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ASSEMBLY**

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**67th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 20 November 1984,  
at 3.20 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

**Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law**

1. The PRESIDENT: I draw the attention of members of the General Assembly to resolution 38/129, whereby the Assembly decided "to appoint thirteen Member States as members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law". After due consultations with the chairmen of regional groups, I propose that the Assembly appoint Barbados, Cyprus, France, the Netherlands, Romania, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Venezuela as members of the above-mentioned Advisory Committee. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt this proposal?

*It was so decided (decision 39/308).*

2. The PRESIDENT: The remaining three vacancies will be filled at the earliest possible opportunity.

**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

3. Mr. VERMA (India): Human society has come a long way since the dawn of civilization. Through the rise and fall of empires and the blossoming and atrophy of cultures, man has consistently conquered new horizons of knowledge and achievement in virtually every field of human activity. There have also been those in history who have chosen to defy the process of change and thus to try and reverse the tide of history.

4. That the policy of *apartheid* should persist in this day and age is—to most people—quite unthinkable.

Notions of racial or ethnic superiority, however false, have prevailed in various societies over the ages. Individuals and groups have sometimes sought to promote such obscurantist ideas. Usually, the same societies, or the Governments that administer them, have exposed the fallacies inherent in such arguments and discouraged their propagation. In that context, it is indeed incredible that a Government should continue, in spite of almost universal condemnation, to persist with the institutionalized practice of *apartheid*.

5. The first Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, stated in the Indian Parliament in 1958:

"In South Africa, it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes South Africa's case unique in the world. It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the Charter of the United Nations can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is our ideas of democracy or human dignity. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way."

6. Thirty years ago in 1952 the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that "harmony and respect for human rights and freedom and the peaceful development of a unified community, are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all social groups is on a basis of equality" [see resolution 616 B (VII)]. Eight years later, in 1960, the Security Council first recognized that the situation in South Africa had led to international friction and constituted a threat to international peace and security. Since then, the United Nations has adopted innumerable resolutions in an attempt to make South Africa see reason and abandon its racist policy. All those have been of no avail. South Africa has disregarded all pleas, defied all appeals.

7. To consolidate and perpetrate the policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime's attempt to impose through fraudulent elections an unjust and illegal constitution on the people of South Africa and thereby seek to dispossess the majority African population of their citizenship rights is undoubtedly a monstrous violation of human rights. The illegal constitutional changes are an insult to the conscience of mankind. They are an outrage against the oppressed people of South Africa, against the continent of Africa and against the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some Western countries which proclaim their support for the cause of human rights,

equality and justice in other parts of the world like to view all this as a process of “reform”, but surely they can no longer be oblivious to the tragedy that is unfolding and which is fraught with such dangerous consequences for the peace and security of the region in particular and the world in general. We are convinced, as our late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated, that “*apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be ended”.

8. The six leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress who entered the British Consulate in Durban in September this year have drawn the world's attention to the repression in South Africa and the people's resistance to it. The racist constitution has clearly proved to be yet another unifying bond among the African blacks, the Coloured and the people of Indian origin.

9. Confronted by this determined opposition, the racists, in desperation, have had recourse to increasing violence—ruthlessly murdering demonstrators, women and children among them, and arbitrarily detaining and arresting hundreds of people. The determined resistance of the people of South Africa marks a watershed in the struggle for liberation. The South African Government has clearly lost its ability to manipulate at will events in South Africa. It can, of course, seek to maintain law and order through greater violence, but it no longer has the capacity to prevent or deter the mass upsurge against injustice. The initiative is slowly but surely passing into the hands of the majority population.

10. Oppression in South Africa takes many forms, and the brutal policy of creating bantustans has caused immense hardship and suffering to millions. This policy, covered under the Bantu Homeland Citizens Act of 1970, is designed further to dispossess the African majority of its inalienable rights and deprive it of its citizenship. Under this guise, over 5 million people have been uprooted to create racial pockets to serve the racial ends of a minority population.

11. The sympathy and support of certain Western Powers and Israel for the racist and illegal South African régime are responsible for preventing the isolation of South Africa, which would be so disastrous economically for the régime. All countries profess disapproval of the policy of *apartheid*. How is it, then, that the Security Council is prevented by the actions of a few from imposing comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime? Is there any explanation for the continuing supply of armaments and military technology to South Africa despite the existence of a supposed arms embargo against that country? From where has South Africa obtained its nuclear-weapon capability? Why did the IMF turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the vast majority of nations? The answers to these questions are known to us all.

12. Speaking about the motive force which guides some of the Western countries, the great American civil rights leader, Du Bois, stated:

“What do nations care about the cost of war, if by spending a few hundred million in steel and gunpowder they can gain a thousand million in diamonds and cocoa? How can love of humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who especially in recent years have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman?”

13. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Violating all the norms and principles of international behaviour enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and innumerable resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the *apartheid* régime's policies and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia remain the sole obstacle to peace, security and stability in southern Africa.

14. The international community must take positive steps to put an end to this barbaric system. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions universally applied are the only effective and peaceful means by which the international community could assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa and Namibia.

15. Much to our regret and serious concern, efforts are being made to break the international isolation of South Africa and encourage it in its repressive conduct, as demonstrated by the recent visit of the Prime Minister of the racist régime to several Western European countries. It is an irony of our times that some of the affluent and industrialized nations that champion the cause of freedom and liberty in other parts of the world continue to collaborate with the racist Pretoria régime in various fields, thus emboldening it further to trample upon the rights and dignity of its dispossessed majority population and helping it withstand the pressure of international ostracism. Rarely has oppression been so well organized or betrayal made to appear so respectable.

16. Du Bois, the civil rights champion, stated in 1915: “What shall the end be? The world—old and fearful things. War and wealth, murder and luxury? Or shall it be a new thing—a new peace and new democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men?” This question must be answered by those who, against their moral conscience, against the will of the international community and in violation of all the decisions of the United Nations, have continued to support the illegal racist régime; they must recognize and accept that it is time to choose unequivocally between *apartheid* and freedom, between a racist régime and the rest of the world.

17. The late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, repeatedly called upon those Western Powers which are supporting the Pretoria régime to give up this support and uphold the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations pertaining to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. She stated earlier this year:

“History is witness that a determined people cannot be subjugated for long. Racism is in retreat and its high priests have now taken resort to increasing violence through desperation. The people of South Africa are struggling for their freedom. In this worthy cause they deserve and need the whole-hearted support of people everywhere. India and other nations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are with them.”

18. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the heads of State or Government expressed their solidarity with and strong support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa led by their authentic representatives, the national liberation movements, and

using all the means at their disposal. At the same time they condemned the brutal suppression and oppression of the African nationalists in South Africa by the racist Pretoria régime. They congratulated the heroic freedom fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] on the spectacular victories scored and urged member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the international community to increase their assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], to enable them further to intensify the struggle.

19. On being sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964, Nelson Mandela said that he cherished the ideal of democracy and free society and added: "It is an ideal which I hope to live by and I hope to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Left without any option and in the exercise of their right of self-defence against the Pretoria régime, the people of South Africa are intensifying their armed struggle. But the people of South Africa must—and we are confident will—move ahead and go beyond the sporadic exercise of their right to struggle in defence of freedom to create and sustain a mass movement, a movement that will encompass blacks and non-blacks alike and all enlightened whites who cherish freedom and justice.

20. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic chairmanship of Mr. Joseph N. Garba, has done excellent work. We would also like to place on record our sincere appreciation of the outstanding work done by the Centre against *Apartheid* and its Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. E. S. Reddy.

21. The brave and courageous people of South Africa are on the march. It is only a matter of time before they finally achieve their objective of eliminating the evil of *apartheid* and also recovering their inalienable rights, including their right of establishing majority rule. The people of India will continue to identify themselves fully with the people of South Africa in their hopes and aspirations, in their sacrifice and suffering, and in their desire for freedom and equality. It is a desire which generations of children in South Africa have grown up with, a desire they have known their mothers and fathers to die for, a desire which has been strengthened by the blood of thousands of martyrs into a force so powerful and strong that it will sustain as many generations as necessary for its fulfilment.

22. Mr. ZÁDOR (Hungary): The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] has drawn our attention to serious new developments in South Africa. During the past year the racist régime has made further attempts to perpetuate its policy of racial discrimination with the introduction of the so-called constitutional reform. Western friends of South Africa welcome this reform as a step in the right direction. The majority of Member States, however, have rejected it, in harmony with Security Council resolution 554 (1984).

23. I take this opportunity to reiterate my delegation's position in full support of the view expressed in the aforementioned resolution. We believe also that the enforcement of the "new constitution" will further aggravate the already explosive situation prevailing inside *apartheid* South Africa.

24. In South Africa 73 per cent of the total population is excluded from the political institutions and

deprived of its basic economic, political, social and human rights. We find it quite understandable that the black people of South Africa, under the leadership of the liberation movements, have intensified the struggle against the racist régime and its new manoeuvres. In the past year black trade unions have become more powerful and more united. Many thousands of workers have gone on strike demanding wage increases, better working conditions and more political rights.

25. Students from secondary schools and universities across the country joined the actions of the trade unions. A number of church groups similarly expressed deep satisfaction with those actions and strong opposition to the latest steps of the racist authorities.

26. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* pointed out, there was greater unity and better organization in the mass campaign of resistance to the "new constitution".

27. The response of the racist régime to the mass demonstrations was more arrests, more imprisonments, more torture and more terror. On 23 October a small black township, Sebokeng, was subjected to house-to-house search by a combined force of 7,000 police and army troops. At least 358 people were arrested and detained during that unprecedented action. During the past three to four months we have received news about the intimidation, arrest, torture and murder of opponents of the racist régime in different walks of life. This is clear evidence that the racist régime of South Africa has taken the course of the total militarization of *apartheid*.

28. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the defence spending of South Africa went up by 21.4 per cent last year. The budget for the police forces rose by 44 per cent. The South African Defence Forces have acquired more advanced combat equipment and more dangerous weapon systems as a result of closer co-operation with corporations in certain Western countries. The mass media revealed numerous clandestine arms deals with Western corporations.

29. In recent years South Africa has made attempts to secure its place in the international arms trade. The racist régime thus participated in the international Air Show Fida 1984, held in Santiago, Chile, from 2 to 17 March 1984, where it displayed missiles and sophisticated electronic equipment.

30. If the international community does not act decisively, the racist régime of South Africa will continue its policy of total militarization of *apartheid*. It will continue the oppression and persecution of all opponents of the *apartheid* system. It will continue the policy of bantustanization—the forced removal of millions of people from their land, depriving them of citizenship in their own country.

31. In the absence of strong international pressure, the racist régime of South Africa will continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of armed aggression against the front-line States.

32. Therefore my delegation supports all actions by the United Nations aimed at the total elimination of *apartheid*. In view of recent developments, we believe that strict observance of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is of first priority. It is of vital importance that the flow of modern weapons to South Africa be stopped. The Member States of the United Nations must take action against individ-

uals and organizations under their jurisdiction which violate the arms embargo.

33. In view of the intransigence of the racist régime, which has for decades now been violating the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*, my delegation supports mandatory economic sanctions as the only effective measure to eliminate the system of *apartheid*.

34. We also support all measures aimed at the total isolation of the racist régime in the diplomatic, cultural, scientific and sports fields. At the same time, we call on all Member States to fight any attempt by South Africa to break out of international isolation. We regret that the Prime Minister of the racist régime was received in a number of Western European countries last summer; this was clearly an attempt to improve the image of the *apartheid* system.

35. My country, as one of the founding members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, considers the system of *apartheid* a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We support the efforts of the Special Committee to mobilize world public opinion against that evil system. The seminars and conferences initiated, sponsored or organized by the Special Committee have, in our view, successfully contributed to this goal. We are ready to support actively all efforts by the Special Committee in fulfilling the mandate of the General Assembly.

36. The people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic support the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the liberation movements. We express our hope that a just, non-racial society will soon emerge in that part of the African continent.

37. Before I conclude, permit me to express my delegation's thanks and gratitude to Mr. Joseph N. Garba, representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his dedicated leadership and his guidance of the Special Committee's work during the past year. I also express our appreciation to all the members of the Centre against *Apartheid*, whose work was invaluable in fulfilling the tasks before the Special Committee.

38. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

39. The General Assembly is well aware of the many aspects of *apartheid*—the institutionalized discrimination against the black majority, the imposition of minority rule, the stifling of freedom of political expression of the majority, the denial of their basic political rights, the affront to their dignity and the denial of their human rights. The *apartheid* régime, based on racial segregation, discrimination, exploitation and repression, imposes enormous suffering on the majority of the South African population in order to ensure political and economic domination by a minority. This concept of separate development on a racial basis violates one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. It is a concept contrary to the principles of equality and justice to which the Ten firmly adhere and to the dignity of every human being, irrespective of race or colour.

40. The Ten unreservedly condemn the practice of *apartheid*. Both here at the United Nations and elsewhere they have individually and collectively

expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's racial policies.

41. The Government of South Africa alienates the vast majority of its own citizens and makes them strangers in their own country. Under the policy of bantustanization—a process of creating so-called independent homelands—families and entire communities have been forcibly removed from the homes which they have owned and developed over many generations. Through this device blacks are stripped of their South African citizenship. Furthermore, the forced relocation of large numbers of people into makeshift resettlement camps adds to the problems of rural areas and causes immense suffering to the families involved. The Ten have repeatedly condemned this policy and have not recognized any of the so-called independent homelands.

42. Black South Africans have by their labour and skills contributed greatly to the development of their country. They have done so in spite of the lack of opportunities for promotion to skilled and managerial positions or wages commensurate with those paid to white employees for similar work. This exploitation of the majority, the product of racial exclusiveness, violates every concept of social justice and cannot be reconciled with South Africa's claim to uphold democratic values.

43. The Ten strongly deplore the grave injustice being perpetrated by the Government of South Africa against the majority of its citizens by denying them their basic political rights and participation in the ordering of their own society. South Africa's new constitution fails to meet the aspirations of black South Africans for equal treatment and the demands of the international community for justice. Only a small number of Coloureds and Indians were prepared to participate in the elections under the new constitution. The black majority are completely excluded from the political process. They continue to suffer the injustices and indignity of *apartheid* with no real prospect of change in their political status.

44. The Ten consider that the continuing violence and rioting in black townships reflect, *inter alia*, the frustration of black South Africans at their deliberate exclusion from South Africa's political life and at the denial of adequate political means through which to express their grievances. The Ten have conveyed direct to the South African authorities their concern at the arrest and detention of those involved in the boycott surrounding the recent elections, in particular the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization. The Ten are also extremely worried about new arrests in South Africa of leaders of student organizations and trade union federations. They once again appeal to the Government of South Africa to release those who have been detained without charge.

45. Freedom of political expression is, in the view of the Ten, vital to the democratic process. Yet the recurrence of political trials and the number of political prisoners in South African gaols testify to the systematic and ruthless repression that is imposed on those who are striving to ensure an end to the economic and political domination in South Africa by the ruling white minority. The Ten reject as intolerable the practice of imprisoning people only because they have worked to bring an end to *apartheid*. They once again call on the Government of South Africa to release immediately and uncondi-

tionally all those who have been imprisoned for their political beliefs—many, like Nelson Mandela, for more than 20 years. The Ten urge the Government of South Africa to open genuine and constructive political dialogue with all South Africans on all social, economic and political matters.

46. The Ten welcome the recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu in international recognition of his life-long dedication to the process of peaceful change in South Africa. The Ten are profoundly concerned, however, that the time for peaceful change in South Africa is running out. Warnings sounded by the international community for almost 40 years and with ever-increasing intensity have gone unheeded. The Ten have consistently called for a peaceful end to *apartheid*. They have appealed for constitutional arrangements in South Africa which would include all South Africans fully and equally in the political process. The tragic and violent events which the world community is now witnessing in South Africa underline the need for urgent movement in this direction. Without an early move towards the full and equal involvement of all citizens in the political process, the Ten fear that there will be increased conflict and violence in South Africa.

