to confine it to the reserves as pools of cheap labour.

42. The United Nations has for 36 years followed the situation day by day as it deteriorated. It has recognized the inhumanity of *apartheid* and the grave dangers of the perpetuation of the inhuman system. It has proclaimed *apartheid* an international crime and fully acknowledged the legitimacy of the struggle by the oppressed people for its total elimination and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society. Indeed, it has proclaimed that the elimination of *apartheid* is of vital interest to the United Nations and has pledged all its efforts towards that end.

43. The commitment of the United Nations is clear and unequivocal, but so far it has been unable to assert its authority. It has failed to arrest the escalation of oppression and repression by the racists in South Africa and has certainly failed to make any progress towards the elimination of *apartheid*. The time is long overdue for undertaking a critical analysis of the situation and finding ways to enable the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities and commitments.

44. It is no longer a question of exerting the moral influence of the United Nations and the international community by denouncing *apartheid* as iniquitous or in trying to persuade the rulers of South Africa to move towards recognition of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the people of the country.

45. The white minority racist clique has proved impervious to all appeals and has violated all canons of law and standards of morality in resorting to massacres, torture and repression in its determination to consolidate and perpetuate racist domination. The régime in Pretoria has not only been at war with the great majority of its people; it has confronted the United Nations itself by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. It has committed numerous acts of aggression and terrorism and has an unparalleled record of defiance of the Organization. Yet it has been able to amass a massive arsenal of military equipment and develop a large armament industry—increasing its military budget 70 times since 1960—and has even acquired nuclear capability to blackmail the people of South Africa and the independent African States.

46. *Apartheid* cannot be abolished by cajoling the racist authorities. The forces of genuine change are the great majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movements and the organizations that have been struggling for decades, in very difficult conditions and with great courage, for the elimination of *apartheid*. Whether the change will be peaceful or violent will depend on the concrete

support of the United Nations and the international community for their struggle.

47. We must totally reject the argument recently advanced by one or two powerful Governments that *apartheid* is but one of many violations of human rights in the world. They use this argument to frustrate effective action by the United Nations and to continue their collaboration with the racists in power in Pretoria.

48. *Apartheid* is unique not only as an institutionalized system of racism against the majority of the population but also in its practical application. Where else can one find a racist minority régime depriving the majority of its population, the indigenous people of the country, of their citizenship rights? Where else does one find the use of forced removals of one fifth of the population as a means of enforcing racial segregation? Where else can one find parallels for the series of massacres of unarmed demonstrators—as in Sharpeville, Soweto and Sebokeng—and the indiscriminate killing of children? Where, indeed, can one find a parallel to the régime of total repression imposed by the racists in South Africa for decades?

49. Thousands of leaders of the people have been arbitrarily detained and scores have been tortured to death. Nelson Mandela was sentenced to prison 22 years ago, indeed the day after the Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII), establishing the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and appealing for sanctions against South Africa. This gallant symbol of the people's resistance is still in prison. Some members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], sentenced to life imprisonment in a secret trial early in 1963, are also still rotting away in prison. The South African régime has imposed a new racist constitution in defiance of the General Assembly and the Security Council and has sought to exclude the indigenous Africans who constitute 73 per cent of the population from the body politic.

50. And yet, some Governments which profess concern over so-called human rights violations in other countries and rush to take action in such cases show no concern whatsoever when the victims of violence and oppression are the black people of South Africa. Indeed, their preoccupation is to be benevolent towards the racists and to bestow respectability on them.

51. The issue before us is not only the inhumanity of the racist rulers in Pretoria, which has caused immense suffering and is bound to lead to greater conflict and bloodshed, but also the inability of the Organization to fulfil its solemn commitments.

52. Is there any doubt that the ineffectiveness of the Organization is due above all to the reluctance and unwillingness of a few major Western Powers to back up the resolutions of the United Nations with effective pressure on the racist régime of South Africa? Can anyone entertain any doubt that if those Powers had been willing to quarantine the racist régime and deprive it of the benefits of economic, military, technological and other co-operation, as requested by numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, that that régime could not have turned into a monster and continued to defy the rest of the world?

53. Regrettably those Powers have chosen to befriend the racist régime and, under one pretext or another, have opposed sanctions against it, as re-

quired under the Charter of the United Nations. They have thereby given it time to implement its plans to develop South Africa into a racist bastion.

54. The policy of "constructive engagement", as Bishop Desmond Tutu declared on behalf of his people recently, has proved to be an unmitigated disaster, for in essence it has meant co-operation with a racist clique bent on perpetuating racist domination in the name of support for forces of peaceful change, and alienation from the genuine representatives of the great majority of the people of the country struggling for a non-racial, democratic society.

55. The United Nations has, as early as 1952, proclaimed the objective of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa in which all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, would enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of human equality. These objectives unite all those struggling against *apartheid*. Neither Botha, nor his detractors on the other hand, ever pretended to seek a non-racial, democratic society and consequently cannot in any way pretend to be a force for genuine change. His régime, which lacks any shred of legitimacy, can have no place in a non-racial, democratic society.

56. The past year has been one of acute crisis in South Africa, in particular because of the determination of the *apartheid* régime to impose a so-called new constitution, designed to divide the black people and dispossess the African majority of all rights in their own country. It has already declared the "independence" of four bantustans in defiance of the international community and is seeking through the new constitution to speed up the dispossession of the African majority and turn an African country into a white, racist preserve. It is proceeding with this diabolical plan in the face of overwhelming opposition by the black people and denunciation by this General Assembly.