47. *Apartheid* must be eradicated and give way to a society based on genuine representative democracy. All efforts of the world community should be directed towards that goal. To that end it is necessary that channels of communication with South Africa remain open. For their part, the Ten will maintain pressure to promote the process of peaceful change in South Africa. They will continue to use their collective weight to influence the Government of South Africa in order to help put an end to such an inhumane system and establish a society in which everybody without exception will enjoy equality, freedom and justice.

48. With regard to the discrimination against black workers in South Africa, in 1977 the members of the European Community adopted a Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa. They will continue to urge those companies which have not already done so to conform to the standards set by that code.

49. The Ten adhere strictly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sport. They reject any kind of *apartheid* in connection with sport. They will continue firmly to discourage any sporting contacts that would have the effect of perpetuating racial discrimination.

50. The Ten believe that the United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*, and they remain ready to assist it in this endeavour. They are committed to the strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). The European Community and its Ten member States will continue to support and contribute to the many United Nations organizations that help the victims of *apartheid* both inside and outside South Africa. They also feel that encouragement should be given to those non-governmental organizations whose efforts have been useful in increasing public awareness of the abhorrent nature of *apartheid*. These organizations include Churches, trade unions and other groups that are in close contact with South Africans who suffer under *apartheid*.

51. The Ten are convinced that the policy of *apartheid* is doomed to failure. They are concerned, however, that change in South Africa should happen peacefully rather than through violence. The longer the Government of South Africa denies the majority of its citizens the right to participate in the government of their own country, the more difficult it will be for change to be achieved there by peaceful means. The Ten will continue to spare no effort to influence South Africa to put an end to the intolerable system of *apartheid* and to establish without further delay a society with freedom and justice for all.

52. Mr. LEWIS (Canada): I do not think it an exaggeration to say that *apartheid* is one of the single most intractable issues facing the United Nations. It is not solely a political issue; its social and economic ramifications are rightly reflected in debates and discussions in the Committees of the General Assembly as well. The Canadian Government has condemned, and will continue to condemn with every fibre of moral strength that we possess, the policy and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. It constitutes an unconscionable violation of fundamental human rights. Change must—and will—come. The question facing us today is how to promote change and so to hasten the end of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

53. Sad reality requires that we recognize that racism exists in many places on this less than perfect planet, but only in South Africa do we find *apartheid* enshrined in the law of the land. Only in South Africa is it government policy to divide the population on the basis of race. Only in South Africa is segregation supported by the full range of powerful government institutions. Only in South Africa is racism extended to every area of human existence—social, cultural, economic and political. Only in South Africa are people herded into isolated, often impoverished and arid bantustans far removed from every economic opportunity. Only in South Africa, in other words, does the State debase the human spirit and the human condition on the basis of colour alone.

54. And what are the results of South Africa's policy of *apartheid*? In the most elementary terms, it has condemned the vast majority of the population to poverty—economic poverty, intellectual poverty, even spiritual poverty. No matter what its proponents may argue, *apartheid* cannot by any stretch of the imagination be justified as some form of separate but equal development—witness the South African Government's own statistics on *per capita* educational expenditures or the allocation of arable lands to the so-called homelands.

55. But, of course, it is far more than that. *Apartheid* also corrodes the institutions most prized by white South Africans, the democracy and freedom of expression which they treasure within their own community. Why? Because inequality breeds anger. Anger breeds unrest. Unrest begets violence. Violence is met by more violence and suppression. Suppression requires vast police powers, government control of movement and assembly, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and, increasingly, intervention by the armed forces—witness the internal deterioration of the past several months. The cycle of inequality, anger and suppression shreds the fabric of society. The entire coercive apparatus of the State is enlisted in the service of injustice. I remind the Assembly of the words of Bishop Tutu to the Security Council just 23 October last:

“ . . . my beloved country is wracked by division, by alienation, by animosity, by separation, by injustice, by avoidable pain and suffering. It is a deeply fragmented society, hagridden by fear and anxiety, covered by a pall of despondency and a sense of desperation, split up into hostile, warring factions. It is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder-keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all into kingdom-come. There is endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed.”<sup>1</sup>

56. Even if the prospects for peaceful, positive change in South Africa sometimes seem hopeless, we cannot afford to give up hope. The United Nations was built on hope for the future. The Charter reflects the faith that a better future can be found through peaceful means. Through the smoke of burning shanty towns in South Africa, we can still see some faint signs of change. Over the cries of the wounded and dying, we can still hear whispers of goodwill within all elements of South African society.

57. To be sure, the recent constitutional changes really mean that *apartheid* has been embedded even more deeply in the fabric and laws of South Africa. It was all a sorry exercise in premeditated tokenism. The testament to that lies in the overwhelming rejection of the new constitutional arrangements by the so-called Coloured and Indian communities.

58. And yet, paradoxically, a smidgeon of encouragement can be found. If a constitution can be changed once, it can be changed again. The art, the object, is to achieve that peacefully before this unjust and implacable system forces a horrific convulsion.

59. There is some hope to be drawn from the fact that the labour movement, especially among black South African workers, is exerting more economic, and therefore more political, influence, so much so that the Government is conducting a campaign of intimidation against the labour movement, a campaign of detention without charge or trial, a campaign that we call upon the Government of South Africa to end. The future prosperity of South Africa, and of all South Africans, can be assured only by the development of an integrated, educated work force. Urbanization is yet another powerful contemporary force for change involving all communities in South Africa.

60. Because the Canadian Government still believes—must believe—that peaceful change is possible, our approach incorporates two basic premises. First, the Canadian Government and people oppose and abhor *apartheid*. Secondly, we leave the way open for contacts and dialogue, which in themselves increase Canada's capacity to encourage some process of change in South Africa.

61. Allow me briefly to list the measures which the Canadian Government has taken to reflect our opposition to *apartheid*. Canada does not recognize the governments of the so-called independent homelands. The Canadian embargo on arms and military equipment to South Africa dates back to 1963; we have enforced, and continue to enforce, the embargo rigorously. Canada has ended active trade promotion in South Africa and closed consulates in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Special preferential tariff arrangements for South Africa in the Canadian market were terminated. A voluntary code of conduct for Canadian companies was issued concerning

their employment practices in South Africa. South African sportsmen or sporting officials are not allowed to enter Canada to participate in events on a nationally representative basis. No Government funding is provided for Canadian athletes participating in nationally representative competitions abroad which involve South Africans.

62. The Canadian Government's support for peaceful change in South Africa goes beyond statements of opposition to *apartheid*. To put it bluntly and in the vernacular, we have put our money where our mouth is in providing educational opportunities and assistance to self-help projects. Examples over the past year include: \$25,000 to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; \$350,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; \$140,000 to Canadian non-governmental organizations to assist in self-help community projects; and \$618,000 contributed over a longer period for black or integrated labour-union training projects via the Canadian Labour Congress.

63. Our commitment continues. This year, for example, my Government has doubled the allocation of funds for small self-help projects within South Africa to a total of \$300,000. We are also allocating \$1.5 million for a special education project providing scholarships for training inside South Africa.

64. The Canadian Government therefore rejects the concept that total isolation of South Africa would somehow promote fundamental reform in that country. It would not happen. Racist mentalities feed on isolation. Isolation breeds the kind of defiance which further fans the flames of oppression and hatred. We therefore maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. That is one means by which we can tell the South African Government, the white minority, and the population as a whole that Canada opposes *apartheid* and supports social and political change. It also allows us to assess the situation and to inform the Canadian Government and people accordingly. Those assessments are particularly important since the Canadian Government is now beginning a major foreign policy review.

65. Canada also supports the right of South Africa to participate in the activities of the United Nations. We attach great importance to the principle of universality of membership within the United Nations system. If Governments are not allowed to sit down and discuss their differences, however profound, no solutions will be found. South Africa must be exposed to the pressure of world opinion. Better that their representatives should walk into the Security Council and make a speech of indignation and hostility than that they should never have to respond to international condemnation.

66. Far more difficult, perhaps, is the question of sanctions, a question about which we have thought and I assure members will continue to think long and hard. Canadian reservations about comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa stem from our belief in the leverage of dialogue and contact, and also from our doubts as to whether such sanctions could be effective. All of South Africa's major trading partners would have to be involved, and even then the size and strength of the South African economy would probably enable it to withstand such economic pressures. Indeed, it might be argued that comprehensive sanctions may hasten rather than avert conflict. Setting aside for the moment the continuing

controversy over who would suffer most by the application of sanctions, we must still squarely face the present reality: if we know that sanctions will not happen or will not work, there must be alternative ways to keep the pressure inexorably on.

67. One of those ways is through the Assembly. That is why we have these debates year after year. South Africa is not impervious to the international criticism heaped upon its head, nor to the various selective boycotts and blacklists applied to its activities. South Africa's leaders are a beleaguered oligarchy—beleaguered by the growing resistance within, beleaguered by the obloquy without. Pressure—tenacious and unrelenting—is what does it.

68. It is traditional that speeches have a conclusion, but this is one area where our statements and our actions cannot end until every person in South Africa enjoys full and equal rights. As long ago as 1960 and 1961, when I was working in Ghana, some of my time was spent in assisting refugees from South Africa. I remember it vividly. That was over 20 years ago. Since then there have been some changes in South Africa, but somehow each step forward seems to be followed by hesitation and retreat. The South African Government and those who support *apartheid* must recognize that they cannot retreat into their past. There is no solace in regression. There is no stopping the waves of history. We have been lucky so far. It is truly remarkable that the great black leaders of South Africa—the Luthulis, the Mandelas, the Tutus—have always sought change by peaceful means. Remember Bishop Tutu's words in the Security Council: "We deplore all forms of violence, the violence of an oppressive and unjust society and the violence of those seeking to overthrow that society, for we believe that violence is not the answer to the crisis of our land."<sup>1</sup>

69. Time is running out for those who oppose violence. We too must not rest while peaceful change still has a chance. The Canadian Government and the Canadian people stand ready to help.

70. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): In the past few weeks South Africa has again been the scene of extremely brutal acts of violence committed by the racist régime against the black population, thus adding more crimes to its long record. Since last August, some 200 people were shot dead by Pretoria's racists because they had fought for their most elementary rights. If any further evidence was needed to see what Pretoria's new constitution or its policy of a "change of *apartheid*" amounted to, the latest shocking events have provided the opportunity.

71. Notwithstanding this, the so-called constitutional reform and the bogus elections held in this context provided a welcome occasion to imperialists of a kindred spirit with the racial fanatics to proclaim to the world the beginning of the end of *apartheid*. The Western media even referred to a first big step forward in the improvement of relations of partnership between the various races in southern Africa. This, of course, is a clear distortion of the truth. The latest excesses, recalling Sharpeville and Soweto, reveal the true face of that "new democracy" in South Africa. The mask split apart even before it could be applied.

72. The events of the past few weeks also reflect the deep internal and external crisis of the *apartheid* régime. The attempt by Botha, and the circles

supporting him, to counter the massive popular actions and the mounting international pressure with his so-called reforms has failed. The large-scale boycott of the bogus elections and the attendant powerful demonstrations have shown that the overwhelming majority of the non-whites reject the new constitution. The racists' undisguised intentions to split the anti-*apartheid* front were clearly rebuffed. It is obvious that neither repression and terrorism nor so-called reforms will prevent the oppressed people of South Africa from offering legitimate resistance. The nature of *apartheid* has not changed. Over 70 per cent of the country's population continues to be deprived of all political rights. More than 200 racial laws create a cleverly devised system of political, economic and ideological oppression.

73. The inhuman policy, under which a quarter of a million blacks are deported to ghetto-like homelands every year, where special pass laws make them aliens in their own country, persists.

74. Irrespective of what we have heard and surely will hear more often in the United Nations concerning allegedly positive and peaceful changes in South Africa, the truth is that *apartheid* remains a crime against humanity, a threat to international peace and security.

75. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session which pass an unambiguous judgement on the new constitution. Security Council resolution 554 (1984) quite rightly declares the "new constitution" and the "elections" held to be null and void. The assessment of the Security Council, which has meanwhile been corroborated by recent events, that the racists' manoeuvres will inevitably aggravate tension in South Africa and the region as a whole is also of significance.

76. The *apartheid* régime also continues unabated its aggressive policies against neighbouring countries, policies that are marked by massive attempts at destabilization, military threat and economic blackmail. Now, as before, South African troops continue to occupy parts of Angola; now, as before, Pretoria is waging war against the people of Namibia. These are solid facts that cannot be covered up even by the backing of several Western Governments that are trying to end the international isolation of the *apartheid* régime. An example of such backing is the fact that Botha was received in some capitals of Western Europe. But the attempt to enhance the status of the *apartheid* régime failed. Cases in point are the large protest movements in the countries Botha visited and the strong international condemnation of his trip.

77. Pretoria receives its largest backing from the main imperialist country, which has also been shown by the events of this year. The policy of "constructive engagement", together with the wide measure of collaboration afforded by Israel, has proved to be an outright plot against historic progress in the south of the continent.

78. In the light of what has happened in South Africa in recent weeks, any attempt to justify the policy of institutionalized racism with flimsy arguments is not only an insult to the many victims of South Africa's escalating campaign of repression but also defiance of world public opinion, the United Nations and other organizations.

79. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the Declaration on Southern Africa made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984,<sup>2</sup> in which 49 independent African States condemn South Africa's policy of aggression, which has the backing of the United States and some Western European countries, as a grave threat to peace and security in the world. As a result of extensive collaboration with its overseas patron, Pretoria has been able considerably to intensify its aggressive acts against neighbouring States and its brutal oppression of the majority African population. That patron thus plays a major part in aggravating the dangerous situation in the region. What we have there is the same policy of State terrorism that also endangers the situation in Central America, threatens Nicaragua and prevents a just settlement in the Middle East.

80. Nor should it be forgotten that this policy is based on strategic interests. Domination of southern Africa has long since been regarded by the Western military alliance as a key to control over the international sea route around the Cape of Good Hope linking the Atlantic Ocean with the Indian Ocean. It is also relevant that imperialist States and corporations obtain from South Africa a major portion of their raw materials and, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,<sup>3</sup> enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, rob Namibia of its natural resources.

81. The list compiled by Mr. Khalifa contains the names of over 3,000 imperialist firms and banks collaborating with Pretoria. The capital invested by foreign monopolies in the South African economy yields profits unparalleled in the world. Therefore there can be no doubt that the blocking of sanctions against South Africa and the dollar flow from South Africa and occupied Namibia into the safes of Western corporations are two sides of the same matter.

82. The imperialist collaboration in the military and nuclear fields is especially dangerous. This aspect was brought to the fore alarmingly in the report published recently by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. The mere fact that Pretoria's military expenditure was increased by 20 per cent for the current fiscal year belies its demagogic declarations about peace.

83. It should also be recalled that South Africa's military doctrine, conceived in the late 1970s, is based on nuclear autarky, through which it seeks to discipline not only its direct neighbour countries. The great danger to world peace arising from this becomes evident if we remember the fascist, anti-human nature of the *apartheid* régime.

84. The German Democratic Republic highly commends the independent States in southern Africa which, in the conditions of the South African racist régime's persistent aggressive policy of destabilization, have made great efforts towards peace and security in the region. It supports all moves by the African States aimed at ensuring peaceful development in the region, independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, and further intensifying joint action by States and national liberation movements. It believes that resolute action by the United Nations

under its Charter is indispensable, especially the earliest possible imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime.

85. We reaffirm once more from this rostrum that we stand firmly at the side of the front-line States, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and ANC in the joint struggle for world peace and international security and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, fascism and *apartheid*. The German Democratic Republic, also in its capacity as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, will, as in the past, do all it can in order to render assistance to and show solidarity with the peoples in southern Africa in their just struggle for independence and self-determination.

86. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am not exaggerating when I say that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is indeed the session of Africa. World attention is focused in an unprecedented manner during this session on the tragedies which beset the African continent—calamities, such as the widespread drought, or catastrophes inflicted by man on his brother with intent and premeditation.

87. At a time when the grim reaper is harvesting the lives of tens of thousands of the children of Africa as a result of famine and malnutrition and the overwhelming majority of African countries suffer the adverse effects of inequitable economic relations inherited from colonialism and intensified with each passing day, we are witnessing a heightening crisis in southern Africa in the wake of escalating policies which dispossess the people of South Africa of their inalienable rights and entrench foreign occupation of Namibia and a racist régime in Pretoria which continues to thwart the aspirations of the masses and practises a policy of aggression against neighbouring front-line States.

88. It is clear that the situation in southern Africa is deteriorating as a result of Western, American policies which run counter to recognition of the minimum level of rights demanded by the peoples of southern Africa. These policies attempt to deprive the peoples of southern Africa of freedom, equality, justice and peace, as if the enjoyment by these peoples of their rights would shake the balance of power at the international level. Therefore, the struggle and demands for freedom, equality and independence are portrayed by world imperialism as a subversive and terrorist act which must be resisted by all possible means.

89. Nevertheless, we are all aware that the heroic resistance put up by the peoples of southern Africa, those who languish under the yoke of white colonialism embodied in *apartheid* whether in South Africa or in Namibia, stems from self-defence against local, international and imperialist terrorism, directly or indirectly supported by imperialism in defence of the white racist minority. The unity forged among the nationalist sectors in South Africa, to which workers, students, women, intellectuals and peasants rally, is now demonstrated in the raging popular revolution against *apartheid*, the division of the country and the attempts to strip the people of their citizenship and crowd them into bantustans. Furthermore, there is a racist constitution which tries to entrench the situation in which the black Africans are deprived of their



rights and perpetuate the enslavement of the majority at the hands of the minority.

90. The repeated raids on African communities by the racist army, which is equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, and the actions of that barbaric, ferocious army have taken a toll of scores of lives, making martyrs of students, workers and women. Indeed, not even children or infants were spared, as was highlighted in Bishop Tutu's statement before the Security Council on 23 October 1984 and as is daily reported by eyewitnesses in the international mass media.

91. The deterioration of the situation resulting from interminable repression not only is caused by the fraudulent constitution, which has been condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly, but results directly from the concept of "constructive engagement", which engendered the racist constitution and has portrayed the Nazi-racist régime as being capable of self-reform. The true objective of "constructive engagement" is only to delay the collapse of the *apartheid* régime and to allow American and Western interests to disguise themselves as democrats in order to continue to plunder resources and reap profits for as long as possible, and to give absolute, continuing precedence to the rights of the white settlers in the hope of maintaining South Africa as the advance base in the service of American strategies designed to establish hegemony over Africa in the economic, military and strategic spheres within the equation of the Western military alliance.

92. The policy of "constructive engagement" has been unmasked before the whole world. An editorial in *The New York Times* of 18 November 1984 described the dilemma facing the United States Administration in particular with regard to its policies as follows:

"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."\*

93. Perhaps the best analysis of the objectives of American policy, which is based on the illusion of "constructive engagement", was given by the Reverend Jesse Jackson in his statement at the North American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984, when he said:

"The Reagan Administration's 'constructive engagement' policy is a multi-pronged strategy designed to help South Africa gain acceptance and respectability in the West and thereby break out of the isolation it has experienced in the international community since the late 1960s. This support from the United States has emboldened the *apartheid* régime, and encouraged its military aggressions."\*4

94. The abstention of the United States in the vote on 23 October 1984 on Security Council resolution 556 (1984), which calls for the dismantling of the bantustan structures, is further evidence of the failure to reconcile two extreme positions: favouring *apartheid* on the one hand and placating the people of South Africa in their struggle against the tyrannical minority on the other. Hence repression and suppression have been the immediate response of Pretoria to

the so-called Western tolerance of Africans. The United States has not advanced any acceptable excuse for its abstention, and this has encouraged Pretoria to continue its military incursions and escalate its acts of repression, terrorism and aggression. *The Washington Post*, in its editorial entitled "The vicious South African response", on 30 October 1984, described the situation as follows:

"The United States abstained in the Security Council's otherwise unanimous condemnation of this latest raid. 'Excesses of language' in the resolution were cited. There were, at the United Nations, excesses of language—there always are. There were also, in South Africa, excesses of power—and they go on. The Reagan Administration has a theory (positive reinforcement) about how best to move white South Africa toward reform, but it does not yet have a clear voice in which to make it plain that in applying its theory it is not simply coddling racists. This is a grievous defect in the policy of any nation that claims to speak for freedom."\*

95. We have no doubt that the arrogance of the rulers of South Africa, today more than at any time previously, is the result of the continued lack of seriousness in the imposition of sanctions. The rulers of South Africa have consolidated the structures of *apartheid* and the concomitant barbaric practices, having become an ally in the imperialists' strategy for extending their control and domination over southern Africa through policies of power. Today we hear theories in justification of domination and slavery, as if they were messages from heaven. At a time when the international community is reiterating its condemnation of the practice of *apartheid* and when the Security Council has declared null and void the new racist constitution and called for the dismantling of the bantustan structures, there are those who claim that *apartheid* is of providential inspiration and the execution of the divine will. In an interview with Botha reported in *The New York Times* of 15 September 1984, he said that the coming of the Dutch settlers in the seventeenth century

"heralded the advent of a new civilization here, which decades later met with other communities and their civilizations, thus forming part of God's plan for mankind.

"Out of this was born the modern state in which . . . we have the privilege to live.

"We are part of God's great design."\*

96. Such statements, placing the responsibility for colonialist settlements on the divine will, have also been made by the Zionist leaders. Moshe Dayan, the former Israeli Minister of Defence, has said:

"If you possess the Torah and if a man considers himself part of the people of the Torah, he must possess the land of the Torah, the land of the Prophets, the land of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and other areas. Here I am not laying down a political programme but, rather, something more important, a way of achieving the dream of generations of Jewish people. The foreigners—and I mean the Arabs—must understand that, in addition to the Sinai and the Golan Heights, the Strait of Tiran and the mountains of west Jordan are strategic for Israel and that these territories are within the heart of Jewish history."

97. As for Rabbi Druckman, he stated in a speech on 19 October 1982 in the Knesset: "The Book of the

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.

Torah has defined our right to the land of Israel and has given us its possession. The right of the people of Israel to possess the West Bank is no less than its right to own Tel Aviv and Haifa.”

98. The unity of *apartheid* and Zionism in their faith emanates indeed from the perversity of settler-colonialist thinking, as is evidenced in the statements of the leaders of the two racist régimes, in Pretoria and Tel Aviv. Therefore, it is not surprising that there should be an alliance between Tel Aviv and Pretoria in all fields and an identity in their practices and that such an alliance should be linked to the foremost centre of support—I am referring to Washington. The tripartite alliance of those parties is well known. Suffice it to refer to the two reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22 and Add.1] and the documents produced by the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid* to obtain an understanding of the dimensions of this alliance and the collaboration of its members in order to consolidate occupation and racism and the accompanying repression, dispersal and acts of terrorism against the original inhabitants of South Africa and of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the Lebanese territories. What we have stated is borne out in the main report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, where it says:

“The Special Committee, therefore, cannot but express its utmost regret at the policies and actions of the Governments which have found common interests with the Pretoria régime and provided it comfort and encouragement in the pursuit of its crimes against Africa and against humanity. It must make special mention of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of certain other Western Powers, notably the United Kingdom, as well as the régime of Israel.” [A/39/22, para. 329.]

99. As for relations between Israel and South Africa, these are described in the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. Reference is made to collaboration in all fields, including Israel’s recognition of the bantustans and its political, military, cultural and economic collaboration with Pretoria, as well as the most dangerous forms of collaboration between the two régimes—namely, military and nuclear collaboration. The following was quoted in the report:

“South Africa’s military strategy has been developed with the help of Israeli officers. Her armed forces are equipped by Israel and their counter-insurgency tactics have evolved almost entirely as a result of lessons learned by the Israelis in their fight against the Palestine Liberation Organization . . . . Israel has been used as a conduit to smuggle arms to South Africa, and relations between both Governments and their arms industries were very close . . . .” [See A/39/22/Add.1, para. 10.]

100. Arab-African solidarity in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa was given practical expression in the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, and was organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the League of Arab States. As we review the declaration and resolutions adopted on that occasion [A/39/450, annex], the dimensions and nature of the collaboration between the two aggressive régimes become clear. The Conference expressed

grave concern over the continued collaboration by major Western Powers and Israel with the Pretoria régime. It drew attention in particular to the policy of the United States Government, which has done great damage to the vital interests of Africa and the Arab world as a result of its strategic co-operation with Israel and its “constructive engagement” with Pretoria. In the face of Washington’s vicious efforts stemming from its abhorrence of all forms of Arab-African co-operation, the Conference denounced “all manoeuvres to divide Arab and African countries in their common struggle to secure the liberation of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, and called upon them to resist and combat all such manoeuvres”.

101. The Conference strongly condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom for African and Arab peoples and referred to the growing collaboration between these régimes in the military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields as representing a menace to both Africa and the Arab States and peoples. It considered that this collaboration, especially in the nuclear and military fields, constituted a grave threat to international peace and security. The Tunis Conference recognized that the Arab oil boycott of South Africa was an important contribution to the liberation struggle in southern Africa. It condemned the Pretoria régime for its occupation of Namibia and denounced the support and encouragement given to the *apartheid* régime by some Western Powers and Israel, which have emboldened and enabled it to carry on a war against the Namibian people and commit acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States.

102. The Pretoria régime could not continue to defy the will of the international community and flout the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law without Western European and United States support in all fields and the circumvention of the boycott provisions and the arms embargo against South Africa imposed in Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which is binding on all countries and directed essentially to the industrialized Western countries which have the means to strengthen *apartheid*.

103. If we wish to put an end to and dismantle the racist *apartheid* régime, which fosters genocidal conditions in South Africa, we must do everything possible to encourage the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against the régime under Chapter VII of the Charter, in addition to the voluntary sanctions imposed by certain countries because of their abhorrence of racism and their compliance with United Nations resolutions.

104. The upsurge that we are witnessing today in South Africa is the forerunner of a sweeping, popular revolution against the domination of the white minority. Sanctions against South Africa are the only thing that will stop the bloodshed. The South African tyrants must realize that they have sown the wind and must reap the whirlwind of revolution. The failure of members of the Security Council to impose punishment and deterrents on those that persist in the policy of *apartheid*, which is indeed a crime against humanity in accordance with the provisions of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], has encouraged, support-

ed and armed the régime. Those accomplices cannot shirk their responsibilities stemming from this International Convention.

105. The threats of those in imperialist circles, official and unofficial, covert and overt, to prevent sovereign States from voting or speaking out in a way that conflicts with the interests of the executioners and torturers of the southern African and Arab peoples do not and never can frighten anyone. Our countries and peoples, which have attained independence and restored their dignity after a protracted struggle and untold hardship under the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism, will never abandon their principles or shirk their duty to pursue their struggle to eradicate colonialist enclaves and repel the aggressors at whatever cost or sacrifice.

106. I would like to conclude my statement by reaffirming the complete solidarity of the Syrian Arab Republic with the Africans struggling by all the means in their power against *apartheid* in South Africa. We are confident that the people of South Africa, thanks to their struggle under the leadership of their national liberation movement embodied in the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] and SWAPO, will very soon triumph. Their armed combat is legitimate; their goals noble. No one in the world can cast a slur on that sacred struggle. The terrorists are those who seek to thwart the aspiration of the peoples to freedom, independence, equality and justice.

107. Mr. RAZZOQI (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me first of all to express my thanks to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its valuable reports which explain very clearly and unequivocally the serious situation in southern Africa and the racist and inhumane practices of the white minority régime in South Africa against the majority of the country's original population. In a special communiqué which it issued about the developments in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole, the Special Committee said "... there can be no stable peace and security in the region unless *apartheid* is totally eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole are enabled to establish a non-racial democratic State" [see A/39/22, para. 293].

108. Kuwait subscribes fully to the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations. We call upon all States of the world to consider seriously the implementation of those conclusions, which constitute a basis for a just and lasting solution in southern Africa.

109. The problem of *apartheid* is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a serious threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly has condemned *apartheid* in several resolutions and has declared it a crime against humanity. Therefore, one of the basic objectives of the United Nations should be the early elimination of *apartheid* and all those régimes which adopt *apartheid* as a policy and credo.

110. There is a constant danger to peace in southern Africa and to the aspirations of the people of that region for economic, social and political development. That menace comes from South Africa's racist policy, namely, *apartheid*. The practices ensuing from that policy have led to repression and suppression inside and aggression outside and represent gross violations of the legitimate rights of the indigenous majority in South Africa.

111. South Africa is a colonial Power with clearly abhorrent, racist objectives and ambitions. In this civilized era of ours we consider South Africa to be the best example of both old and new colonialism. South Africa has adopted the old colonialist policy of divide and rule—a policy long used by the colonialists to perpetuate colonialism and domination over peoples and countries that do not belong to them. The international community is fully aware of the devious, subtle and evil manoeuvres of the racist régime in South Africa to confer legitimacy and respectability on its abhorrent racist policies.

112. After the second World War the world entered a new era which saw the tide of colonialism receding. Demands for the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the elimination of racial discrimination increased. To stop that mighty tide and consolidate its domination and control, the racist minority in South Africa tried to develop the old colonialism into a new theory of *apartheid*. During the past years that racist minority has developed further the theory of *apartheid* by resorting to the creation of bantustans or "independent homelands", and recently to the introduction of the so-called new constitution.

113. The policy of establishing bantustans, "independent homelands", and the so-called new constitution, are but a part of the *apartheid* régime's policy based on racial exclusiveness and the denial of the legitimate rights of the overwhelming majority of black Africans in South Africa. Those measures of the racist régime of Pretoria are designed precisely to consolidate the régime of *apartheid*.

114. Recent developments in Southern Africa testify to a serious deterioration in the situation in that part of the world. That the Pretoria régime has recently resorted to implementation of the so-called new constitution has led to a further exacerbation of the problem, which affects the situation both inside and outside South Africa.

115. One of the most dangerous objectives of the so-called new constitution is to shatter the unity of the South African people and pit the national groups against each other, particularly the Coloured population of Asian origin against the black majority. We are confident that the people of South Africa, despite their groups and divisions, will stand valiantly in opposition to those racist attempts.

116. The international community shares with the people of South Africa its worries and sufferings. In its resolution 554 (1984), the Security Council strongly rejected the so-called new constitution; and in its resolution 39/2, the General Assembly also reiterated its rejection of the so-called new constitution and declared it absolutely null and void.

117. The current wave of terrorist acts, large-scale repressive arrests and shooting down of demonstrators of which hundreds of persons have been victims during the past two months, clearly indicates the extent of the dangerous situation in South Africa.

118. The exacerbation of the situation in southern Africa can be attributed only to the Pretoria régime's persistence in challenging United Nations resolutions and its disregard of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That persistence has resulted from the protection provided to it at all levels by Western countries. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has pointed to the military, nuclear and economic

collaboration among some Western nations, the United States and Israel as the major reason for the racist South African régime's continuation of its repressive policy towards the people of South Africa and the members of its national liberation movements.

119. Kuwait deplores that co-operation, which encourages the *apartheid* régime to continue perpetrating those criminal acts. Kuwait is also completely convinced that the policy of "constructive engagement" adopted by the United States towards South Africa's racist régime only bolsters that régime and increases its determination to persist in its aggressive policies.

120. In a spirit of responsibility, we call upon the Western countries and the United States to stop all co-operation with the *apartheid* régime and to join the international community in taking effective measures for the elimination of the evils of *apartheid*, in order to ensure democracy, freedom and peace in southern Africa. We call upon the Security Council, and particularly its Western members, to shoulder the responsibility entrusted to it and to adopt urgent and effective measures to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, since we are absolutely convinced that it is the only way to force Pretoria to end its abhorrent racist régime.