57. And yet some powerful Western countries see in this plot against the South African people and against Africa a step in the right direction. They are propagating the myth that the Botha régime has become flexible and peaceful and are even advocating an end to the isolation of that régime. Meanwhile the South African régime is precipitating a grave crisis in its determination to consolidate racism and to establish hegemony over the whole of southern Africa.

58. The response of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in the face of this development has been to make the world aware of the reality in South Africa and to promote support for the genuine forces of freedom in that country. The Committee undertook a series of missions to Governments to convey its views and concerns, and to seek greater support in implementation of United Nations resolutions. As Chairman of the Special Committee, I also held consultations with the late Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose tragic assassination last month has been a great loss. The Special Committee organized or supported a number of conferences to enable representatives of Governments, public organizations or segments of public opinion to consult on and co-ordinate action against *apartheid*.

59. I would like to refer here in particular to the North American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at United Nations Headquar-

ters from 18 to 21 June 1984, with the participation of a number of public leaders and concerned groups in Canada and the United States of America; the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, on the hundredth anniversary of alien occupation of Namibia; the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984, with the participation of eminent jurists; the Inter-faith Colloquium on *Apartheid*, held in London from 5 to 8 March 1984, with the participation of representatives of all the major religions of the world; and, lastly, the Conference of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Copenhagen on 2 and 3 November 1984.

60. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has devoted particular attention to efforts to reach the grassroots of public opinion and to encourage organizations and individuals to exert their influence in support of concerted international action in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

61. The boycott of *apartheid* sports has registered further advances despite the efforts of the *apartheid* régime to entice sportsmen and sportswomen by virtual bribery to play in South Africa. The boycott of South Africa by actors, entertainers, musicians and others has rapidly developed in many countries with the support of cultural personalities, anti-*apartheid* groups, trade unions and others.

62. Eighty-five of the greatest contemporary artists of the world contributed invaluable original works to the "Art against *Apartheid*" exhibit, co-sponsored by the Special Committee. "Artists against *Apartheid*" groups are being formed in many cities. The initiatives of the Special Committee in encouraging action by artists have received a most heartening response, and the artists have reached millions of people with their call for action against *apartheid*.

63. We in the Committee are also greatly encouraged by initiatives in several parliaments, especially in the West, calling on their Governments to take more energetic action in support of United Nations resolutions and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

64. Equally important has been action within the powers of state, city and local authorities to disengage from *apartheid* and to support the liberation struggle in South Africa. Over 100 cities and local authorities have already taken such action in the United Kingdom. Some of the largest cities and several states of the United States of America have also taken measures for divestment from South Africa and others have similar action under consideration.

65. Non-governmental and other organizations are contributing significantly to the international effort against *apartheid*. The Special Committee is proud to have been able to make its modest contribution towards encouraging this campaign of conscience and action against *apartheid*. It has presented in its annual report an outline of its 1985 programme of work [A/39/22, paras. 412-418] for the approval of the General Assembly. I hope that we can count on the co-operation of all Governments and organizations in the implementation of that programme.

66. As usual, the Centre against *Apartheid* has been most prudent in its expenditure and has been able to

attain substantial results. The goodwill, commitment and co-operation of many Governments, organizations and individuals assisted in no small measure in achieving that. We hope that we can count on all of them next year.

67. The Special Committee has always emphasized that the problem of *apartheid* is a matter of international concern and that we seek the co-operation of all Governments, organizations and individuals—irrespective of their ideological and other differences—in concerted international action against this obnoxious system. Any collaboration with *apartheid* on pretexts such as cold-war considerations or so-called strategic interests is a great disservice to the United Nations.

68. If the Special Committee has been obliged from time to time to draw attention to the policies and actions of Governments, transnational corporations or institutions which encourage and reinforce *apartheid*, it has been with a view to persuading them to desist from such action.

69. The United Nations is a forum for the harmonization of actions by States in the light of the principles of the Charter. On the problem of *apartheid*, as a result of extensive discussion there is an overwhelming majority of States in favour of sanctions against South Africa. In fact, our friends the Nordic States and some other smaller Western States have made generous contributions in support of the oppressed people of South Africa and their legitimate struggle, and I wish to pay a special tribute to them.

70. The Special Committee has never failed to express appreciation to Western and other countries for their actions in support of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*, but we must express dismay at the attitude of a few major Powers which continue to prevent universal action against *apartheid* and enable the régime to defy the United Nations with impunity. I hope that those Powers will revise their policies and join the rest of the Member States in assisting the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities.

71. I make a special appeal to the United States of America, which bears a great responsibility for and indeed can make a crucial contribution to the elimination of *apartheid*. I urge that great country to abandon its so-called “constructive engagement” with the Botha régime and undertake such engagement with the efforts of the United Nations for the elimination of *apartheid*. I should like to make an equally fervent appeal to the Government of the United Kingdom. There is little doubt that if those two great countries were to disengage from the racist régime there would be a clear prospect for a rapid and genuine change in South Africa with the least violence and very little conflict.