121. Kuwait regards with deep concern the recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa. The close co-operation between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv constitutes a direct threat to the African and Arab peoples. The collaboration between the two régimes in all fields, particularly the military and nuclear fields, is fraught with dangerous consequences for peace and security in southern Africa, the Middle East and the world. In its special report, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* recalls that at the thirty-eighth session it pointed out that: "the alliance between Israel and South Africa has emerged during this Decade [for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination] and represents an inescapable challenge to the United Nations [see A/39/22/Add.1, para. 2]". The recent visit to Israel by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa is an example of that alliance. The Special Committee also indicates that "there has been increasing international awareness of the seriousness of the collaboration between the two régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv [*ibid.*, para. 3].

122. Kuwait condemns that unholy alliance between Israel and South Africa. We call upon the international community to take the necessary measures to put an end to it.

123. Kuwait is an Islamic State. Since its emergence, Islam has called for the renunciation of hatred and racial discrimination. Islam has also emphasized the necessity of brotherhood, forgiveness and the equality of man and his fellow man, regardless of race, nationality, colour or creed. In pursuance of the principles and values of divine Islam, and out of its commitment to United Nations resolutions, Kuwait has adopted a series of national measures and has participated in the adoption of international measures to guarantee the implementation of a comprehensive boycott of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in all the political, economic and social fields. With the co-operation of its sister Arab States, the members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, Kuwait

has pursued the imposition of an effective oil embargo against the racist Pretoria régime. Kuwait had the great honour of chairing the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, established by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/69 J.

124. The Group of Experts has presented a comprehensive and detailed report on the best methods to implement an effective oil embargo against the racist régime in South Africa. But, unfortunately, oil still reaches the racist régime in illegal ways. The report pointed out that

"Since then [1979], although there is a relatively small pool of unembargoed oil on the world markets, a number of oil tanker companies and other vested interests continued to violate the existing embargoes and supply oil to South Africa by secret and various complicated means and methods. Crude oil and refined oil products are shipped to South Africa mainly from certain Western countries, which have taken little or no meaningful action to prevent oil tanker companies and other interests from illegally supplying oil to South Africa."<sup>5</sup>

125. Kuwait's policy as regards this aspect is not new, but goes back to 1965, when Kuwait enacted legislation ending oil shipments to the racist régime of South Africa. Companies operating from Kuwait include destination restrictions and end-user clauses in their contracts. Kuwait also informed all buyers that South Africa was embargoed, and that it was illegal to resell oil to South Africa. All shipping contracts originating in Kuwait include restrictive clauses. Furthermore, Kuwait has terminated contracts when it has known that the restrictive clauses were violated by the other contracting parties.

126. Kuwait agrees about the causes of the failure of previous attempts to impose an effective oil embargo on South Africa. The main causes are: first, lack of universality and collective action, and joint efforts for an oil embargo against the racist régime of South Africa; secondly, lack of co-operation of major influential nations and major oil companies; thirdly, direction of past efforts to peripheral aspects of the embargo; fourthly, lack of information on South Africa's oil situation; fifthly, lack of funds to finance an effective embargo.

127. The Security Council has wide powers to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions. There is no doubt that without those sanctions, including an oil embargo, there will be no direction and no serious collective action to confront the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in order to oblige it to give up its racist policies.

128. Bishop Desmond Tutu, who recently won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, indicated in a statement to *The New York Times* on 28 October 1984 that he intended to continue to press the Western countries and companies for economic and political pressures upon South Africa. When Bishop Tutu addressed the meeting of the Security Council, held to discuss the question of South Africa and the deteriorating situation there, he said:

"I appeal to this body to act. I appeal in the name of the ordinary, the little people of South Africa. I appeal in the name of the squatters in the Crossroads and in the KTC camp. I appeal on behalf of the father who has to live in a single-sex

hostel as a migrant worker, separated from his family for 11 months of the year. I appeal on behalf of the students who have rejected this travesty of education made available only for blacks. I appeal on behalf of those who are banned arbitrarily, who are banished, who are detained without trial, those imprisoned because they have had a vision of this new South Africa. I appeal on behalf of those who have been exiled from their homes.

"I say we will be free, and we ask you: Help us . . .".\*1

129. We have recently heard calls, originating from the great nations which claim to be democratic, urging the virtue and necessity of returning to the observance of religion and the heeding of its rules. In the name of our divine religion, Islam, which reinforces the principles of equality, justice and interdependence, we call upon those Western democratic States, which have raised the banner of religion, to join the voice of truthfulness, justice and equality by responding to Bishop Tutu's call.

130. Kuwait salutes the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements. Kuwait will provide whatever is in its capacity in order to end that iniquity pervading South Africa. We also call upon all countries of the world to tighten the stranglehold on the racist régime in Pretoria. We also appeal for the hand of co-operation and assistance to be extended to the native majority in South Africa in order to free it from the fires of despotism, tyranny and *apartheid*.

131. Mr. CHEIKH (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The question of *apartheid* is one that has been discussed in the United Nations at all levels. It has been on the agenda of the Assembly for more than a quarter of a century. This means that everything that might be said on the subject has been said many times over, that the relevant decisions and resolutions have now reached voluminous proportions without having been followed up or given effective implementation, and without having brought about the slightest positive change in the status of the overwhelming majority of South African citizens. To speak once again of the situation in South Africa, to recall the facts, to point out the serious events occurring there, to denounce the Pretoria régime, to summarize everything that should have been done and that should be done for the final elimination of the scourge of *apartheid*, is to pile up words that might seem tedious because they have already been said, and often more exhaustively.

132. But resigning ourselves to making this observation and pretending to turn the page would mean to give in to the ravages of time and to join, unwittingly, with those who have committed one of the most serious crimes against humanity, and who are counting, among other things, on having this question fade into oblivion. In including in the agenda of various bodies the question of *apartheid* every year, and in adopting decisions and resolutions which might bring about a final solution, the international community has in fact become aware of the situation and has expressed, most often unanimously, its stern condemnation of it, as well as taking steps that might have favourably altered the direction of events, even if they had not eliminated the evil.

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.

133. Three decades have elapsed since the South African racist Government began openly practising *apartheid*, which it has made into a national policy and has imposed as a life-style on the black population of that country. The situation continues to deteriorate from day to day. The glimmers of hope that appear every time the international community condemns the Pretoria policy, every time its racist Government is subjected to some pressure, above all from its economic and political partners—those hopes fade quite quickly under the effect of promises, declarations and dilatory manoeuvres of the racist South African Government which can no longer deceive anyone.

134. Taking into account only its moral aspect, the problem of *apartheid* is of major dimensions, to be sure, but we should also consider its political and strategic implications which might have extremely serious consequences for humanity.

135. Current events have already shown us that other régimes, just as condemnable as the *apartheid* régime, have tried to institutionalize racism. Fortunately, they have met their rightful end. But at what price? We have all witnessed the ordeal of the Second World War. Millions of human beings paid with their lives for the sinister plans of nazism. Why then do we hesitate today to block the advance of *apartheid*—although its proposed actions are far less grave than those carried out by nazism—when the only sacrifices demanded, if we have to make sacrifices, are more economic and political than military in nature? Are we to believe that the condemnation of the evil is enough and that the steps that would give it concrete form would take into particular account the colour of the skin of those who suffer the evil? Nazism plunged the world into the most atrocious of wars. *Apartheid*, which adopts the self-same methods and which borrows the same methods as its sinister counterpart, runs the risk of leading us into a conflagration with unforeseeable consequences.

136. Are not segregation, racism and territorial expansion the common denominator of these two scourges? The illegal occupation of Namibia, the incursions and the subversive plots which the racist régime of South Africa continues to undertake in neighbouring countries, sooner or later will give rise to serious regional conflicts, local to be sure, but which could degenerate into nuclear war. We do not think that we are exaggerating the danger that might engulf southern Africa and all of Africa and probably all of mankind. The Pretoria racist régime, which for a long time has openly defied the entire international community, has nuclear weaponry. This danger is even greater today because the use of nuclear weapons, thus far prevented by the balance of power, by deterrents and by the extremely serious consequences involved for all of mankind, might be facilitated in South Africa.

137. The irresponsible Government of Pretoria, which has defied all human values, is concerned only with material gains from its outrageous exploitation of the South African black majority. It is practising territorial expansion as a doctrine of defence and would not hesitate for a moment to use that weapon. In subjugating the black population at home, and in weakening neighbouring countries, the racist Government believes that it can freeze forever the development of the peoples of southern Africa. Actually, it is only delaying it, for no tyranny in the world has succeeded in opposing the will of peoples.

In so doing, however, it is increasing the risk of a conflagration with very serious consequences.

138. Since it has rejected all the resolutions of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly and has shown constant disregard, equalled only by its stubbornness in making the Calvary of the black majority last as long as possible, the Pretoria régime can only defy the international community even more and display further disdain for its decisions. The best proof I can give for this is what was said by the representative of the South African racist régime in the Security Council on 23 October 1984: "The South African Government rejects whatever decisions the Security Council may arrive at, now and in the future. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

139. Hoping to bring about a peaceful solution, some among those who have most strongly condemned *apartheid* are still advocating that we should leave the door open to dialogue with the racist Government of South Africa.

140. In Tunisia we experienced similar situations in our independence struggle and were able to appreciate the benefits of dialogue. Bourguiba, one of the pioneers of the liberation movements in Africa, made this the basis of his doctrine, but it must be a genuine dialogue, whereby the two adversaries in a conflict are equally convinced that it is in their interest.

141. In South Africa we have not yet reached this point. On the one hand there are the black masses, unarmed, defenceless, strangers in their own homeland, dispossessed, whose only recourse is faith in resistance and the support of those that still believe in the triumph of human values. On the other hand there is one of the most powerful armies in the continent, whose aim is the subjugation of the peoples within the country and the subjection of its own will on the neighbouring countries, in the name of self-defence. We say "Yes" to dialogue, but "No" to submission. What is being advocated is nothing but submission. This strengthens our belief that instead of being subjected to the pressure of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions which should have been applied and which would have compelled it to undertake dialogue, the Pretoria racist régime would itself seem to be applying pressure to its political and economic partners through the 3,000 transnational corporations which are operating in the territories under its control. The compliance of those same partners and their refusal to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter encourage Pretoria to persist in its massive repression and to refine yet further the instruments of that repression. I need only mention by way of evidence the recent events reported in *The New York Times* of 8 November of this year concerning the 3,000 arrests and 152 deaths resulting from the repressive activities of the police since the beginning of the year.

142. To give an even clearer idea of the wanton, stubborn repression by the South African racist authorities, I refer members to the irrefutable testimony of a South African whose faith in the dignity of man, profound belief in peace and hope that South Africa will one day offer the same opportunity to all its inhabitants without distinction as to race, colour or religion are beyond any shadow of a doubt. I mean Bishop Tutu, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. In a statement made on 23 October 1984 before the Security Council, Bishop Tutu made a heart-rending appeal to the international community for the estab-

lishment of freedom, order and justice for all the citizens of his country and referred with bitterness to the events he had witnessed near Johannesburg as recently as last September. He said:

"In this black township we met an old lady who told us that she was looking after her grandchildren and the children of neighbours whilst they were at work. On the day about which she was speaking, the police had been chasing black schoolchildren in that street, but the children had eluded the police, who then drove down the street past the lady's house. Her wards were playing in front of the house, in the yard. She was sitting in the kitchen at the back, when her daughter burst in, calling agitatedly for her. She rushed out into the living room. A grandson had fallen just inside the door, dead. The police had shot him in the back. He was six years old."<sup>1</sup>

143. Such upheavals are the result of the massive rejection by the black majority of the racist subterfuges of the *apartheid* régime known as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the new constitution, the aim of which is to perpetuate minority government.

144. In the face of these facts and the atrocities endured by our brothers in South Africa in their heroic struggle, we wish to reaffirm our full support for the South African people and in particular its liberation movements, ANC and PAC. We believe that the way to a true dialogue between these movements and the Pretoria Government is through the freeing of all political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela.

145. We also believe that it is time the international community reacted to the challenge and the arrogance of the Pretoria Government by adopting appropriate enforcement measures, as provided for by the Charter.

146. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to convey its most earnest congratulations to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, more specifically, to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, on the considerable work it has continued to do in order to keep international public opinion informed of the situation in southern Africa.

147. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The question of *apartheid* has been discussed by the United Nations for more than 30 years. In condemning this institutionalized negation of human rights, the international community has achieved a higher degree of unanimity than on any other issue on the agenda. Yet, ironically, the question of *apartheid* has also turned out to be one of the most intractable items. In spite of this universal condemnation expressed in an unending progression of resolutions, declarations, appeals and protests, the *apartheid* system remains in place and there is little hope for its early elimination.

148. I cannot but express the deep frustration of Austria at this state of affairs. Austria has always rejected the racist policies of South Africa as a particularly grave violation of human rights. It is true, as is frequently pointed out by South African spokesmen, that human rights violations happen in many corners of our world. And, in fact, Austria condemns any infringement of human rights wherever it occurs. Institutionalized discrimination on the basis of race or colour constitutes a particularly serious offence, since it violates the very foundation

of our civilization: the intrinsic dignity and worth of the human person.

149. South Africa is the only country where racial discrimination serves as an organizing principle of society, where it constitutes the official State doctrine. The policy of *apartheid* is, therefore, and will remain as long as it exists, a challenge to fundamental human values and a heavy weight on the conscience of mankind.

150. Austria is convinced that the majority of the South African population cannot be permanently denied their right to participate in the political process. We fear, however, that if the South African leadership does not change its present course *apartheid* will lead to a circle of violent protest, repression and renewed violence which would devastate the lives of all South Africans. Hence the urgency of determined steps towards far-reaching changes in the political system of South Africa, towards the establishment of a free, democratic and multiracial society, and hence the need to end the repression of the democratic black organizations and to enter into a genuine dialogue with their leaders.

151. Austria does not believe that the recent constitutional changes in South Africa, which continue to deny basic civil rights to the majority of the population, constitute real progress. The results of the elections this summer and the repeated outbreaks of violence during past months confirm, in our view, that the *apartheid* system cannot be reformed but must be dismantled. It was for this reason that, at the present session of the General Assembly, Austria joined the overwhelming majority of Member States in the firm rejection of the new constitution.

152. Austria also opposes the practice of assigning black tribal groups to so-called homelands under the bantustan system. We consider this policy as a ploy to perpetuate the economic deprivation and political disfranchisement of the black population. We will continue to refuse to recognize the legitimacy of these homelands.

153. It is not sufficient to condemn *apartheid* as a violation of human rights. It must also be considered in its regional implications. There can be no doubt that the policy of *apartheid* is the root cause of the crisis situation in southern Africa. It is a major obstacle to the efforts of the international community to realize at last the independence of Namibia. It poses a severe threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States and endangers international security. Austria welcomes, of course, any relaxation of tension in the area and any equitable security arrangements between the countries concerned. We fear, however, that any improvement of the situation must be temporary in nature as long as the underlying cause of the violence remains intact. Only the eradication of the system of *apartheid* will bring genuine peace and lasting stability to southern Africa.

154. Turning now briefly to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, I would like to reaffirm our support for the United Nations organizations helping the victims of *apartheid*. Austria will continue to contribute financially to the trust funds for southern Africa.

155. I would also reiterate our appeal for the release of Nelson Mandela and the other imprisoned majority leaders. Their liberation would be a clear sign of genuine willingness for change in South Africa and

would greatly ease the prevailing tensions in the country.

156. Austria is firmly convinced that the United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*. As an organization committed to the promotion of peace, freedom and justice in the world, it bears a special responsibility to bring about a peaceful transition to a free and democratic South Africa with equal rights for all regardless of the colour of their skin.

157. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): It is regrettable that in this century of emancipation of nations and peoples and affirmation of human rights, the United Nations and humanity at large are challenged by the existence of the abhorrent system of *apartheid* in South Africa. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to defy the demands of the entire international community and a long list of decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. It continues to perpetuate the policy of discrimination, repression and terror against the black majority of its population. It exploits its population and it keeps it in shackles and rides roughshod over it.

158. There are great differences in views on many subjects nowadays. However, the condemnation of *apartheid* and the demand for its eradication are unanimous. It is equally unanimously held that it constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

159. *Apartheid* directly contravenes the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, decisions of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the basic norms of international law.

160. *Apartheid*, it should be recalled, has been explicitly prohibited by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex]. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity.

161. All these measures and efforts of the international community have, however, not been implemented. The Government of South Africa continues with an oppressive internal policy and with aggressive actions against its neighbours.

162. The encroachment on fundamental human rights and the most ruthless exploitation of the deprived majority in South Africa continue. Repression, terror, persecution and discrimination are the essence of the racist régime's policy towards its majority Coloured population.

163. Not long ago the racist régime in South Africa posed a new, brazen challenge to the international community by introducing a so-called new constitution and by carrying out so-called parliamentary elections. The true meaning of these measures is further to entrench the system based on racial discrimination against the majority of the indigenous population, on *apartheid* and on bantustanization which has begun to waver under massive internal resistance and strong international pressure. It is yet another attempt to prolong the exploitation of the deprived black population and divide the oppressed of South Africa to incite mutual conflicts. It is another and unsuccessful attempt to strengthen white minority rule and to debilitate the will of the oppressed to resist. This is another attempt to lock freedom out of South Africa and to keep the majority

population locked in the medieval dungeon that is called *apartheid*.

164. The best response to this was given by the overwhelming majority of the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin by boycotting such elections and rejecting such constitutional reforms. Recent massive demonstrations, strikes and large-scale resistance show the unflagging unity of the oppressed and deprived people of South Africa in its struggle for the elimination of *apartheid* and for the establishment of a society that will be based on equal rights for all regardless of race, origin or colour of skin.

165. The repression, assassinations and arrests of demonstrators and strikers—old and young—the closing of schools and universities and the violent crushing of the popular resistance, all these testify to the real nature of so-called constitutional amendments and constitutional reforms.

166. The issue was considered as a matter of priority in the General Assembly in September and in the Security Council in October this year. Resolutions adopted on those occasions declared the so-called new constitution null and void, and pointed out that a just and lasting solution of the situation in South Africa can be achieved only on the basis of total eradication of *apartheid* and on the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in which the entire population would enjoy full and equal rights.

167. Yugoslavia joins in the rejection of the so-called new constitution as null and void. So-called elections based on racial discrimination and segregation have no validity whatsoever.

168. The *apartheid* régime ruthlessly exploits the human and natural resources of Namibia. It is committing aggression against the neighbouring front-line States. It is developing enormous military potential, including nuclear technology for military purposes, and all this is being done at an accelerated pace.

169. It is clear that the policy of *apartheid* generates threats to peace and security in the region and well beyond. It is threatening to transform the region of southern Africa into an integral part of the global bloc confrontation and great-Power rivalry for strategic positions and for spheres of interest and domination.

170. Non-aligned countries have consistently underlined the urgent need for the eradication of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa. In the Political Declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Heads of State or Government pointed out their resolve to intensify joint efforts in support of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.<sup>6</sup> Strong support was also given to the liberation movements in southern Africa.

171. Yugoslavia fully supports all decisions adopted at that Conference, as well as those adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council. The support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa and for the liberation movements—that is, ANC and PAC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia—is the most efficient way for the elimination of *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination and for the establishment of the freedom, equality and dignity of the peoples of southern Africa.

172. The countries that maintain close relations with South Africa, particularly economic relations and relations in the fields of military and nuclear technology, bear moral and political responsibility for enabling, directly or indirectly, the racist régime to continue with its policy of *apartheid*.

173. It is incumbent upon all Member States to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime of Pretoria. In accordance with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, all Member States should refrain from all contacts and activities—political, economic, cultural or those in the field of sports—with South Africa. The existing contacts in these fields represent support for the régime in Pretoria in its pursuit of the policy of *apartheid* and are helping it to break out of international isolation.

174. We stress that it is necessary to render strong moral and political support and assistance to the legitimate liberation struggle of the peoples in southern Africa. Unanimous support by the General Assembly would be a concrete political contribution to the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

175. However, concrete actions are also indispensable, as are mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which would, in addition to the arms embargo, include the immediate cessation of every aspect of co-operation—whether economic, military, political and cultural or in the field of sports—with South Africa.

176. We in Yugoslavia will continue to render full moral, material and political support to the persistent and courageous struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against *apartheid*, racism, colonialism and discrimination and for freedom, equality and human dignity.

177. Finally, I should like to express our full support for the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which has an extremely important role to play in our common efforts to eradicate *apartheid* from international life. We pay a special tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, under whose dynamic and vigorous leadership and able guidance the Committee has once again produced a valuable report on its important activities.

178. Mr. IBRAHIM (Indonesia): For nearly four decades the United Nations has taken decisions condemning the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. The General Assembly, the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have adopted literally hundreds of resolutions expressing the revulsion of the international community at the perpetuation of this odious system. *Apartheid* has been declared contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We have collectively committed ourselves to the task of eradicating this scourge, in any and all of its manifestations, from the earth. For more than two decades the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has led the international campaign to fulfil this commitment by making it a fundamental goal of all civilized nations and of all bodies, agencies and organizations affiliated with the United Nations. Indeed the total mobilization of the resources of the international community to eliminate institutionalized racism is truly unprecedented. Yet South Africa has consistently defied with impunity the concerted efforts of this Organization.



*Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

179. The litany of the crimes perpetrated in the name of *apartheid* by the minority racist régime and the resultant suffering that it has wrought for more than a generation is endless. Since January alone more than 50,000 indigenous Africans have been arrested under the notorious pass laws. There are no less than 317 racist laws and statutes to enforce *apartheid*, and expulsions from so-called white-zoned areas, as well as the revocation of citizenship and forced consignment to the homelands, are also on the increase. We could go on with this gruesome list of oppressive measures against the majority. However, my delegation believes that given the extreme urgency of the situation our immediate attention must be focused on the events as they have unfolded over the course of the past year in that tormented land.

180. It is to be recalled that the current crisis was precipitated by the adoption last November of the new constitution by the racist régime, whose intention was to mislead the world public into believing that it was designed to enfranchise certain sectors of the population by creating racially segregated representation for the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian origin. However, it was clear from the very beginning that the new constitution would change nothing. It entrenches white domination, gives no real power to the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin and actually expands the minority dictatorship by conferring extraordinary powers upon the President. That insidious device was immediately and resoundingly denounced by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session in resolution 38/11, which declared that the so-called constitutional proposals further entrench *apartheid* and have no validity. Furthermore, it warned that enforcement of the constitution would inevitably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

181. It is indeed proof of the short-sighted arrogance of the régime that it could not see the obvious consequences of its actions as it went ahead with the implementation of the constitutional fraud by holding the sham elections last August. In its wisdom, the Security Council was not found wanting as it moved decisively to invalidate that charade in an attempt to prevent its promulgation. In its resolution 554 (1984) the Security Council categorically rejected the elections beforehand and warned of greater strife and turmoil should the new constitution be enforced. Moreover, by proclaiming the new constitution null and void, the Council branded the South African Government as being not only racist but also illegal.

182. The elections were a dismal failure because the people stood united in refusing to be used in this unseemly attempt to legitimize *apartheid*. This alone should have alerted the Pretoria régime to the fact that its ploy would not work. Nevertheless, with its customary reliance on terror and intimidation backed up by massive military force, the régime felt secure in its delusion that it could force the oppressed majority to accept its *fait accompli*. But the rage of the people could not be contained. In a massive outburst of protest, hundreds of thousands of students and over half a million workers confronted the mobilization of combined South African military and police forces. The rebellion has spread across the whole country, engulfing Sharpeville, Tembisa, Sebokeng and Soweto and going beyond. The suppres-

sion of the protests in Sebokeng township alone was the largest military operation in the history of the country. Hundreds of protesters were killed or maimed and countless numbers arrested. In sum, South Africa today is under virtual martial law conditions and can aptly be described as a garrison State on the verge of civil war.

183. Faced with such an explosive situation, the Assembly urgently adopted resolution 39/2 in September and the Security Council adopted resolution 556 (1984) in October. Together these two decisions confirm that the demonstrations, strikes and mass uprisings inside *apartheid* South Africa emanate directly from the imposition of the new constitution. They also condemn the continued massacres of the people and the wave of arbitrary arrests and call for the immediate cessation of the wanton killing as well as the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

184. Despite the overwhelming demand of the international community to put an end to the oppression and brutality, the representative of South Africa had the temerity to deliver a virtual ultimatum to the Security Council on 23 October when he arrogantly proclaimed that "South Africa, as a regional Power in southern Africa, gives notice that it has no intention to capitulate."<sup>1</sup> He further issued a blatant threat that if the United Nations continued to condemn the heinous policies of his Government, that Government would unleash a war of retribution against the region of southern Africa as a whole. In effect, this Organization is being blackmailed, as we are being told that the people of South Africa and all the States in the region are held hostage unless and until the international community itself capitulates by accommodating itself to *apartheid*. However, the onus of the retribution of which the representative of South Africa spoke will be borne by his Government. And, incidentally, it is the fear of this eventuality that has unhinged the régime to the point at which it would engage in such bellicosity. This intransigence has been aided and abetted by the collaboration of certain States whose strategic and economic interests continue to be manipulated by Pretoria to advance its own regional ambitions and to frustrate efforts to eradicate *apartheid*.

185. The profound animosities that sparked the Sharpeville and Soweto uprisings of 1960 and 1976 have not changed and have even intensified. The outbreak of protests during the past three months fully reflects the fiasco of the régime's policies and is more than a reaction to the constitutional fraud. Indeed, those protests represent a new level of militancy that has not been and can no longer be stifled. In this context the words of the distinguished winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop Tutu, before the Security Council on 23 October take on a crucial poignancy. He said: "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."<sup>1</sup>

186. The international community has time and again offered the Pretoria régime every opportunity to renounce its *apartheid* policy and to bring about social justice and democracy through the inclusion of all segments of the population in the exercise of their legitimate rights as full citizens of the country. Regrettably, the South African régime has invariably opted for confrontation rather than conciliation. It has steadfastly denied the just grievances and de-

mands of the indigenous majority by forgoing reason in favour of oppression.

187. While the opportunity is still there for a peaceful transition to the establishment of a non-racial democratic State, Pretoria's options are fast running out. Whichever path it chooses, the outcome will be the same. The only question is whether it will be achieved through a peaceful process of healing the wounds with which *apartheid* has scarred the whole nation or through a liberation struggle, including armed struggle, which will not only prolong the suffering of the people but also bring in its wake incalculable consequences; for the valiant people of South Africa have proved beyond any doubt that their legitimate quest for freedom cannot be denied and that historical justice will prevail.

188. Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The grave situation at present prevailing in South Africa led the General Assembly to adopt resolution 39/2 and the Security Council, aware of the threat that that situation represents for international peace and security, to take decisions in resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984). The policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government is still a matter of concern to the international community. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22], so comprehensively submitted to us at the 66th meeting by its Chairman, compels us once again to stand united in a single front against *apartheid*—the most shameful insult to the conscience of mankind.

189. One of the major events that has taken place in South Africa since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is, without doubt, the entry into force on 3 September 1984 of a so-called new constitution. Adopted one year earlier by the South African Parliament, that "new constitution" was approved in a referendum reserved to the whites. It provides for the creation of three houses of parliament: the House of Assembly, reserved to whites and comprising 178 members; the House of Representatives, reserved to the so-called Coloureds and comprising 85 members; and another House of Representatives, reserved to South Africans of Indian origin and comprising 45 members. An Executive State President, elected for a five-year term, presides over the Cabinet. Each house will concern itself with "affairs which are within its jurisdiction", the determination of draft laws falling within the competence of one or the other house, without there being any resort to the President. Moreover, it is provided that Parliament can sit even if one or two houses should withdraw. Additionally, it provides for the establishment of a Council of the President, a consultative body composed of 60 members of which 35 are elected by the three houses and 25 nominated by the State President.

190. In the course of the process of setting up those new constitutional arrangements the Pretoria régime carried out parallel activities: one, on the domestic level, consisted in speeding up its bantustanization policy in the course of which almost 8 million Africans were deprived of their citizenship since the creation in 1976 of the so-called "independent" homelands and almost 3.5 million were deported from their places of residence. This mass and enforced population displacement was accompanied by extortion and other acts of violence intended to stifle any idea of resistance. This brutal and ruthless repression was based on a juridical arsenal and

judicial machinery completely conceived, organized and dominated to serve solely the interests of the whites.

191. Thus, in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* we read that:

"In 1983, a total of 262,904 Africans were arrested for offences related to the 'pass laws'. This figure amounts to 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour. It represents a 27.6 per cent increase over the 1982 figure of 206,022.

"In 1983, over 142,000 Africans were convicted on 'pass laws'. The number of those tried was higher than in 1982. The trials evidenced *apartheid* justice. On one occasion, which is typical, a Commissioner's court heard 118 cases in four and a half hours, that is, on the average, a case every two or three minutes." [*Ibid.*, paras. 151 and 164.]

192. The confiscation of lands pursuant to the Land Acts allowed 83 per cent of the land to be taken over by the white minority, whereas 70 per cent of the population was granted the 17 per cent of the land that remained, comprising the bantustans in the rural areas and the reserves or "compounds" in urban areas. Generally speaking, these bantustans are a disparate group of small lots of land very clearly demarcated so as neither to overlap the land of the powerful white settlers nor to surround the industrial establishments owned by whites or the important mineral deposits.

193. That first action was intended to lull world public opinion into the belief that self-determination for South African blacks in their "independent States" was a reality. And, to that end, the Kwa Ndebele homeland would be declared "independent" in December 1984 and would raise to five the number of pseudo-independent States in South Africa.

194. The second action, carried out in parallel with the first, by the *apartheid* régime was to intensify its undeclared war against its neighbours. All means were employed: military aggression pure and simple, threats, blackmail, economic pressure and large-scale use of subversive elements and terrorists. Under the pretext of the "right of pursuit"—impossible to justify under international law—or self-defence, when its acts of aggression were mainly aimed at civilians and refugees, the *apartheid* régime is trying to extend its hegemony over the whole region and to impose its colonial dream of "a constellation of States". In this context, it is farcical to speak of a will to dialogue being shown by a régime that has institutionalized violence.

195. A pseudo will for domestic change, a pseudo will for external dialogue—the pretext was nevertheless enough for certain Western European Governments to receive the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime, thus assisting the efforts of that régime to emerge from its isolation, and to cancel out 25 years of the international community's support for the cause of freedom in South Africa.

196. In truth, all these changes are considered positive only by those that wish to ally themselves openly with the racist South African régime.

197. The system of institutionalized segregation and racial discrimination extends to the South African Parliament. The true purpose of these constitutional arrangements is to strengthen the domination of white State power over the rest of the population, which, however, makes up the overwhelming majori-

ty. The House of Assembly, reserved for whites, enjoys a permanent majority, which allows it to wield power even if the two Houses of Representatives withdraw. The latter are unable to change the legislation of the country because of the constitutional division of competence by the expedient of certain matters being reserved for each House.

198. The so-called new constitution separates the Africans completely from political life. It is not that part of the population that has decided on its political status, because the delimitation of territories, the dividing up of populations and the legal status of bantustans have been decided without their participation. The maintenance and strengthening of the *apartheid* system means that that population will continue to be deprived of its fundamental rights and of its nationality and to be subject to massive deportations.

199. Fortunately, neither the international community nor the presumed beneficiaries of the so-called new constitutional arrangements have allowed themselves to be fooled by the seductive offensive carried out by the *apartheid* régime. The General Assembly and the Security Council have united their voices in denouncing the so-called elections and declaring them null and void, like the so-called constitution, and demanding the abandonment of *apartheid*, which has been declared a crime against humanity, the dismantling of the bantustans and the cessation of the repression of the black majority.