72. The time for platitudes and speeches intoned only for their rhetorical significance is over. The current crisis in South Africa calls for positive action against the racist régime. The world should not be blindfolded by the Trojan horse of the disreputable policy of “constructive engagement”. Four years of the elaboration of that policy has served only to embolden the racist régime to escalate its repression of all who dare to speak out against *apartheid*, to bust trade unions, and to indulge in police-State crack-down on opponents of all races. Four years of “constructive engagement” has only encouraged the racists to subvert neighbouring States in the region

and cow them into submitting to unequal treaties and agreements. Four years of such engagement has led to the brazen violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia² and to the intensification of the rapacious pillage of Namibia’s natural resources. Four years of “constructive engagement” has led only to windfall profits for the Western and American-based transnational corporations greedy for greater profits from the blood of the oppressed people of South Africa.

73. That point was succinctly put by *The New York Times* in its editorial opinion of 18 November 1984, as follows:

“Here then is the dilemma for all Americans. We profess a special abhorrence for South Africa’s racism but want to avoid stirring civil strife. The Administration goes a step further: it thinks warm ties to that Government—‘constructive engagement’—will achieve more good in the end. But it has nothing to show inside South Africa for four years of such engagement.

“Nor has it anything to show diplomatically. One early fruit of engagement was to have been the end of South Africa’s illegal occupation of neighbouring Namibia. The great prize of a regional bargain—independence for Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola—continues to elude Washington’s grasp.”

The editorial concluded by stating that “constructive engagement” has served only to reinforce the *apartheid* system under which 2.4 million Afrikaners are hell bent on preserving a system that gives them permanent domination over 22 million blacks who have been deprived of their citizenship and condemned to impoverished “tribal homelands” comprising only 13 per cent of South Africa’s territory.

74. In conclusion, on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I want to stress that this is no time to relax; rather, it is time to intensify international mobilization against the racist régime of Pretoria and to exert more energetic efforts for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This should result not only in a stronger condemnation of *apartheid* and all collaboration with the régime, but also in decisive and concrete action for the total elimination of the obnoxious *apartheid* system. We should also vigorously reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for peace, freedom and justice.

75. In this connection, the General Assembly must, in the face of the inability of the Security Council to impose sanctions under the provisions contained in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations owing to the intransigence of the Western permanent members of the Council, consider ways and means of instituting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime. The time to act is now. We should not wait until our conscience is shocked by a repetition of the 1960 Sharpeville and the 1976 Soweto massacres. Posterity will not forgive us if we do.

76. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Mr. Ernest Besley Maycock of Barbados, to present that Committee’s report.

77. Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados) Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an Internation-

al Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour to introduce its report [A/39/36].

78. In resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention in order to strengthen the campaign against *apartheid* in sports. Since then the *Ad Hoc* Committee has held a series of consultations and negotiations with Member States in an effort to obtain international agreement on the draft convention.

79. I am honoured to inform the Assembly that the proposed amendments to articles 4, 10, 12, 13 and 20 of the draft convention, as contained in last year's report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee,³ received wide support among African countries. As a result of this support, and to expedite its work in order to fulfil its promise to present the final draft to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee decided to accept an invitation from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to send a delegation to Abidjan to hold consultations with officials of the Council on the proposals. The delegation visited Abidjan from 15 to 20 March 1984 and met with the President and the Secretary-General of the Supreme Council as well as with the Presidents of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa and the Association of African Sports Confederations. A representative of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee also participated in the consultations. A summary of the consultations of the mission to Abidjan appears in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*ibid.*].

80. In June 1984 the Secretary-General of the Supreme Council informed the *Ad Hoc* Committee that at its meeting in Ouagadougou on 16 and 17 June 1984 the Executive Bureau of the Council had adopted a resolution [*ibid.*, annex II] in which it endorsed the proposals of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 9 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly,³ recommending that African States should give their full support to these proposals during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

81. However, during the course of the year, written comments on the draft convention received from the Governments of Jamaica and the German Democratic Republic suggested some further amendments to the draft. The amendments suggested by Jamaica would not alter the main thrust of the draft amendment proposed by the Chairman. However, the proposed amendments of the German Democratic Republic call for action against violators of the international boycott of *apartheid* sports through national sporting federations and would have the effect of eliminating any element of third-party principle from the draft convention. After holding consultations on these matters, the Committee decided to send a delegation to the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to hold discussions with the authorities concerned in an effort to resolve the differences in the light of the resolution adopted by the Executive Bureau of the Supreme Council, which embraced my proposed amendments.

82. Frank exchanges of views on the third-party principle were held with the authorities concerned in Berlin and Moscow from 7 to 15 September 1984. They explained their difficulties and concerns about the possible ramifications that might emanate from the application of the third-party principle. The delegation explained that the Committee's objective was to seek a compromise solution to make the third-party principle as flexible as possible in an effort to meet the objectives of the African States without endangering the interests of international sports in general. The authorities in both countries reaffirmed their desire to assist as far as possible in reaching a compromise solution to the problems facing the Committee. Paragraphs 12 to 15 of the report [A/39/36] deal with the consultations.

83. The members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee decided that, in the light of recent developments with regard to proposed amendments to the draft convention, the Committee would need more time for further consultations and negotiation, with a view to elaborating a final draft for consideration during the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

84. Seven years ago, at the inception of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, it was thought that the Committee's objectives could be attained by the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Although progress has been achieved, the Committee's task is not complete after seven years. The problems with which the Committee is still faced are difficult and delicate, but the Committee is determined to reach a solution that can be endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

85. With this pledge, we recommend to the General Assembly that: (a) the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee be extended for another year, with a view to submitting the draft convention to the General Assembly at its fortieth session; (b) the Secretary-General be requested to circulate the draft convention and the proposed amendments to Member States and solicit their views—comments should be received by 31 March 1985; (c) the Committee be authorized to continue its consultations with Governments from different regions of the world, as well as with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, sending missions and holding hearings, in order to finalize the draft convention and to secure wider international support for its provisions.