200. The widespread boycott of the elections of 22 and 28 August this year by the so-called Coloureds and the South Africans of Indian origin, despite promises, pressure and intimidation, destroyed the hope of giving a semblance of legitimacy to a criminal policy of the oppression of an entire people. Showing its true nature, having dropped the mask of peace and dialogue, the Pretoria régime has started to escalate its repression anew, causing hundreds of deaths and injuries and leading to the arrest of thousands of opponents of *apartheid*.

201. The tensions created in South Africa and the whole of southern Africa by the inhuman system of *apartheid* will worsen, threatening international peace and security, until the establishment of a democratic society that will guarantee the enjoyment of the same political rights and fundamental freedoms to all the inhabitants, without distinction as to race, colour, sex or creed. That is the only just and lasting solution, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If it is to be achieved the measures advocated for many years in various resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must be implemented. It will require the necessary and unreserved material, moral, diplomatic and political support of the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU, in particular the ANC.

202. Those Governments that have not yet done so should end all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, respect and ensure respect for the embargo on oil products, accede to, or ratify, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], break off diplomatic and consular relations, prohibit tourism in connection with South Africa, or to its benefit, and encourage

boycotts in the areas of, in particular, sport, culture and education.

203. Religious groups, trade unions, anti-*apartheid* movements, solidarity movements, non-governmental organizations and individuals must play an active part in the international campaign against *apartheid*.

204. In conclusion, we express our appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and in particular its Chairman, Mr. Garba, for their tireless efforts to achieve concerted action by the international community against the *apartheid* régime.

205. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Next year we shall be commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the peace-loving peoples over fascism. Victory was brought about by the efforts and sacrifices of many peoples of the world; but hardly anyone can seriously deny that the decisive contribution was made by the Soviet Union. This was a great victory not only over the forces of aggression but also over the policy and doctrine of racism, the personification of which was fascism.

206. The outcome of that victory was the United Nations Organization in whose Charter there was enshrined, as one of the most important principles, that of the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

207. However, although the bulwarks of racism in Europe were crushed four decades ago, racism and racial discrimination still continue to exist in certain parts of the world. The most repulsive form of this is *apartheid*—in other words, racism, raised to the rank of constitutional law, state policy, and day-to-day practice as this is still being done in South Africa.

208. Racism and aggression are indivisible. That is precisely why the south of Africa for many years has been one of the hottest spots on our planet, the hotbed of tensions whose effects go beyond the boundaries of that region.

209. The United Nations has long since and on many occasions condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity. It has described the policy of *apartheid*, which brings suffering to the peoples of Africa, as a growing threat and danger to universal peace.

210. The General Assembly and Security Council have on many occasions called on the authorities of Pretoria to put an end to the criminal policy of *apartheid* and to grant to all citizens of the Republic of South Africa equal and full political and other rights, including the possibility of freely taking part in the determination of their own fate. On 17 August 1984, the Security Council adopted resolution 554 (1984) in which it is again stated that *apartheid* is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

211. However, the régime of Pretoria, flouting universally recognized international standards and ignoring decisions of the United Nations and the appeals of the world community, is not only continuing but is intensifying its policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and is resorting to terror and repression against the indigenous population of the country. The military occupation of Namibia and of part of the territory of Angola is continuing. Independent African countries are subjected to growing pressure and outright blackmail, aggressive incursions and other subversive actions which have borrowed from

the arsenal of the policy of State terrorism which has been firmly condemned by the international community.

212. The peculiar nature of the present stage in the struggle against the *apartheid* system in South Africa resides in the fact that Pretoria is manoeuvring and striving to retain its racist régime and to perpetuate domination by the white minority; it is striving to strengthen colonialism in Namibia and to restore it in other neighbouring African countries.

213. The introduction of the so-called new constitution in South Africa was designed precisely to introduce a split in the anti-*apartheid* movement inside the country and to create the impression of “positive change” and “constitutional reform”.

214. However, the racist character of the “new constitution” is already clearly manifested in the fact that so far virtually three quarters of the indigenous inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa, people who have a black skin, are excluded from political and social life within the community. Both in form and in substance, the altered political system remains blatantly racist.

215. In the course of the present session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 39/2, which was adopted by 133 States Members of the United Nations, rejected the so-called new constitution as not having any force and condemned the racist régime for failure to implement the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations and for the continuing intensification of *apartheid*.

216. These United Nations decisions and subsequent events in South Africa unmasked the hypocrisy of those who are trying to represent the constitutional reforms as “positive changes”.

217. Striving at all cost to repress the resistance of the oppressed people, the racists have thrown against the freedom fighters not only their police force but also army units. Hundreds of killed and imprisoned are the results of the introduction and operation of the “new constitution”.

218. In spite of the protests of the international community, the *apartheid* régime continues a policy of cruel exploitation, of lawlessness and repression against the indigenous inhabitants of the country. The Africans are deprived of the possibility of obtaining any education and the most elementary forms of social services.

219. Through the rapacious exploitation of workers with a dark skin, huge profits are being made by imperialist monopolies. The pumping out of super-profits, in the last analysis, governs the whole of the State policy of the Republic of South Africa. This takes the form of so-called separate development of its racist system, by the establishment of bantustans. Those regions, representing 13 per cent of the territory, are to receive 70 per cent of its population, according to the intentions of the Pretoria régime. Bantustans are being converted into huge reservoirs of cheap labour, and millions of persons are becoming foreigners in their own country.

220. The only possible way for the racist system to continue its super-exploitation of the labour of workers with dark skins has been by a decision to use force. That is why the *apartheid* régime is spending increasing funds on police and the repressive military apparatus.

221. Any resistance brings about an intensification of repression, shootings of unarmed persons, torture and execution, and the prohibition of the activities of national organizations of the oppressed peoples. However, in spite of these cruel repressions, the struggle of the people of the Republic of South Africa against *apartheid* is ever-growing and ever-expanding. In the forefront of this struggle are the ANC and, in Namibia, SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people recognized by the United Nations and the OAU.

222. In this connection we would like to refer to the important useful work which is being carried out here in the United Nations by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the chairmanship of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Garba. The activities of that Committee make it possible to unmask the racists of Pretoria and to mobilize the international community in support of the fighters against *apartheid*!

223. It is entirely understandable that the racist régime could not have indulged in its lawlessness or ignored the numerous decisions of the Organization had it not been aided and abetted by certain countries.

224. The world has long known that the United States and some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], while paying lip service to the struggle against the *apartheid* system, are in fact protecting the racist régime of Pretoria and defending it from the application of international sanctions. The present Administration of the United States has almost officially dubbed that régime its historical ally and in the course of the debates which took place on 21 October between the two United States Presidential candidates it was openly stated that southern Africa is a sphere of vital interest for the United States.

225. The following question naturally arises: against whom has this historical alliance been concluded? The answer is entirely clear: first of all against the people of the Republic of South Africa itself and the peoples of neighbouring African countries. The purpose of that historical alliance is to consolidate the joint colonial exploitation of the countries of southern Africa and their human and natural resources, and also to utilize that region in joint military and strategic plans.

226. In the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* it is pointed out that:

“The Special Committee, therefore, cannot but express its utmost regret at the policies and actions of the Governments which have found common interests with the Pretoria régime and provided it comfort and encouragement in the pursuit of its crimes against Africa and against humanity. It must make special mention of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of certain other Western Powers, notably the United Kingdom, as well as the régime of Israel.

“The United States Government, in particular, has opposed and frustrated all international action to deal effectively with the acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime. It has welcomed and encouraged the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to entrench racism as positive changes.” [*A/39/22, paras. 329 and 330.*]

227. The aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime is increasing in proportion to the stepping up of

assistance to it by overseas protectors. The intensive building up of military might reflects the pretensions of the Republic of South Africa to play the role of regional policeman which has been assigned to the *apartheid* régime by Washington.

228. In March 1984 the Republic of South Africa declared that its military expenditure for 1984 would increase by 21.4 per cent and would reach a figure of \$US 3 billion out of an overall budget of \$20.7 billion. That increase reflects the aim of the policy of the Republic of South Africa, which is to step up its military presence in Namibia for the purpose of perpetuating its unlawful occupation of that Territory and continuing its aggressive war not only against the Namibian people but against front-line African States.

229. The military industry of South Africa, which has been created with the co-operation of the imperialist Powers, is working at full capacity. It is producing products of modern military technology, mostly under Western licences, while at the same time South Africa continues to purchase technological equipment from abroad.

230. The overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations are complying with the arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977). However, a number of Western Powers, and above all the United States, continue to provide military support to the Pretoria régime.

231. In paragraph 2 of resolution 38/39 G adopted with the support of 122 Member States, the General Assembly

*“Strongly condemns the actions of certain Western States and Israel which have provided the racist régime of South Africa with an enormous arsenal of military equipment and technology, as well as assistance in its nuclear plans, and which have allowed corporations under their jurisdiction to invest in the armaments industry in South Africa”.*

232. The world community, and above all the African countries, are particularly concerned about the Republic of South Africa's attempt to acquire nuclear weapons.

233. The General Assembly, in its resolutions on the question of nuclear and military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa, has frequently called on all States to cease forthwith all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere and to end the supply of nuclear equipment and fissionable materials, the transfer of technology and the provision of staff. This prohibition was also to apply to corporations, organizations, establishments and, indeed, individuals under the jurisdiction of the Governments concerned.

234. Everybody knows that the acquisition and expansion of nuclear capability by the Republic of South Africa results entirely from the co-operation which has been taking place and continues at various levels between the *apartheid* régime and Western countries and Israel.

235. The political and military consequences of the acquisition of nuclear potential by the Republic of South Africa are provoking serious concern in the international community. In this connection, in their decisions the General Assembly and other international forums have frequently firmly condemned the collaboration of certain Western Powers with the

racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and have called for the renunciation of any direct or indirect transfer to it of facilities which might permit production of nuclear materials, reactors and military equipment.

236. The African countries have firmly stated that support for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is encouragement of the policy of State terrorism which is being carried out by the racists of the Republic of South Africa.

237. The efforts of Western Powers aimed at strengthening and comprehensively supporting the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa are undoubtedly an integral part of the broader plans of the imperialists to regain the positions lost by them in Africa, to deprive the African peoples of the achievements of the national liberation struggles and to bind them with new fetters to neo-colonialist dependency.

238. The international community cannot continue to accept the existence of the *apartheid* régime. The United Nations must adopt effective measures for the elimination of the hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. This is its duty to the struggling African peoples.

239. The Soviet Union fully supports the proposals of the African countries concerning the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It calls for strict compliance by all States with sanctions already introduced by the Security Council against the Pretoria régime.

240. For its part, the Soviet Union does not maintain any relations with the Republic of South Africa in the diplomatic, economic, commercial, military or any other sphere, and has no treaties or licence agreements with Pretoria.

241. The Soviet Union calls for the termination of the occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa and the immediate granting of genuine independence to Namibia in accordance with all the decisions of the United Nations on this question, including, of course, Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

242. In the view of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the present session of the General Assembly is called upon to condemn the actions of those States which have not yet ceased their co-operation with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other spheres, give it their political and diplomatic protection, proclaim it to be their “historical ally” and conduct a policy of “constructive co-operation” with racists. It is necessary to strive for complete compliance by all States with the embargo established by the Security Council on the supply of weapons to the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, the cessation of all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere and the adoption of measures by the Security Council to prevent the Republic of South Africa acquiring nuclear weapons.

243. The Soviet Union stands in a united front with those who struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Our country has given and will continue to give the necessary assistance to the just struggle of the African peoples against *apartheid* and for freedom and social progress.

244. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The present Australian Government totally rejects all forms of racism, in particular the repugnant policy of *apartheid*. It has made this clear in its statements and by its actions since taking office 20 months ago.

245. In the Preamble to the Charter, the founders of the United Nations pledged themselves, as we all know, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and . . . for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". They also pledged "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

246. Yet in 1948 the South African Government took a series of steps which resulted in the creation of the *apartheid* system, which is one of the most striking negations of what the United Nations stands for. *Apartheid* is a racist system designed to ensure the domination of one group of South Africans over others on the basis of skin colour and to perpetuate economic, social and political inequalities. It is a system which ultimately demeans and degrades those who impose it and those who support it. It has created untold suffering to those upon whom it is imposed, and it diminishes mankind as a whole.

247. An entire generation of South Africans has grown up knowing no other system, and this must be a cause for great concern. Dialogue between the races has been progressively reduced and the options for peaceful change based on trust and mutual comprehension progressively weakened. Those who have worked to dismantle *apartheid* have suffered at the hands of the South African authorities. *Apartheid* has bred repression, both of its own citizens and of those of neighbouring countries.

248. South Africa's defenders claim that it is a model of democracy, that it lives by the rule of law, that it enjoys parliamentary elections and ensures the economic advancement of its people. This is utterly false. South Africa retains the trappings of democracy for a minority of its citizens, but without the substance.

249. For the non-white population of South Africa there is no right to free speech or free assembly. Arbitrary and selective detention is practised. Equality of opportunity is denied. A whole superstructure of repressive legislation is in place to stifle dissent. *Apartheid* ensures a life of subservience and degradation for non-whites and particularly for the African majority.

250. The most glaring example of the inequities imposed by *apartheid* is the system of so-called homelands. The Australian Government considers that the bantustan policy treats the majority of the peoples of South Africa as foreigners in their own country.

251. There are 20 million blacks in South Africa who, under the homelands arrangement, have 13 per cent of the total area of the land. There are five million whites in South Africa who have 87 per cent of the total area of the land in South Africa. This represents not only gross economic inequity; the implementation of that policy carries with it repression, forced removals, physical violence and the destruction of family life. That is, it denies to the black population precisely those things which its proponents claim it brings: economic equality, equality of opportunity and stability. It highlights the fact

that the overwhelming majority of black South Africans has no voice in its own affairs.

252. On the basis of almost any statistic one cares to draw upon, the inequalities in expenditure between the white and non-white communities are stark. But no statistics can properly portray the humiliation, misery and indignity.

253. The Security Council has met on two occasions this year to condemn the so-called constitutional reforms in South Africa and, on 28 September, the General Assembly rejected the new constitutional arrangements and deplored the violence and detention which accompanied them. These much-vaunted new constitutional arrangements, which extended the franchise to Coloureds and Indians, were a deception. The Australian Government regards this so-called new constitution as a sham which will in fact further entrench the system of *apartheid*. It gives no credence to a so-called democracy in which the real power is still held exclusively by the white minority, a "democracy" for which the Coloureds and Indians have shown their contempt by the massive rejection of attendance at the polls and a "democracy" which can detain non-white community leaders without a trial because they oppose the new constitutional amendments.

254. The true nature of the South African system was underlined by the widespread bannings and detentions of those who had criticized the new constitutional arrangements. The Australian Government has deplored the process of arbitrary detention and the violence provoked by the South African Government's measures.

255. Earlier this year Australia was proud to welcome as guests of the Australian Government two distinguished fighters against *apartheid*, Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak, a leading member of the South African Council of Churches. We rejoice with Bishop Tutu and the non-white peoples of South Africa in the decision of the Nobel Committee to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu. In being so honoured Bishop Tutu joins that other distinguished South African fighter against *apartheid*, Albert Luthuli. In welcoming this decision the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bill Hayden, said:

"The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu constituted worthy recognition to the fearless and untiring efforts of a man dedicated to peaceful change in the face of overwhelming pressures and hardships. The award also demonstrated yet again the strength of international condemnation of the *apartheid* system."

256. If the words of such advocates of peaceful change as Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak are not listened to, then the seeds of violence which are nourished by *apartheid* will inevitably have their flowering in bloodshed.

257. In the almost 40 years in which *apartheid* has been able to entrench itself in South Africa there have been few indications that the white minority had any doubts about this pernicious system. For its part, however, the black majority has shown that it utterly rejects *apartheid*. And yet, despite repressions and humiliation, they can still demand its peaceful dismantling.

258. Bishop Tutu, a man of great dignity and humanity, can still call in the Security Council—as he did as recently as in October—for a peaceful

solution to South Africa's problems and acknowledge the rights and the fears of the whites of South Africa. How many whites in the South African Government can match this humanity?

259. Australia shares with Bishop Tutu the goal of a peaceful end to *apartheid*. The costs of a violent end to the system are too horrendous to contemplate.

260. The whites of South Africa face a difficult choice. They can continue the failed, discredited policies of *apartheid* or they can accept the goal of a democratic non-racial society which South Africans such as Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak espouse.

261. The Australian Government will continue to play its part in maintaining international pressure for the peaceful dismantling of *apartheid*, in the belief that the actions we take do help to bring home to white South Africans the depth of international disapproval of their policies. For this reason Australia has adopted policies such as the ban on visits by South African sporting teams. We are also participating this year with like-minded delegations in efforts to draft a resolution on *apartheid* which will attract wide support in this Assembly.

262. White South Africans must understand the extent of international revulsion at the policies of *apartheid* and that this revulsion is felt not only by African States but by virtually all Members of this Organization. In the interests of all South Africans of all races, Australia urges the South African Government to enter into a dialogue with all the citizens of South Africa, with the goal of creating a system of government based on majority rule and equal rights.

263. In so doing, the Government of South Africa would, in the words of the Charter, "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" in southern Africa.

264. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): For decades now the concern of the international community has been focused on a number of acute world crises, one of which is the problem of *apartheid*. The world has been unanimous in its agreement that *apartheid* constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Concurrently it has raised its voice in solidarity with the black majority in South Africa in its aspiration to racial equality and social justice.

265. The United Nations has by a host of resolutions condemned this odious system. As recently as 23 October 1984 the Security Council adopted resolution 556 (1984) which, *inter alia*, reiterates its condemnation of the South African régime's *apartheid* policy and demands its eradication, the dismantling of the bantustans and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule in an unfragmented South Africa.

266. Yet, despite the world-wide outcry, the racist régime in South Africa not only continues but intensifies its repression, in order to crush the inalienable rights of the indigenous population and support the segregation pillars upon which the inhuman policy of *apartheid* is based.

267. The creation of bantustans and the recent so-called constitutional reforms signify not a change in dismantling the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime but a well-calculated policy of entrenching and perpetuating the racist basis and discriminatory policy of this odious system.

268. The constitutional changes—in reality a policy of divide and rule—are designed by the Pretoria régime to deprive the African majority of their citizenship rights and to turn them against the so-called Coloured and Asian people, adding another dimension to an already critical situation. It demonstrates also the contempt which the racist régime has shown not only for the integrity of the indigenous population of South Africa but also for the views of the entire international community and the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

269. There is no doubt that the recent referendum on the so-called constitutional reforms and the elections which followed are a mockery of democratic norms. They have no legitimacy whatsoever, since they were limited mainly to white voters. These so-called constitutional changes were widely opposed by the Africans, Coloureds and Asians and their opposition to these proposals will prove to be yet another unifying bond.

270. The recent tragic events in South Africa, the arrests, detentions and killings, are indicative not only of opposition to this grave injustice perpetrated against the indigenous population but also of the unity which binds the African, the so-called Coloured and the Asian South Africans.

271. There is no doubt that all countries disapprove of the policy of *apartheid*. How is it, then, that this system, opposed throughout the world, which has been characterized as a crime against humanity, is still capable of perpetuation?

272. It is a tragic phenomenon of our time that some of the most industrialized, affluent and advanced nations, which proclaim their support for the cause of human rights, equality and justice in their own countries and in other parts of the world, continue to collaborate with the racist South African régime.

273. There is no doubt that such collaboration has emboldened the Pretoria régime to trample upon the dignity and human rights of the vast majority of the population of South Africa, to flout mandatory Security Council resolutions on the subject and to continue the illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States.

274. It is high time for this collaboration, which is contrary to the United Nations resolutions, to be reappraised.

275. It is incumbent upon the international community and each one of us to take appropriate action as a matter of urgency, both individually and collectively, to force South Africa to abandon this discredited policy. If the international community genuinely shares the aspirations of the black majority of South Africa to democracy, equality and freedom and rejects *apartheid* it should now be engaged collectively and determinedly in a struggle for enforcement of the Security Council resolutions.

276. The non-aligned countries are firmly committed to achieving the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racist society in South Africa. So is the United Nations. It is for the United Nations, therefore, and specifically the Security Council, to overcome the defiance of this racist régime and finally achieve those lofty goals.

277. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): It is sobering to realize that the question of *apartheid* has occupied the attention of the United Nations for almost as long as

the life of the Organization itself. Over a period of more than three decades the United Nations and other international forums have adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the evil ideology of racism and the institutionalized system of repression and exploitation that South Africa represents. We have agreed—all of us—that *apartheid* is evil and immoral and we have called for decisive action by all States which would bring it to an end.

278. Yet today, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we are no nearer the objective declared decades ago—to be rid of this evil. Instead, *apartheid* in South Africa is even more firmly entrenched. The racist régime has been emboldened to be even more blatant in its repression within South Africa itself, in its defiance of the United Nations with regard to Namibia and in its policies of destabilization and aggression against its neighbours.

279. How has this been possible? The plain truth is that South Africa on its own cannot for ever withstand the pressure mounting against it by the action of an overwhelming majority of Member States and by the moral revulsion and condemnation of its policies that have been universally expressed. One thing therefore has emerged clearly from these debates, and that is that, for some, words are cheap. Every Member State has expressed its abhorrence of this evil ideology and the brutal policies which are carried out each and every day to implement it. Yet some of these very Member countries, which include a number of the most powerful ones whose policies could make a difference, have found the most clever and sophisticated arguments to do nothing effective.

280. The gap between the high moral pronouncements and the actual practical action—or, let us speak plainly, the hypocrisy—of certain Member States is there for all to see. A South African involved in the liberation movement must feel sick to the stomach to see the hypocrisy of the high moral avowals on the one hand and the policies of a wink and a nudge and an occasional gentle tap on the wrist on the other; to hear clever arguments about constitutionalism; to be asked not to be emotional; to listen to counsels of patience; to be told that some resolutions of the United Nations are too extreme in their language; to be advised that economic forces are at work which somehow or other at some time or another will change the *apartheid* system; to be reminded of the reality of the power of the *apartheid* régime; and to witness the mock horror at any violence which may be committed by the liberation movement, when violence is committed daily and brutally by the *apartheid* régime. In these circumstances, avowals of condemnation of *apartheid* by certain Member States are nothing more than a device to soothe the conscience and have no practical significance.

281. My delegation believes that, on the contrary, we must all mean what we say and we must do something about it. At the practical level, Malaysia believes that the most important thing, first of all, is for all Member States to ask themselves: what kind of signal are we sending to the *apartheid* régime? In the face of the gap between professions of principle and practical policy on the part of certain Member States, what kind of signal are they sending about the extent and seriousness of their opposition to *apartheid*? Should anyone be surprised, therefore, that the *apartheid* régime now feels even more emboldened to

do what it pleases, whether in South Africa, in Namibia, or even in the territories of its neighbours?

282. All of us agree that the *apartheid* régime is a moral abomination and that it is oppressive and brutal. Malaysia's own position in these circumstances, consistent with our opposition in the face of oppression or aggression anywhere, is clear and simple. We must confront the oppressor or aggressor and mount such force against it that it will know for certain that it cannot get away with its ill-gotten gains.

283. We made this policy clear in a recent debate in this Assembly—though I must state emphatically that the moral context is not comparable—and we noted that we received the strong support of many Member States for that view, but regrettably they do not maintain the same consistent position in the incomparably odious moral circumstances of South Africa. Lest I be misunderstood, I must emphasize again that the moral odium of the *apartheid* régime is unique, but the general argument I am making is simply to emphasize Malaysia's policy in the face of recalcitrance and defiance of international opinion.

284. Malaysia believes—and those same countries agreed with us—that no oppressor or aggressor will change its policies unless the price of continuing its oppression is unacceptable. Malaysia's policy in relation to the *apartheid* régime is precisely that we must all work for that moment of truth for the oppressor in South Africa. Unless it faces unrelenting and unremitting pressure, why indeed should it change its policy? But we also believe that the moment it makes the fundamental decision to change its policy, that very moment we are prepared to change our own policy of confrontation. That is our policy in the face of aggression or oppression anywhere. That is our basic policy towards the *apartheid* régime. That is why we support economic sanctions against South Africa. That is why we support the complete ostracism of South Africa. But at present that régime knows no such pressure from the countries that matter. Why then should it change its policies?

285. Malaysia believes that the relevance of our approach has been confirmed very clearly by everything that has happened in South Africa. Nothing that has taken place, particularly in the past few years, when foreign economic activity in South Africa and contacts with the *apartheid* régime have been steadily expanding, with official encouragement, has made one iota of change in the *apartheid* policy of the South African régime. It is true that cosmetic changes have been made, such as the "new constitution"; but it is not cosmetics to hide the ugly face of *apartheid* that those of us who are seriously opposed to *apartheid* want.

286. The leaders of the *apartheid* régime continue to make crystal clear their absolute commitment to *apartheid*. No one can deny this. Like Hitler, they have made clear their ideology and, like Hitler, they enforce it logically and brutally; but, unlike the case of Hitler, we all know what is happening. South Africa, they say, will always remain white, and the only function of the black man is to sell his labour. Black South Africans are deprived of their citizenship, uprooted from their homes and surroundings of generations and forced to settle in scattered and barren waste-land. The pass laws continue to be enforced. Many who violate numerous other Draco-



nian laws are held for indefinite detention without trial or are subjected to more sophisticated but no less painful devices, such as banning orders or house arrest. Many are killed and tortured brutally during detention and interrogation. In recent weeks the bayonet and bullet of the *apartheid* régime have been there for all to see. Those who do not wish to see will, of course, not see; but that is no reason for the rest of us to be deceived about what is happening in South Africa or about our real commitment to the eradication of *apartheid*.

287. Looking back at all that has happened both inside and outside this Assembly, it is clear to my delegation that the various resolutions which have been adopted by the Organization and other international organizations have not been effective in bringing about the desired change in the attitude of the *apartheid* régime. It is also transparently clear to us why this is so. Further measures must, therefore, be examined in the light of the continued intransigence and defiance of the *apartheid* régime, as well as the attitudes of certain Member States. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contains various recommendations concerning measures which the international community can take to intensify its efforts to abolish *apartheid*. My delegation gives its full support to these recommendations, although we are aware that many of them will not be implemented, particularly by those Member States whose policies matter—for example, in relation to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions. Nevertheless, we remain of the view that such of these recommendations as can be carried out will contribute to our effort in mobilizing support for the elimination of *apartheid*. But more needs to be done.

288. In the Special Committee itself, Malaysia will continue to give its attention to ways and means to ensure more effective action. I have said “more effective” advisedly, because I believe that the Committee has been effective under the leadership of very able chairmen and, may I say, in particular of its vigorous and imaginative current Chairman, Mr. Garba, the representative of Nigeria, together with the dedicated and tireless support of its secretariat, led by Mr. E. S. Reddy, Assistant Secretary-General. I believe the Committee has made a difference to the anti-*apartheid* movement by continuously exposing the evil and brutality of the *apartheid* régime, by keeping us informed about developments in South Africa and elsewhere in relation to *apartheid* and by giving help and encouragement to the liberation movement and to all those who are opposed to *apartheid*. We must continue to do all these in the face of the sophisticated propaganda machine of the *apartheid* régime, the glittering economic carrots that it holds out and its enormous security and intelligence apparatus. We must also continue to examine other actions and strategies so as to be more effective. These may include even greater efforts to reach the apathetic and the unconverted, particularly in countries whose policies matter. They may even mean more concerted efforts to demonstrate that the eradication of *apartheid* is not merely a moral imperative—which is perhaps seldom an incentive to action by Governments—but is in their long-term national interest. It would also mean continuing the Committee's work on such issues as breaches in the embargo or arms to South Africa and sports and cultural collaboration, as well as effective means of

support to all those opposing *apartheid* and to the liberation movement generally.

289. I have in these remarks referred to the anti-*apartheid* struggle as a liberation movement; and so it is, though it may not take the classic form of an anti-colonial struggle against the metropolitan Power. We who are newly independent countries of the third world know how our liberation movements have been characterized as irresponsible, extremist, externally inspired and so on. In their time Gandhi and Nehru, Nasser and Kenyatta, Bolivar and Tito were called subversives, trouble-makers, terrorists and worse. So it is in South Africa today, where those familiar epithets are applied to Luthuli and Mandela, Sisulu and Sobukwe and Biko and countless others whose lives have been dedicated to the liberation of their country—and, indeed, to the liberation of the human spirit—against racial oppression, bigotry and violence. Malaysia salutes them, and we pledge to do what we can, by what we say and what we do, to help complete what they have begun—a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa where all South Africans will be truly proud of their own land.

290. Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Sri Lanka): The General Assembly owes a debt of gratitude to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman for the comprehensive and useful material it has presented as background for this debate.

291. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa has survived despite universal condemnation. The rich economic resources of South Africa have certainly contributed to its survival, not only because of their abundance but also because this very abundance helps to ensure the political, military and other sustenance and protection it needs to survive.

292. Through ruthless police and pseudo-legal means, the régime has continued to exploit black labour. Retrenchments, dismissals, strike disruptions, intimidation of labour and harassment of black workers, including forced separation of families, are common in South Africa, and the new Labour Relations (Amendment) Act of June this year has imposed further hardships on black labour. The benefits of South Africa's abundant resources and the fruits of the sweat of its workers have served only to enrich the small minority of whites and the majority have no opportunity for economic development.

293. The *apartheid* régime has maintained its grip on the people of South Africa through a ruthless system of repression carried out by the police and military force, surveillance and other trappings of a police State. Dissent has been suppressed and the régime has without compunction detained, gaoled, tortured and even killed those who seek to overthrow it. The political dragnet has been spread to take in church leaders, trade union activists, students, social workers, journalists and freedom fighters. Through its “Pass Laws”, the policy of bantustanization, forced deportations and other demographic manipulations, the régime has deprived South Africans of their citizenship, their birthright in their own nation. Kwa Ndebele, which is scheduled to be declared independent next month, will be the fifth such so-called separate State; none of these sham “States” has been accorded recognition by any State.

294. Apart from the brutal exercise of force to retain its control of South Africa, largely for the benefit of a racial minority, the régime has sought also to place a constitutional mask over the ugly face

of *apartheid*. In September 1983 the régime's minority parliament adopted the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No. 110 of 1983, which was approved by a racist referendum confined to whites alone. In August 1984, elections to the racially segregated Houses of Parliament for "Coloureds" and peoples of Asian origin took place, and on 23 September 1984 the new constitution came into force.

295. The constitution is deceptive in that it pretends to devolve power on Coloureds and Asians: it vests extraordinary power in the white President; it seeks to set up divisions among the non-whites by trying to alienate blacks from Asians and Coloureds; it perpetrates institutionalized racism. In essence these constitutional measures serve only to entrench the apparatus of *apartheid* in the very act of pretending to dismantle it. In South Africa itself, the response has been clear: few Coloureds and Asians participated in this hypocritical exercise, and massive popular resistance uniting all sections of the people, including some whites, represented the attitude of the people. Internationally, the Assembly, the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and the Commonwealth have all condemned this charade. One must not lose sight of the fact that a whole series of "laws" have been passed to enslave the majority—the Marriage Laws, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Consolidation Act and the Group Areas Act are just some of these laws.

296. The *apartheid* régime's baneful influence extends beyond the borders of South Africa. South Africa has carried out armed aggression and acts of destabilization against neighbouring independent African States, causing loss of life and adverse effects on the economies of these vulnerable States. In this context it is particularly tragic that the Security Council's arms embargo against South Africa gives evidence of loopholes. The military capability, perhaps even nuclear capability, of the régime is as a consequence developing to alarming proportions. Military expenditures, according to documents before us, rose in the last year by 21.4 per cent. A South African academic, Mr. Philip Frankel, has pointed out that the régime might even resort to an executive military establishment. It is eventually South Africa's military strength and its readiness to use such strength that pose the main threat to regional and international peace.