86. I appeal to Member States to convey to us their views on the draft convention and the amendments thereto [*ibid.*] in order to assist the Committee in its endeavour to work out a convention that will be widely adhered to. I am confident that the Convention, once finalized in acceptable form, will contribute significantly to the struggle of the people of South Africa by totally isolating *apartheid* sports and those who insist on collaborating with the racist régime of South Africa.

87. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1984 [*decision 39/401*], I now call upon the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

88. Mr. POKELA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): At the outset, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, and on my own behalf, allow me most warmly to congratulate our President on his

unanimous election to his high office. His election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is not only an acknowledgement of his dedicated service in upholding the principles of this world body but a source of pride and inspiration to all Africans. We are confident that under his wise guidance the current session will address itself seriously to the many burning questions around the world, and in particular the liberation issues in Azania, Namibia and Palestine.

89. I should also like to extend our gratitude to the President of the thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, the President of Panama, who served and promoted the principles of the United Nations, in particular the just cause of the liberation of oppressed and dispossessed peoples.

90. Before the General Assembly is agenda item 31, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. The item was debated last year and appropriate resolutions were adopted. However, some cynics claim that the General Assembly discusses this item annually as a matter of ritual. In the view of PAC, it is extremely important that the situation inside *apartheid* South Africa be constantly reviewed and its adverse effects on the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania be constantly brought to the attention of the international community. Moreover, *apartheid* has been correctly described as a crime against humanity and, until this criminal and inhuman system is totally eradicated, the international community is duty-bound to draw attention to it. There exists no wider and more representative forum than the General Assembly to highlight the plight and struggle of our people. Hence, we fully support the annual discussion of this item by the General Assembly.

91. The situation inside *apartheid* South Africa is not a static one. Since last year much has happened. I would like here merely to touch on a few points in this respect.

92. The racist colonial régime of Botha is today operating under a so-called new constitution. The *apartheid* régime attempted, by introducing this so-called new constitution, to give the impression that it was attempting to move away from its diabolical and universally discredited system. It is now common knowledge that the so-called Coloureds and people of Indian origin, who were being co-opted into the white laager through separate parliaments, overwhelmingly rejected the so-called new constitution. So did the international community. This very General Assembly adopted resolution 39/2, which categorically rejected the so-called new constitution as null and void. The Security Council, in its resolution 554 (1984), also declared the so-called new constitution null and void. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania have consistently and correctly maintained that the racist régime is illegitimate and these two resolutions have confirmed this.

93. However, there are two aspects with regard to the imposition of the so-called new constitution that we of PAC would like to comment upon. First, the racists had hoped that the dummy elections would not arouse strong opposition from the African masses as they were not directly involved in the bogus parliamentary exercise. But this was a false assumption. On 3 September, the day the so-called new constitution was imposed, once more the African

masses revolted, and once more the lead was provided by the people of Sharpeville.

94. *The Times* of London commented editorially as follows on 25 September 1984:

“Sharpeville is a name etched in the hearts of the Afrikaner rulers of South Africa. In 1960, in this small Transvaal town, police opened fire on a crowd of peaceful demonstrators and killed 69. The world reacted in horror. There was a flight of capital and panic in government circles. ‘Things will never be the same’, said one Minister Twenty-four years later Sharpeville is back in the world headlines. There are significant differences. The days of peaceful mass demonstrations are past. The police fired on rioters this time, and Africans murdered African collaborators with the régime The message is more sombre: things cannot go on in the long term as they are in South Africa.”

95. The African people of Sharpeville, Soweto, Sebokeng and other townships put the decisive nail in the coffin of the so-called new constitution. Their timed uprisings delivered a decisive blow to the deceptive attempt by the régime. Their uprising, together with the overwhelming boycott by the Asian and Coloured peoples, demonstrated to the entire world that Azanians would accept nothing less than national liberation and majority rule.

96. Secondly, the so-called new constitution, far from moving away from *apartheid*, not only has entrenched the obnoxious inhuman system but has militarized the régime. Racist South Africa, as a result of the implementation of the so-called new constitution, is now ruled by a fascist military junta. The new so-called State President is no longer accountable to a white parliament. All powers are now vested in him. Hence, under the so-called new constitution the régime was able to deploy the army against the civilian population, carry out a house-to-house search for weapons and cadres and arrest thousands, without having to account to any of the people. The militarization of the régime along fascist lines was one of the aims of the drafters of the so-called new constitution, and this aim is currently being realized.

97. PAC would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Assembly on declaring the so-called new constitution null and void. In so doing, the Assembly has upheld the fundamental principles of the Organization. What are these fundamental principles? In the considered opinion of PAC, the Assembly, by declaring the so-called new constitution null and void, upheld the principle of the illegality of racial discrimination, the right of the people of South Africa to self-determination and the legitimacy of the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania.

98. We of PAC also welcome the growing understanding displayed by the international community of the true nature of our struggle. The General Assembly affirmed, in resolution 39/2, that our people were engaged in a legitimate struggle for national liberation. This acknowledgement is crucial if we are to adopt a correct strategy to rid the world of this inhuman system.

99. The recognition by the General Assembly and the Security Council that ours is a struggle for national liberation is based on the correct understanding that *apartheid*, in essence, is based on the

denial of a national right as well as human rights. This particular point was well illustrated in the declaration adopted by the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid* which was organized recently by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984. The declaration points out that:

“The granting of independence to the Union of South Africa preceded the modern principles of international law enshrined in the right to decolonization and to the self-determination of peoples subject to alien domination and in the prohibition of racial discrimination. While other States which have had a history of oppressing national groups have recognized, to a lesser or greater degree, the rights of their indigenous peoples, South Africa is alone and unique in basing its State upon a policy of dispossession and the perpetuation of alien and colonial-type domination.” [See A/39/423 and Corr.1, annex.]

100. The PAC, the custodian of the 1949 Programme of Action, has consistently maintained that the struggle in *apartheid* South Africa was fundamentally for self-determination by the dispossessed majority. The widely-known laws which were described as *apartheid* after 1948 were essentially an instrumental superstructure to maintain and reinforce the colonial base of *apartheid*. This fundamental concept, too, was emphasized in the Lagos declaration. It said:

“The widely-known laws which impose racial discrimination in South Africa are essentially the symbolical and instrumental superstructure which maintains and reinforces the colonial base of *apartheid*: namely the dispossession of the land (87 per cent reserved by the Land Acts for exclusive white ownership and occupation); control of movement (hundreds of thousands of blacks punished under the pass laws each year); control of residence in the form of bantustans in the rural area and locations and compounds in the urban areas; the control of labour, primarily under the pass laws and a legal system totally dominated and organized in the interest of the whites and resulting in two systems of law, one for the Africans and one for the rest of the population.” [Ibid.]

101. These then are the basic features of *apartheid*. Therefore, successfully to eradicate this inhuman system one must fully understand its true features.

102. Allow me now to turn to a closely related issue, namely, the method to be employed to eradicate the obnoxious system currently prevailing in South Africa. Although there may not be complete unanimity among the Member States of the United Nations as to the real essence of *apartheid*, there is, however, a unanimous consensus that it is an abhorrent system and must be eradicated. Even those that overtly or covertly support the illegitimate Pretoria régime, publicly, at least, cannot condone *apartheid*. Now that the international community is unanimous in its condemnation of *apartheid* and the need for its eradication, the issue is the method to be employed for the eradication of *apartheid* as a system. The United Nations as an organization, understandably, cannot advocate the use of force to eradicate the evil system of *apartheid*. On the other hand, the founding fathers of the global Organization did not intend it to

wallow in paralysis while Rome burned. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed peoples of the world have a legitimate right to look to the United Nations to assist them practically in their quest for rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

103. The debate on the issue of *apartheid* at the United Nations is as old as the Organization itself. True, through such debates the United Nations has focused attention on the plight and conditions of our struggling people. But what our people now need is not annual resolutions just condemning the evils of *apartheid*, but positive action by the United Nations. With every passing year more of our people are either killed by the trigger-happy racist police, shot at work for demanding a living wage, subjected to systematic genocide through the relocation of our people in barren bantustans, tortured to death while in police custody or further dispossessed of their inalienable rights.

104. The PAC has come here this year with a clear message, namely, that the international community has only two options and must decide between them as soon as possible. What are these options?

105. If the international community would like to see a relatively peaceful solution to the problem in southern Africa it must immediately decide to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. While it is true that there are Member States, particularly the Western Powers, that have dragged, and continue to drag, their feet over the issue of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions, they have on the other hand failed to come up with any viable solution. They have not only not come up with any solution, but have even failed to curb the Pretoria régime in pursuing its inhuman and nakedly aggressive policy against the oppressed people of South Africa and the neighbouring States. Besides dispossessing the people of Azania, the settler minority régime of South Africa continues to occupy Namibia and parts of southern Angola illegally. Through its systematic policy of destabilization, it had compelled independent neighbouring States to sign accords and agreements with the specific aim of achieving its hegemonistic regional plan of a constellation of southern African States. It has refused to recognize and implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia.

106. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the so-called constructive engagement policy of the Reagan Administration has emboldened the minority settler régime to adopt an even more intransigent attitude. In the candid view of PAC, any refusal now by any Member State to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions will be viewed by the oppressed, exploited, dispossessed but fighting people of our country as the deliberate creation of an obstacle in favour of the fascist-settler régime.

107. In this regard, I wish also to comment briefly on the visit to some Western capitals and to the Vatican by the head of the evil system in our country. We were told by the representatives of those countries and the Vatican that the head of this internationally discredited system was being invited or granted audience in order that they might convey to him their abhorrence of *apartheid* as a system. Although it is the view of PAC and the overwhelming majority of our people that one does not have to call anything a skunk simply to tell that it stinks, we

cannot help but ask whether the new massacres of our people at Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships were not encouraged by the visit. One thing the visit certainly did not achieve: Botha was not impressed by the supposed declaration of abhorrence conveyed to him by some Western leaders and by the Pope.

108. Earlier we pointed out that there exist two options. One is the option of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. In our view resort to this viable option is long overdue. The other option is to give full and unconditional support to the national liberation movements engaged in the sacred struggle to eliminate this evil system, not only in the interest of our people but in the interest of the international community as well. In relation to the second option, it is only fair that the international community, after failing to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter because of a few powerful Members, should recognize and support the methods chosen by the national liberation movements to free that country from fascist colonialism.

109. After the signing of the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [A/39/159, annex I] and racist Botha's visit to some Western capitals and to the Vatican, the idea is peddled that national liberation movements should enter into dialogue or negotiate with the fascist Pretoria régime. Allow me to state categorically the views of PAC on this issue. We of PAC have consistently maintained that *apartheid* cannot be reformed or in any way accommodated. We are happy to note that this view is shared by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations. Given this premise, the question then arises: what form should the dialogue or negotiation with the *apartheid* rulers take? It can only take the form of negotiating the complete dismantling of the *apartheid* system and the exercise by the dispossessed majority of their inalienable right to self-determination and national liberation.

110. However, while academically the proposition has merit, it is not feasible in practice. No ruling group or class in history has surrendered of its own accord; it has to be forced to surrender. Moreover, if any national liberation movement enters seriously into any form of dialogue or negotiations with the *apartheid* rulers of South Africa it must do so from a position of strength, not of weakness.

111. The oppressed people of Azania under the leadership of PAC have consistently maintained that the ultimate responsibility of liberation lies with ourselves. We are, in the final analysis, our own liberators. In the 1940s the Africanists in our country upheld self-determination as the cornerstone of the struggle of our people and successfully defeated the trend towards reducing our just struggle for national liberation into one for civil rights. In the 1950s the Africanists fought to give this just struggle an organizational content, and hence the formation, on 6 April 1959, of PAC. In the 1960s the PAC gave decisive leadership in rejecting the *status quo* and elevating the struggle from mere protests to a challenge to the settler-colonial régime. This confrontation led to the massacre of our people at Sharpeville, Langa and other African townships. The wanton massacre of defenceless men, women and children by the trigger-happy racist police did not achieve its desired or

intended objective, namely, the intimidation of our people and subsequent submission. On the contrary, it ushered in a higher form of struggle—the armed struggle. In the 1970s PAC, together with the Black Consciousness Movement, succeeded in mobilizing the masses and organizing them into action. These are important prerequisites for the success of any struggle. The 1976 Soweto uprisings and the killing of more than a thousand schoolchildren, youths and workers eventually led to our people losing the fear of the oppressors' guns. PAC has declared the 1980s the Decade of the Azanian Revolution, and this important appointment with history we are determined to keep, come what may.

112. PAC today enjoys wide support from all sections of our population. The ideological line of PAC is the dominant line among the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania. The name "Azania", initially given by PAC, is both nationally accepted and used inside the country. What happened at Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships only a few months ago is a clear indication that the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people are no longer only prepared to die for their freedom but will fight for it to the bitter end.

113. Allow me now to draw attention to some issues to which the international community should urgently attend. At the top of this priority list is the plight of political prisoners in our country. I myself was sentenced to 20 years by the *apartheid* régime, seven of those years running concurrently, after I was kidnapped from the then British protectorate territory of Basutoland—now independent Lesotho—and sent to the infamous Robben Island. Today there are many patriotic Azanians who have been incarcerated for more than 20 years on Robben Island. The six longest-serving political prisoners condemned to life in prison on Robben Island are members of PAC. They are now in their twenty-second year of incarceration. Given the fact that they were denied proper legal representation and were in their teens, we call on the international community to launch a concerted campaign for the unconditional release of these PAC comrades. We also urge the international community to intensify the campaign for the release of Comrades Zephania Mothopeng, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

114. The other issue we wish to comment on concerns the other agencies of the United Nations system. The policies of the *apartheid* régime deny our people not only their inalienable rights but also access to universal education. Consequently, literally hundreds of thousands have left the country simply to seek education abroad. The evil system has also rendered hundreds of thousands refugees. PAC, in order to respond to the needs of the students and refugees, established the department of education and manpower training, as well as departments of economic affairs and social welfare. UNESCO and UNDP have been assisting us with regard to scholarships. As is known to all, the Reagan Administration has decided to quit UNESCO at the end of the year. The withdrawal of the United States contribution to such a humanitarian organization as UNESCO will affect our educational programme, in some respects seriously. We would, therefore, like to appeal to the international community to donate generously to UNESCO to offset any deficit, should the Reagan Administration carry out its threat.

115. We are also engaged in self-help projects. Here we are grateful to the host countries in the front-line and neighbouring States for granting us land, in particular the United Republic of Tanzania. We are also grateful to UNDP, FAO and other contributing agencies. The Government of Norway, in particular, made a substantial contribution towards the construction of an all-weather road at one of our projects. We must stress here that we are in need of more assistance in our quest to become self-sufficient in food production.

116. In conclusion, allow me to congratulate most warmly Mr. Garba, the dynamic and dedicated Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, on the excellent work done during his tenure of office. In particular, the holding of the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid* was an extremely constructive venture. The PAC would also like to congratulate the staff members of the Secretariat of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid* for their diligent and committed approach to our problem. We call upon Mr. Garba and his able team to continue the good work and promote the just struggle of our people.

117. We of the PAC would be failing in our duty if we did not warmly welcome the principled stand taken by the new Labour Government of New Zealand in closing down the consulate of the racist régime. For this principled action the people of New Zealand enjoy the gratitude and support of all just-minded peoples of the world.

118. Finally, PAC would like to reiterate its principled and militant solidarity with the struggling people of Namibia and Palestine. We have consistently maintained that *apartheid* and zionism are two sides of the same coin. Our struggle is one, and victory for the Azanian, Namibian and Palestinian peoples is certain.

119. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Of all the problems which the community of nations has been facing for several decades now, that of the persistence of a system of government based on racial discrimination is surely the most serious challenge to the Organization and the rule of morality and law.

120. Defined as a policy of "separate development", this odious system in fact aims at perpetuating domination and entrenching and extending the shameless exploitation of an oppressed majority by a white minority which clings doggedly to its privileges.

121. It is because it is an irremediable violation of the most fundamental rights of the individual and a brutal denial of all universally recognized principles and values that *apartheid* has been denounced as a crime against humanity and that the international community, aware of the serious danger that it represents for the very survival of mankind, has solemnly proclaimed the determination to work for its final eradication.

122. A system that is so alien to universal values and so far removed from the principles of justice and equality cannot, in fact, mend its ways. No change, no reform can make it more palatable. The only solution is its eradication.

123. Thus, the "internal reforms" carried out to promote "dialogue" and the "constructive engage-

ment" advocated by some people cannot bring about miraculous changes in a régime which has institutionalized racism and practices terrorism on a sub-continental basis.

124. The so-called constitutional proposals approved a year ago by an exclusively white electorate, which were supposed to allow persons of Asian background and so-called Coloured persons to participate in political life, cannot provide an answer to the ceaseless cry of a people demanding justice.

125. Far from being a step in the right direction, those proposals, by giving meagre authority to representatives of a part of the population and ignoring the overwhelming majority, were aimed only at strengthening *apartheid*, maintaining the process of denationalization of the indigenous African majority and attempting to divide a people whose unity was forged in shared trials. Therefore the General Assembly had no option but to reject those proposals and declare them devoid of all validity, as it did in resolution 38/11. In resolution 554 (1984) the Security Council declared the so-called "new constitution" resulting from those proposals "contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations" and therefore null and void.

126. This rejection of the so-called "new constitution" was once again confirmed by the General Assembly in resolution 39/2, which, *inter alia*, rejected any so-called "negotiated settlement" based on bantustan structures or on the so-called "new constitution".

127. Despite the decisiveness of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, which were swept aside as unacceptable interference in South African internal affairs, despite the strong reactions of all elements of the South African people and despite the protests of all those throughout the world who cherish peace and justice, the South African leaders did not hesitate, after holding sham elections—which, incidentally, were subjected to a mass boycott—to impose their "new constitution."

128. In adopting this rigid stance, the South African régime once again flaunted its contempt for the international community and risked unleashing a new cycle of violence which could lead to a general conflagration.

129. The general strikes, bloody confrontations and mass demonstrations that have so shaken African townships for several weeks now are the response of the African people, united in its desire for liberation, to this new escalation, for which the South African régime bears full responsibility.

130. To the institutionalized violence imposed upon it by the racist régime of Pretoria the South African people can respond only with revolutionary violence.

131. The policy of aggression and institutionalized repression practised by the racist régime of Pretoria is not limited to groups of people in South Africa reduced to the status of non-persons and shunted into bantustans and dormitory cities; it extends to the entire region of southern Africa, which thus has been handed over to the demons of violence and insecurity.

132. In Namibia an entire people continues to be subjected to colonial oppression and deprived of its right to independence and freedom. Although warned by the international community that it must allow the Namibian people to exercise its legitimate nation-

al rights in its land, the South African régime continues to pile up obstacles and employ delaying tactics in order to block implementation of the United Nations plan laid down in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and thus to oppose the international consensus on the questions of Namibia.

133. While it pursues this policy of obstruction and repression against the Namibian people, the racist régime of Pretoria continues with complete impunity its acts of aggression against sovereign States of the region, thus seriously endangering international peace and security.

134. It is an established fact that the South African régime can persist in its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the Organization and turn a deaf ear to the injunctions of the international community thanks only to the many kinds of collaboration which exist and continue to develop between Pretoria and a number of countries, as well as multinational corporations which have been established for several years now and have an eye to the enormous markets of all the countries of southern Africa, and thanks to the intricate web of complicity in certain Western capitals from which it benefits.

135. The intensive collaboration that exists between Pretoria and Tel Aviv on the military, economic and nuclear levels and the recent visit of the racist "Pik" Botha to Palestine put this into sharp focus and are extremely significant. The special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [A/39/22/Add.1], adopted unanimously by the Special Committee, unmasks, moreover, the multiplicity of the ties which link those two racist entities and sheds light on the mercantilist operations carried out by Zionist businessmen to the detriment of the South African and Namibian peoples.

136. It could not be otherwise, for these two régimes are so similar, in terms of both their philosophy, based on State terrorism and aggression, and their methods and objectives.

137. The arguments invoked by those who advocate dialogue with the Pretoria régime to justify their opposition to imposing such sanctions against that régime are in fact aimed only at preserving privileged trade, military and scientific relations which they have with Pretoria.

138. Far from turning the South African régime towards the path of legality and justice, as they claim, those commercial, economic and military dealings, in fact, only increase the poverty of the indigenous masses and the pillage of the country's natural resources and encourage South African leaders—who today possess nuclear weapons and have at their disposal heavily armed troops—to pursue their policy of *apartheid* and aggression. In fact, the system of *apartheid* becomes stronger from day to day and repression is now taking on unprecedented dimensions; human rights violations are increasing, violence and terror are expanding and acts of aggression are being pursued against sovereign States in the region.

139. Surely the dozens of those who lost their lives in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Tembisa, the hundreds of arrests and the brutal interventions of the Army cannot persuade us of a possible redemption of the South African régime. Nor can the visits of the racist Botha—with his sudden desire for respectability—to

some European capitals to obtain support for his policy of *apartheid* and aggression allow him to break through that international isolation in which his régime finds itself. It is indeed regrettable that some countries have agreed to receive that racist leader who is seeking an honourable status even while his régime is redoubling its acts of brutality against the South African people, intensifying its threats against independent States of the region and pursuing its policy of destabilization of the southern African region.

140. The international community's solemn commitment to the eradication of the scourge of *apartheid* and the satisfaction of the rights to nationhood of the South African and Namibian peoples endows the struggle of those peoples with genuine legitimacy and extraordinary scope. In giving its support to the fight against injustice and oppression being waged by those two peoples, the international community is indeed aware that this struggle involves it fully and totally and that it will determine its own destiny. Therefore all means should be employed to put an end to this shameful system of *apartheid* and ensure the cessation of violence and aggression in southern Africa.

141. It is not the indignant resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities in the General Assembly nor those scrupulously negotiated by a paralysed Security Council, or still less the "miraculous virtues" attributed to "constructive engagement", that will force the South African leaders to abide by law and justice. Nor is it the persistence of flourishing trade with South Africa, the pursuit of private investments in the land of *apartheid*, or the organized pillaging of the natural riches that belong to the Namibian and South African peoples that will—as some like to affirm—dissuade South African leaders from pursuing their racist policy and their policy of aggression in southern Africa. Only the imposition of a relentless and unswerving arms embargo, accompanied by comprehensive mandatory sanctions, can bring the Pretoria régime to change its ways.

142. That is the primary responsibility of the Security Council and that is the meaning of the actions consistently undertaken by the General Assembly and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. In deciding to act in a manner commensurate with its responsibilities and in giving justice to the people of South Africa, the Security Council will achieve internal reconciliation and regain its credibility. From this rostrum we once again urge it to do so.

143. Finally, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Garba, for the tireless effort they have undertaken to publicize the South African people's message and to inform international public opinion of the evil deeds of the South African régime and the web of complicity backing it. That action and those which hundreds of organizations throughout the world are waging against racism and racial discrimination are the most reliable guarantee of the inevitable eradication of the scourge of *apartheid*.

144. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The Government and the people of Finland condemn institutionalized racism and the practices that devolve from it. We denounce it in its totality as incompatible with our Nordic concept of justice, equality and the dignity of every human being. The only form of legal

racism that still exists in the world is in South Africa, that is, the régime and policy of *apartheid*.

145. The past year witnessed the South African Government continuing its policy of maintaining bantustans, forcibly removing millions of South Africans from their homes and imposing a new constitution which excludes the black majority—over 70 per cent of the population—from any political rights. At the same time the resistance within South Africa has reached new heights, leading to increased violence and bloodshed. Once again the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] gives us graphic evidence of these grim realities and degrading conditions imposed upon the black people by the South African Government. We pay a special tribute to the able Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Garba, who, during his relatively short tenure, has already shown leadership and a constructive spirit.

146. The recent constitutional changes in South Africa must be regarded as an attempt to consolidate the present system and further divide the people of South Africa. As demonstrated by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the international community has clearly rejected those so-called reforms. The majority of the population in South Africa has likewise refused to accept the segregated constitution. This opposition recently led to killings, arbitrary arrests and detention of leaders and members of mass organizations, thus creating ever-increasing tension in the country. The plight of those political prisoners is a question of the highest concern to the international community.

147. *Apartheid* generates violence not only internally but also externally. The South African Government, through a combination of military and economic pressures, has tried to destabilize the neighbouring countries and has attempted to force them to fall under its domination. The contacts between South Africa and neighbouring States, which are based on geography and common economic interests, should not be used as a means to legitimize the *apartheid* system or to attempt to break the international isolation of that system.

148. We emphasize the need for continued international support for South Africa's neighbours and the liberation movements within South Africa. Recent developments lend particular urgency to this support. The Finnish Government, like other Nordic Governments, has actively and consistently given humani-

tarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*. Finland has channelled its contributions through the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid* established by the Organization of African Unity, and has given humanitarian assistance directly to South African liberation movements engaged in this struggle. In addition, Finland contributes annually to the various United Nations funds and specialized agencies funds that aid the victims of *apartheid*.

149. It may be mentioned that one third of Finland's direct development assistance this year goes to the front-line States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, thus helping them to increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa.

150. There will be no peace in southern Africa until *apartheid* is eradicated. Further measures by the United Nations and by the Security Council in particular, are needed to increase the pressure on South Africa. The Security Council has an obligation to consider the adoption of more effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa without unnecessary delay. Scrupulous implementation of the existing arms embargo is essential. Within the framework of the joint Nordic programme of action against *apartheid*, Finland for its part continues its efforts to find practical and realistic ways and means to induce South Africa to abandon its detrimental policy of *apartheid*.

151. Change in South Africa has to be both swift and peaceful. A lasting solution can be based only on free and fair elections, with the participation of all South Africans, irrespective of their race or the colour of their skin. Bishop Desmond Tutu has demonstrated with his life and work how to proceed to a negotiated solution. He has invited the white minority of South Africa to the negotiation table with the black majority. To this call there is only one reply; it has to be given soon, before it is too late. It is an affirmative, it is an unconditional "yes".

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

²*Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

³*Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 36* and corrigendum.