297. Despite all this, what is clear in South Africa is that as oppression increases, so also does resistance. ANC, PAC and other organizations have continued their struggle against the régime, bringing together all those who value freedom, equality and respect for human dignity. The report of the Special Committee before us gives details of the mounting resistance among all races to *apartheid* among students, Church leaders, workers, writers, community organizations and the broad masses. What is important is that the liberation movements of South Africa are pledged to establish a multiracial State. A New York editorial a few days ago pointed out that in the white régime's police-State crackdown on dissenters of all races, a crackdown that has been the worst in years, "those being arrested are not violent revolutionary conspirators but advocates of non-violent change, the disciples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King". As the Security Council declared in its resolution 554 (1984):

" . . . only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

298. The South African régime, however well-entrenched it may seem, must eventually succumb to the tide of history. It is only a matter of time, but the sooner *apartheid* is eradicated the stronger the prospect of averting catastrophic consequences in the future.

299. When *apartheid* will collapse is difficult to say. However, as a distinguished member of the United Nations University's Task Force on Human Rights wrote,

"There can be little doubt that, whether through violent or peaceful change, this aberration on the statute book of mankind will inevitably pass into the realm of historical curiosities . . . its passing can be painful, but hopefully will not be long delayed. Its continuance is too deeply contrary to the self-respect of the majority of mankind for armies, however powerful and however supported from abroad, to invest it with longevity."

300. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1984, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

301. Mr. MNUMZANA (African National Congress of South Africa): In the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa and on behalf of the struggling people of South Africa, I thank members most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to express before this body the aspirations, determination and concerns of the South African patriots at this critical phase in the struggle against *apartheid*.

302. This year's debate is of singular importance to our people and to our leaders, especially those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, up to and including life imprisonment, to the families and friends of hundreds who have been murdered on the gallows, in the prison cells and in the streets while on strike or demonstrating against *apartheid* rule and its attendant iniquities. It takes place at a crucial moment and under the presidency of a distinguished son of Africa from a committed country, Zambia, whose role in the fight against the inhuman system of *apartheid* is of cardinal importance to Africa's fight for the total liberation of the continent.

303. Having long known and admired not only his dedication to this noble cause but also his special diplomatic skills, I am confident that the President's able guidance will help steer our deliberations to action-oriented conclusions designed to respond optimally to the current situation in South and southern Africa. We seize this opportunity to extend our fraternal congratulations to him and to put on record our appreciation of the uncompromisingly anti-*apartheid* role played by his predecessor, a friend of the freedom fighters in southern Africa, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

304. We would be failing in our duty if we failed to express our indebtedness to the Secretary-General for his outstanding sensitivity to the danger posed by the

Pretoria régime to harmonious international relations and his active commitment to the implementation of United Nations resolutions to help end *apartheid*.

305. The year 1984 reminds us of important historical events that marked significant developments in the history of human relations. It reminds us of the Berlin Conference 100 years ago when the European imperial Powers of the era, with the low-keyed participation of the United States of America, met to partition and apportion among themselves the continent of Africa. It also reminds us of the founding of the United Nations almost 40 years ago when, in the wake of the defeat of fascism, the founding Member States of the body resolved to translate into concrete action the aspirations of the peoples of the world to rid the earth of all the causes of war. It also reminds us of the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which gave an impetus to the struggle of the colonized peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for self-determination.

306. For over a century the African people throughout our continent have been waging a relentless struggle to rid themselves of colonial domination. Over the years, as more newly independent countries took their rightful place in the world body, the United Nations has played an increasingly crucial role in helping millions of people throw off the yoke of colonialism. Yet, as stated in the Declaration on Southern Africa made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984:

“Africa’s political struggle is not over. Some 30 million people are still subjected to racist minority and colonial rule in South Africa and Namibia.

“While this situation continues, no African can be really free. No independent African State can claim that its sovereignty and independence are assured.

“The total liberation of Africa, and specifically the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, thus remains an urgent and central objective for all the nations and peoples of Africa, both singly and collectively.”<sup>2</sup>

307. The consensus of the international community on the criminality of the *apartheid* system on the one hand and the continuing collaboration by certain Member States with the Pretoria régime on the other must be seen against that background.

308. We do not intend to dwell on the monumental crimes conceived at the infamous Berlin Conference and ruthlessly perpetrated for decades thereafter against the African people. Suffice it to stress that, despite our conscious intent not to forget these dastardly acts, it is for the present rulers of those countries to heed the repeated calls by the United Nations and end their collaboration with racist South Africa.

309. The developments of the past three months have again exposed beyond any reasonable doubt the true nature of the Pretoria régime.

310. In pursuit of its orchestrated campaign of so-called reforms aimed at hoodwinking domestic and world public opinion, the P. W. Botha régime organized in August sham elections for the Coloureds and people of Asian origin in preparation for its so-

called new constitution. In the period preceding the implementation of those insidious manoeuvres, ANC called on our people firmly to resist those developments and, further, warned the international community that, far from being reformist, those manoeuvres represented the continuation of the régime’s policy of colonial conquest and the further entrenchment of the *apartheid* system. Comrade President Oliver Tambo, in his annual New Year’s message, on 8 January 1984, specifically called on all the South African patriots, in the spirit of united action, to reject this new instrument of oppression and to render the country ungovernable.

311. The fate of the régime’s so-called new dispensation is well known. In an unprecedented demonstration of unity in action the oppressed people totally rejected those attempts to divide and rule. In keeping with the spirit of the Freedom Charter, the enduring embodiment of the people’s aspirations and determination to fight relentlessly side by side for a non-racial democratic society, the Coloureds and people of Asian origin staged a decisive boycott of the sham elections, thereby, according to many observers, irreparably undermining the credibility of the régime’s scheme.

312. ANC welcomes the recent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning and declaring null and void Pretoria’s so-called new constitution. This stand constitutes a logical and appropriate response to the régime’s efforts, characterized by ever-growing intransigence, to entrench further the *apartheid* fascist system in our country. This is of course the system which the international community, in support of our struggle, has condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security.

313. It was that characteristic and blind intransigence of the racist régime that led to the repeated rejection of Pretoria’s credentials and culminated in the suspension in 1974 of *apartheid* South Africa’s representation in the General Assembly. We deplore the conspicuous abstentions by the United States and the United Kingdom on this vital issue at this crucial time. Those acts of abstention constitute not only a retreat from the defence of freedom but also a deliberate effort to underwrite the most inhuman, oppressive and violent system since Hitlerite fascism. What they seek to underwrite and have hailed as a step in the right direction is an exercise whose objective is to co-opt a handful of the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin as junior and token partners in *apartheid*’s quest to make total the dispossession, denationalization, exploitation and oppression of the indigenous African majority and the rest of the black population.

314. This is obviously in conflict with the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is indeed in conflict with the will of the peoples of the United States and the United Kingdom—peoples whose opposition to *apartheid* in all its manifestations is well known.

315. The year 1980 was the best of times and the worst of times for the African liberation struggle. Thanks to the heightened resistance, combined with concerted international pressure on the illegal Ian Smith régime, that year saw the defeat of settler colonialism and the victory of the Patriotic Front in

Zimbabwe. Added to that of Mozambique and Angola, the independence of that other erstwhile buffer zone drastically changed the balance of forces in favour of the liberation struggle. The total liberation of Africa seemed to be closer than ever before.

316. But, alas, the equally intensified struggle in Namibia during the same period and the liberation process accelerated by the international diplomatic offensive for the independence of that Territory, were torpedoed by the Pretoria régime following the assumption of power by the Reagan Administration and its openly avowed alliance with Pretoria. The true position that the Western contact group had grudgingly come to accept—that the liberation struggle in southern Africa is an indigenous phenomenon that stems from the unbearable living conditions under colonial and *apartheid* domination—was abandoned. It was replaced by reference to South Africa as the “Persian Gulf” of vital strategic mineral resources, as controlling the long coastline through which 60 per cent of the oil destined for the Western countries passes, and as the bulwark in the fight against communist influence in Africa.

317. Then came constructive engagement, preceded by two important policy statements by leading spokesmen of the Reagan Administration. In its opposition to the campaign for the isolation of the Pretoria régime, the Administration told the world that its objectives were to remove the polecat status imposed on racist South Africa, as well as to reward the countries that befriended Pretoria while punishing and even toppling those that assisted ANC and SWAPO.

318. The subsequent developments are well known: the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action in Angola; the policy of linkage and insistence on the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist force from the People’s Republic of Angola as a pre-condition to the independence of Namibia; increased United States investment in and trade with *apartheid* South Africa, now totalling over \$14 billion; the violation of the arms embargo, as well as stepped-up nuclear collaboration; and the changed voting pattern of the United States and its allies in the United Nations, which has taken the form of opposing virtually all resolutions against the *apartheid* régime and resorting to blackmail, aimed at forcing other Member States not to condemn constructive engagement.

319. The Reagan Administration’s policy of constructive engagement, strongly condemned by the American people, as well as by scholars, legislators, community leaders, political personalities and major newspapers, as having further emboldened the *apartheid* régime to increase its intransigence, repression and aggression, and the assured diplomatic protection to *apartheid*, flowing from the same constructive engagement, have certainly encouraged racist South Africa to wage the undeclared war of aggression, destabilization and blackmail against the front-line States and Lesotho. Using armed bandits recruited from those countries as an extension of its fascist army, it has committed dastardly acts of terrorism and ravaged the economies in the region, as part of its gunboat diplomacy aimed at imposing unequal agreements designed to secure the neighbouring States’ co-operation in its attempts to liquidate ANC and the liberation struggle.

320. The United States, the United Kingdom and other friends, allies and apologists of the *apartheid* régime have in the past few months strenuously argued against the condemnation of P. W. Botha’s so-called new constitution. The international community was told that Botha should be given time and co-operation to enable him fully to implement his so-called step in the right direction and to secure executive presidential authority empowering him to introduce meaningful changes away from *apartheid*.

321. What has happened since then? Following the imposition of the so-called new constitution and his inauguration as the all-powerful President, P. W. Botha has imposed martial law conditions, prohibiting indoor and outdoor meetings, including funerals. He has on several occasions unleashed his racist army to assist his fascist police in the killing of civilians, including hundreds of defenceless students, workers and demonstrators on strike and protesting against inhuman living conditions, slave wages, inferior education and the entrenchment of *apartheid* itself.

322. In the face of this mounting repression by the régime, nothing has been heard from London and Washington, other than polite but ineffectual statements of regret over the killings. The result is that the American people and the world community remember only the objection of the United States to the Security Council resolution’s characterization of the killings of blacks as a massacre. For the bereaved families and friends of the hundreds wantonly killed, and indeed for us, the question remains: how many defenceless blacks must be killed before the term “massacre” can be used and not rejected as excessive language?

323. The truth of the matter is that today South Africa is in revolutionary ferment. The overwhelming majority of the people in our country, the oppressed and exploited and racially victimized blacks, calling the bluff on *apartheid*’s parade of pseudo-reformist quasi-initiatives, are geared to advance into that phase of our struggle which must spell the end of *apartheid*. Responding to the calls of the ANC to participate in mass united actions against *apartheid*, and inspired and supported by a significant expansion of the scope and qualitative improvement of the military operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people’s revolutionary army, they have devised and deployed ever-novel and increasingly more effective means of manifesting their militant opposition to *apartheid*.

324. Through the workers’ strike movement, including the first mineworkers’ strike since 1946, through the youth and students’ opposition to Bantu education, which translated itself from 1976 onwards into a direct challenge to *apartheid*, through the militant actions of the churches and their congregations, through the efforts of our mothers and sisters, through the various initiatives of all sections of the South African people, including the recent highly acclaimed and conspicuously successful general strike in the Vall Triangle, the South African people have not only rejected *apartheid*’s palliative reforms, so evident in recent times, but have also isolated the *apartheid* régime, decisively exposing its illicit nature. They have made it clear that they will not be governed by *apartheid*, that they will continue to reject it, whatever pseudo-reformist guise it assumes, and that, whatever its internal and external manoeuvres, its days are numbered.

325. Despite mounting repression, despite mass arbitrary arrests, assassinations in detention and massacres in the streets, despite long prison sentences, often including imprisonment for life, despite the use of the army against unarmed civilians, the people are insisting that *apartheid* must die and South Africa must be reborn in freedom. The people's nation-wide and all-embracing resistance and struggle have created an irreversibly ungovernable situation for *apartheid*.

326. Commenting on this situation, and particularly on the increasing use of the *apartheid* army against civilians for repressive ends, Mr. Allan Boesak has said: "The régime cannot now control the situation and still does not know how to respond to the legitimate demands of the disenfranchised majority."

327. In a typical manner, refusing to recognize reality and thus bearing out Mr. Boesak's observation, the *apartheid* Minister responsible for law and order, Louis Le Grange, commenting on the same situation, has obtusely remarked: "As long as the ANC operates as a militant organization, we will hit them as hard as we can. As far as we are concerned, it is war, plain and simple." Unable to govern, the régime has instead gone to war against the people of South Africa in particular and of southern Africa in general.

328. The shedding of blood and tears by the oppressed people of South Africa in their just and legitimate struggle is increasingly becoming the order of the day. But we have chosen to struggle rather than submit to *apartheid's* tyrannical rule. We know full well that the Pretoria régime, reputed to be the most heavily armed in Africa and the southern hemisphere, is bent on using its army, equipped with sophisticated weapons, either supplied by or locally produced under licence from Western countries, to drown our resistance in blood. However, our resolve and determination to fight on until the inevitable victory are strengthened by our thirst for freedom, enjoyed the world over but denied us for centuries. It is strengthened by Africa's unflagging commitment to the total liberation of our continent. It is strengthened by the ever-growing solidarity and support of the non-aligned countries, the Nordic countries, the socialist countries and the ever-increasing number of Western countries, now scaling down their collaboration with the Pretoria régime and raising the level of their support for ANC in its vanguard role in the struggle against the *apartheid* régime.

329. From this platform, we wish on this important occasion to convey our thanks, congratulations and admiration to Mr. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for the exemplary manner in which he has acquitted himself, thus ensuring the continuation of the Committee's tradition and record of mobilizing the international community for action against *apartheid*. In like manner, we thank those countries that have responded to the United Nations calls for meaningful action

against *apartheid*, especially including increased support to the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movement. In this regard, we make special mention of the countries in Western Europe and elsewhere which, in a break with tradition, have begun to reduce their ties with the *apartheid* régime and to establish and strengthen relations with the ANC. We wish to thank the international community for its commendable efforts in the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners of *apartheid*, and the securing of prisoner-of-war status for all captured freedom fighters, in accordance with the Protocols Additional<sup>7</sup> to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. We appeal to all members further to intensify their efforts to ensure the earliest possible success for these important campaigns. We salute the Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, Comrade Toivo ya Toivo, whose recent release is a victory which will certainly further strengthen the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for genuine independence.

330. We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO. Their struggle is our struggle. We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization; of the people of the Arab Republic of the Western Sahara, led by the Frente POLISARIO;<sup>8</sup> of the people of El Salvador, led by the FDR and the FMLN;<sup>9</sup> of the people of East Timor, led by FRETILIN;<sup>10</sup> and of the people of Nicaragua, led by the FSLN.<sup>11</sup>

331. Our solidarity extends to all peoples everywhere in the struggle against the oppression and exploitation of man by man and for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

332. Victory in our lifetime!

*The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.*

#### NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup>See A/40/87, annex, Declaration AHG/Decl.1 (XX).

<sup>3</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.*

<sup>4</sup>See A/AC.115/L.614.

<sup>5</sup>See A/AC.115/1983/CRP.10/Rev.1, para. 49.

<sup>6</sup>See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, chap. I, para. 39.

<sup>7</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1125, Nos. 17512 and 17513.

<sup>8</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>9</sup>Frente Democrático Revolucionário—Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional.

<sup>10</sup>Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

<sup>11</sup>Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional.