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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 18 November 1987, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)
later: Mr. OULD BOYE (Vice-President) (Mauritania)
later: Mr. KAROUI (Vice-President) (Tunisia)

- Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

- (a) Reports of the Special Committee Against Apartheid
- (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General
- (d) Report of the Special Political Committee
- (e) Draft resolutions

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/42/22, A/44/22/Add.1)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/42/45)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/659, A/42/691, A/42/710)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/42/765)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/42/L.26 to A/42/L.32, A/42/L.36)

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Since its inception the United Nations has been considering the question of the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions, principles and declarations which have strongly condemned that policy and called for its elimination. However, despite all this, the Pretoria régime continues to defy the will of the international community and to reject Security Council and General Assembly resolutions in a provocative manner. It has been escalating its acts of terrorism against the people of South Africa and it has continued its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States.

Racial discrimination is fundamentally wrong, a crime against humanity and an affront to the dignity and conscience of man. It is also a threat to international peace and security. The United Nations has the major responsibility of contributing to efforts to bring about its prompt elimination, since the situation in South Africa is becoming more serious as a result of the Pretoria régime's intransigence with regard to the country's indigenous black population and the African front-line States.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Some believe there is a possibility of convincing the leaders of South Africa to abandon the policy of apartheid voluntarily, but they have been given every opportunity and have failed to respond to the will of the international community, and that belief has been proved erroneous. It has also been proved that the leaders of South Africa are seeking continuously to make their racist régime more effective, more immune from internal and external pressures and more capable of survival. Moreover, that régime from time to time proclaims certain proposals which it calls reforms of the policy of apartheid. The régime does so in accordance with a logic which makes it imagine that it can save itself by such means, although these do not deal with the basic problem soundly and radically.

The Pretoria régime, which internally faces a national resistance struggle waged by the black population and internationally faces pressure from outside, resorts to prevarication and tries to buy time. The international community should continue to bring pressure to bear and take such measures as would compel the Pretoria Government to begin immediately and unconditionally to halt its acts of oppression against the black population, to lift the state of seige, to release all political prisoners, labour leaders and detainees, to return all political exiles, to terminate the settlement policy and to end all apartheid laws and the military and quasi-military activities against neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

If the Pretoria Government did so, that would create the climate for free negotiations and consultations among all the people of South Africa and would lead to a just, permanent solution to the problem that would ensure for future generations liberty, justice and equality.

The Pretoria régime continues to consolidate itself, assisted in that by its relations and co-operation with certain countries. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid indicates increasing co-operation between the Governments of South Africa and Israel, especially in the nuclear and military fields. Israel enjoys support and financial benefits as a result of that co-operation and plays a role in breaking the isolation imposed on South Africa. It also helps to find a way for South African exports to reach world markets.

At the extraordinary Arab summit meeting held in Amman last week, from 8 to 11 November 1987, the leaders of the Arab States declared their continued support for Afro-Arab co-operation, their condemnation of the terrorism and discrimination practised by the racist régime in South Africa, and their support for the struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

Jordan expresses its solidarity with the valiant and just struggle for freedom and justice waged by the people of South Africa against the policy of apartheid. That struggling people may be sure that liberty and justice will not be obtained without sacrifice; it will not receive them as a gift from the racist régime. Regardless of the sacrifices that must be made, the people of South Africa are more determined than ever to eliminate the racist régime. Its brutality and cruelty cannot stop the people's struggle.

My country condemns the acts of aggression perpetrated by the forces of apartheid against neighbouring African countries with a view to destabilizing them, weakening their economies and discouraging them from assisting the opponents of

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

apartheid. The apartheid Government not only occupies the Territory of Namibia illegally; it also uses it as a base for aggression against the African front-line States, and from time to time closes its territories to block the transit trade and the exports of the front-line States, attempting thus to blackmail, to be revenged and to damage their economies.

While saluting the African front-line States we appeal to all Members of the Organization to provide moral and economic assistance to them as an expression of solidarity and support for their steadfastness and to alleviate their suffering.

We emphasize the need to redouble international efforts to achieve complete commitment by all to the comprehensive boycott of South Africa and to ensure the implementation of all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions relevant to resisting apartheid. If all the Member States of this international Organization thus committed themselves the end of apartheid would be imminent. To that end the Security Council must assume its role fully and take immediate action under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to impose mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

Mr. ENDREFFY (Hungary): The South African region continues to be an acute hotbed of crisis in the world, and, despite years of efforts by the anti-apartheid movements and the international community, the situation there unfortunately shows no sign of improvement.

By extending the scope of its ruthless repressive measures, perpetuating the state of emergency and resorting to imprisonment, extreme terror and violence, the apartheid régime, which finds itself in ever deeper crisis, prevents the black majority, representing 75 per cent of the country's population, from exercising its fundamental human rights. The experiences of the past years have made it clear

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

that the apartheid régime is not willing to introduce changes affecting its substance. Resulting from the increasingly tense internal situation and the crisis of the apartheid system, the measures and plans introduced and announced in connection with the country's constitutional system are designed to save the régime and to maintain the rule and privileges of the white minority. The Republic of South Africa, among others, uses State power, military force and economic strength in a relentless effort to stifle even the most elementary anti-apartheid manifestations in the country.

The intensification of the régime's unrestrained terror raging with impunity in the Republic of South Africa is clearly reflected in the report of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid on last year's events. The report also repeatedly spells out that the Republic of South Africa resorts to economic blackmail and to direct and indirect military actions against the front-line States to maintain its dominant role and influence in southern Africa. It is seeking to stabilize and preserve its power by destabilizing the internal situation in the front-line States as well as the whole region. Preventing the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations by every possible means, it continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, using it as a springboard for repeated acts of aggression against Angola. Obviously enough, no country, however favourable its geographic and economic endowments, would be able to do this without external support.

We are convinced, however, that the stepping up of the struggle of the anti-apartheid forces within the Republic of South Africa, intensification of the joint actions of the countries of the region, particularly the front-line States, and the strengthening of their unity, coupled with resolute and concerted international pressure, will be able to bring about the desired changes and result in the complete elimination of apartheid.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

It is of fundamental importance for the community of nations to be able to exert appropriate pressure on the Republic of South Africa in addition to supporting the anti-apartheid forces and the front-line States. It is a welcome fact that a growing number of countries have adopted measures, national as well as collective, to restrict or terminate relations with the Republic of South Africa. International pressure can be truly successful only if comprehensive mandatory sanctions are applied against that country in conformity with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. This should also be realized by those States members of the Security Council which have so far prevented the application of such sanctions.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

The Hungarian People's Republic resolutely condemns the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa, its internal repressive measures, its military attacks against the front-line States, its policy of destabilization, and its unlawful occupation of Namibia. It provides manifold support, commensurate with its means, for the anti-apartheid national liberation movements of the region and is in solidarity with the front-line States in their efforts to strengthen their unity and to repel the acts of aggression by the Government of South Africa.

Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me to extend my warm congratulations to the Special Committee against Apartheid on the very valuable reports it has submitted to the General Assembly concerning the serious situation in and around South Africa. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to the Chairman and members of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa on the valuable report before us.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has submitted a clear and straightforward report recounting in detail the developments which have taken place over the past 12 months in the seriously deteriorating situation created in southern Africa as a result of the policy of apartheid pursued by the racist Pretoria régime in repressing the opponents of apartheid within and outside the country and destabilizing and terrorizing the neighbouring independent countries.

The apartheid régime is the mainspring of the turmoil and violence in southern Africa. The apartheid régime, in an unprecedented eruption of violence, persists in its genocidal activities against the South African populace and acts of terrorism against its neighbours. This bipolar racist policy has undermined peace and security in the continent of Africa. The report of the Special Committee states in its conclusions and recommendations:

(Mr. Razzoqi, Kuwait)

"In its attempt to isolate South Africa and put pressure on the authorities to dismantle apartheid, the international community has taken a number of positive steps. Yet, the action is far from concerted; the existing loopholes are cunningly exploited by Pretoria. The lack of concerted action and the effect of the piecemeal approach allow Pretoria, even at some higher cost, to adjust to a certain degree to these measures by shifting to new markets and identifying new sources of supply". (A/42/22, para. 142)

Kuwait fully supports this conclusion and calls for extra efforts towards a co-ordinated approach and more effective monitoring in order to close the loopholes mentioned in the report.

Apartheid is indeed a crime against humanity and an affront to the world conscience. Therefore, all our forces and energies should be marshalled towards the elimination of this odious racist régime and its replacement with a non-racialist democratic society and a régime based on universal suffrage in a unified South Africa.

It is now clear that the apartheid régime has no real intention of achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict in southern Africa. We now witness more than ever before the savagery of this barbarous régime in pursuing its racist goals. It has intensified its repression of the black majority it has deprived of its rights and has repeatedly declared states of emergency. Expansive powers have been given to the army and security forces which have been unleashed on the population to terrorize the opponents of apartheid.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid has stated that under cover of the state of emergency:

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

"the basic laws of apartheid are being enforced against blacks in a variety of spheres. In 1986, for instance, about 64,000 Africans were forcibly removed, compared with 40,000 in 1985; nearly 100,000 Africans were arrested for trespassing in 1986; and most residents of the 'independent homelands' continue to be deprived of their South African citizenship". (A/42/22, para. 24)

Kuwait vigorously condemns these inhuman and racist practices which remind the world that claims to be civilized of the inhuman practices of the Nazis. Most disturbing indeed are the statistics which show that 40 per cent of the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 are children of 18 years or younger. We call on the international community and humanitarian organizations to spare no effort in trying to alleviate the suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa, especially the children.

Kuwait lauds the heroic struggle of the national majority of the oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), against apartheid, in the face of intensive repression. We also declare our complete solidarity with and total support for the independent African States in their stand against the policy of intimidation and economic blockade pursued against them by the racist Pretoria régime.

My delegation notes the references in the report of the Special Committee to the latest developments in the ongoing relationship between Israel and the racist régime of Pretoria. Israel's collaboration with the Pretoria régime stems from strategic considerations and common interests that bind the two racist régimes. There is obviously close collaboration between South Africa and Israel in every area. The most disturbing facet of that collaboration is the military and nuclear co-operation between the two racist régimes. The report of the Special Committee states:

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

"Israel is believed to be South Africa's largest arms supplier with annual two-way sales worth more than R 1,000 million. Strategically more important, however, is the secret technical, intelligence and research co-operation between the two countries' arms industries." (A/42/22/Add.1, para. 11)

The report goes on to say:

"The most serious aspect of the collaboration between Israel and South Africa is in the nuclear field. Reportedly, South African scientists had been working at Israeli nuclear facilities at Dimona. South Africa was also reportedly planning to build a £ 4 million runway on the remote Antarctic territory of Marion Island. The secret airstrip is considered a military asset and could be used to develop the site for testing nuclear missiles. Scientists based on the island stated that South African and Israeli military officers visited the island and examined the airstrip." (A/42/22/Add.1, para. 16)

(Mr. Razzoqi, Kuwait)

Kuwait condemns this collaboration between the two racist régimes and views it as a serious threat to the stability of African and Arab States, and hence to international peace and security.

We marvel at those States which oppose the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the Pretoria racist régime on the pretext that peaceful negotiations will lead to a gradual reform of apartheid, at a time when the practices of the racist régime, especially during the past year, have shown the incorrigible nature of that racist régime.

In an article in the Washington Post on 16 November last, it was reported that the director of the South African independent research institute on peace relations was of the opinion that the National Party had been obliged to forsake the classical form of apartheid and that the centre of attraction to the white voters had shifted the left with Mr. Botha. The theorists of apartheid seem to be saying now that there exists a classical concept of apartheid that differs from what apartheid signifies. That, in effect, is what Mr. Botha is trying to say. However, all the concepts of apartheid have one purpose: the practice of racism and racial discrimination in favour of one race over another; in other words, establishment of the supremacy of the white race over all others.

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated. The world must get rid of apartheid once and for all. The attempts by the Pretoria régime to paint a pretty picture of apartheid have failed miserably because the black people have rebelled and risen against the oppression to which they are being subjected. They are resisting apartheid and waging a political struggle in exercise of their right to self-determination and independence in a non-racist unified South Africa.

We renew our call to the international community as a whole to bring pressure to bear on Pretoria to release all political detainees without any pre-conditions, especially the great national leader Nelson Mandela.

(Mr. Razzoqi, Kuwait)

At a time when the oppressed South African people are waging an unremitting struggle to regain their rights, it is absolutely vital that the international community keep up the pressure for the eradication of apartheid. This will never be achieved unless comprehensive mandatory sanctions are imposed on South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. Those sanctions must be imposed if peace and security are to be restored to southern Africa.

In the absence of such comprehensive mandatory sanctions we must resort to selective, voluntary sanctions which the majority of the international community consider suitable to stop the loopholes and prevent the South African régime from finding new sources of supply that may satisfy its economic needs.

In this context, we believe that oil is one of the major items through which the international community can gain an economic stranglehold on the apartheid régime; hence the Kuwaiti effort to promote the oil embargo imposed by us together with Arab and other States of the world. We have participated in the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. We endorse the valuable work done by the Group and the conclusions and recommendations in its report. We strongly endorse the conclusion that there is a need for a mechanism to gather information on the movements of ships to and from South Africa. Such a mechanism would be a great help to the countries which observe the oil embargo in monitoring the movement of oil in the case of South Africa. The creation of that mechanism would certainly close the loopholes which enable South Africa and the companies trading with it to break the embargo.

The international community has repeatedly, in many conferences and other meetings, denounced apartheid and the practice of racial discrimination. Kuwait had the honour of acting as host last month to the fifth Summit Conference of the

(Mr. Razzoqi, Kuwait)

Organization of the Islamic Conference. Among the many resolutions adopted by that Conference, one of the most important was the resolution strongly condemning the Pretoria minority régime for its abhorrent policy of apartheid, its continued occupation of Namibia, its repeated attacks on the front-line States and its repression of the black people in South Africa and Namibia. The Summit Conference also reiterated its support for the United Nations resolutions calling for the elimination of apartheid and for the independence of Namibia. It called upon the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Furthermore, the Conference set up a committee on South Africa and Namibia of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and urged the members to contribute to the AFRICA Fund, which was established to help the countries of southern Africa by the eighth summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare.

In conclusion, the struggle to eradicate apartheid is a struggle between right and wrong, freedom and slavery. Justice will triumph in the end over injustice, and freedom over enslavement. One day there will be a peaceful, unified South Africa in which the national majority will regain the inalienable rights of human beings.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): As has been repeatedly reaffirmed in the General Assembly over the years, the international community and the United Nations in particular have a special responsibility to assist the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. In spite of the many declarations and resolutions and the broad range of measures so far adopted, the system of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa has continued to be a burden on the conscience of the international community.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

The immoral and unjust system of apartheid as a form of institutionalized racism that can only be perpetuated by violence and repression constitutes a flagrant defiance of the fundamental concepts of liberty and equality. There is no doubt that it can only be totally eradicated and not transformed. Despite the unanimous concern of the international community, Pretoria has so far refused to show a sincere intention to eradicate this odious system and has resisted any meaningful change.

We have been witnessing over the years the constant deepening of the crisis and intensification of oppression in South Africa. Information on the current situation in that country indicates that in spite of severe repression resistance against apartheid has considerably grown, causing in turn more repression. Nelson Mandela has completed 25 years in gaol despite world-wide appeals. Govan Mbeki, another African National Congress leader, was recently freed only after having spent 24 years in prison. That could be a significant move if it were a first step towards the freeing of other political leaders and prisoners.

At a meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, held a month ago and consecrated to the launching of a campaign to free political prisoners in South Africa, it was pointed out that

"Anyone in South Africa could be detained at any time for an indefinite period. Mistreatment, torture and use of vigilantes had become rampant. In recent months children had been targeted for State violence. Of the estimated 30,000 people held in detention in 1986 alone, 40 per cent were under the age of 18 and some were as young as 12 years old. Twenty-six persons had died in detention in the past three years. One woman and 29 men were currently on death row. Those people's only crime was their opposition to apartheid."

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

Mass arrests and the detention of church and trade union leaders, journalists, young people and even children can only contribute to the deterioration of the already tragic situation in South Africa. The constitutional changes introduced to strengthen the present system of racial segregation and discrimination have exacerbated the deep feeling of frustration already felt by the black population. The proclamation last year of a state of emergency throughout the territory and the results of the whites-only elections held in May 1987 further contributed to the deterioration of an explosive situation.

In view of this situation the Government of South Africa should realize that as long as it fails to abolish once and for all its apartheid policy and to bring about the necessary conditions for real political change this desperate state of affairs will continue to prevail and to develop into a full-scale racial war.

The situation is further compounded by South Africa's aggression against its neighbouring States. The escalation of such acts of aggression seriously threatens stability and peace in the south of Africa. The front-line independent and sovereign States, which are selflessly expressing their solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa, continue to be the targets of South Africa's incursions and acts of destabilization. Not only have the nine countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) been affected by South Africa's war of destabilization but the magnitude of the havoc wreaked by destabilization has reached alarming proportions. The international community has unequivocally condemned these acts, which are in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

The influx of refugees caused by the repression and discrimination faced in South Africa constitutes another burden for the neighbouring countries. The independent States of southern Africa have felt it a humanitarian obligation to

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share their restricted economic resources with the South African refugees who have fled their homeland owing to the unbearable pressures of Pretoria. The plight of these people should be kept in mind when evaluating the overall situation.

My Government notes with deep concern the aggravation of the situation in South Africa and remains convinced of the need for concerted international action to combat apartheid. As stated in a recent report of the Secretary-General (A/42/512), the coming years could well afford the last opportunity when the apartheid system in South Africa can be eliminated without the death, destruction and chaos that a racial war would bring.

The dismantling of apartheid through peaceful means requires the exertion of firm and resolute pressure against the South African régime and the adoption of consistent and credible policies by those who can and should exert such pressure.

If we consider the total indifference of South Africa to persuasion, appeals and various types of political pressure it becomes obvious that we must continue to examine new ways and means to compel that country to accept change. This year the majority of Member States have taken meaningful steps to isolate the apartheid régime of South Africa. Those efforts, supplemented by the views expressed by liberal legislators, trade unions, churches, universities, student groups, journalists and youth bodies, must become the rallying ground for a global commitment to adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions as a peaceful means against apartheid and to permit multiracial democracy in South Africa.

The South African Government must at last realize that it is obliged to make a sincere effort to leave behind the degrading policy of apartheid, which belongs to a bygone era, and to enter with conviction into a political dialogue for change.

At this point, allow me to point out that we note with satisfaction the encounter organized by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa

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that took place last July in Dakar, where leading members of the Afrikaans-speaking communities met with the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Declaration adopted at that conference states that:

"Participants recognize that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in a negotiated resolution of the South African question. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of organizations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to take place."

We welcome that conference and encourage contacts of that nature, which would have been unimaginable only a few years ago.

I wish to conclude by expressing my Government's firm commitment to all the efforts designed to compel South Africa to honour its obligation to end its policies of racial discrimination. Turkey maintains neither diplomatic nor consular relations with Pretoria and, as a sign of its solidarity with the South African people, is pleased to contribute, although in modest terms, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

I wish also to make a final comment on the work undertaken by the Special Committee against Apartheid and commend its efforts to heighten the awareness of public opinion to the need for a decisive struggle against apartheid.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of the policy of apartheid being carried out by the racist South African régime in the southern part of the African continent in violation of generally accepted norms of international law and civilized behaviour. It has been pointed out repeatedly that the policy and practice of apartheid are contrary to the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on decolonization and represent a constant threat to international peace and security.

We stress in particular that the apartheid régime, which is committing the most repulsive crimes against humanity, long ago gave up any pretence of observing generally accepted norms of international behaviour. The acts of aggression, terrorism and subversion against independent African countries continue mercilessly. Such actions are being carried out against Angola, which has known no peace since the day it gained independence.

The occupation ambitions and disdain for the norms of international law of the racist authorities truly know no limits. According to press releases, the Head of the South African racist régime, Botha, and three of his Ministers visited those areas of the occupied territory of Angola where South African military units are stationed. They did so to demonstrate, in the words of the Defence Minister of the South African Republic, "sympathy, involvement and personal responsibility for military actions". We would recall that the South African régime is carrying out these military actions in the territory of an independent State without declaring war.

In spite of the clearly expressed will of the international community, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues. The introduction of a universal state of emergency, the escalation of repression and mass arrests of opponents of apartheid,

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including women and children are the response of the racist régime to the demands of the population for their elementary human rights.

In the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid it is pointed out that "The state of emergency, in force since July 1985 in some form or another and successively renewed in December 1986 and June 1987, reveals South Africa as a police state where the security forces have almost unlimited powers of repression ...". (A/42/22, para. 21)

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, like the entire world community, vigorously condemns the arbitrary mass arrests and murders and the policy of terror and intimidation and demands an end forthwith to the arbitrariness of the racists and the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

Events in South Africa show that the brutal racist régime is incapable of crushing the mass resistance of the oppressed peoples no matter to what repression and extreme measures it resorts.

As pointed out in the report of the Special Committee,

"The South African racist régime was confronted during this period [September 1986 to August 1987] with unprecedented nation-wide resistance to apartheid" (para. 7).

The report goes on to say:

"South Africa has experienced a year of sustained popular mobilization that reflects the determination of the black majority to dismantle the apartheid system and, in its place, to build the foundations for a non-racial and democratic society." (para. 15)

The recent large-scale strikes in South African coal and gold mines have clearly shown the force and determination of the country's working class. Every demonstration by South African workers now has a political ring. The Congress of South African Trade Unions is a powerful force. The United Democratic Front of the

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opponents of apartheid includes 600 different organizations, or more than 1.5 million people, irrespective of the colour of their skin. The influence of the the African National Congress, which is carrying on the underground struggle of the people, is increasing steadily. The beginning of this year saw widespread celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of that vanguard, organization, which is the authentic representative and defender of the interests of the South African people. All of this shows that the racist régime can no longer stem the wave of anger that has engulfed the country and led to a constantly worsening political crisis.

Faced with the increasing harshness and aggressiveness of the racist apartheid régime, the international community has advocated more decisively than ever before the application of effective measures against it. The Security Council, in its resolution 418 (1977), introduced partial mandatory sanctions against South Africa in the form of an embargo on the delivery of weapons and military equipment.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council at the time, helped in the adoption of Security Council resolutions 558 (1984), 566 (1985) and 569 (1985), which supplemented earlier decisions on the question. Also of considerable significance is Security Council resolution 591 (1986), in which the Council proposed measures to isolate South Africa further in the military sphere.

The Ukrainian SSR is in full agreement with the demand for the rapid adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Speaking in October of this year at a meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Namibia, I pointed out that it would be useful to take some selective measures, for example, an embargo on the supply and shipping of oil and oil products to South Africa. However, in order

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to be effective these measures must be binding for all. Sanctions, as history teaches us, are effective only if they are global, when all channels are closed and there is no link with countries which are not participating in applying the sanctions. The application of mandatory sanctions against the delivery of oil and oil products to South Africa and the purchase of gold, coal and strategic minerals from South Africa would have a significant effect on the efforts to reach a political solution of the problems of the southern part of the African continent.

It would be in the interest of all peoples to ensure the elimination of the outmoded racist practices in South Africa and Namibia through a political settlement.

Unfortunately, some Western Powers, primarily the United States and the United Kingdom, block the adoption of effective international measures against the apartheid régime. It is those countries that have blocked the adoption of mandatory sanctions in the Security Council. New evidence of this was given during consideration of the question of South Africa and Namibia in the Council at the beginning of this year. Those countries are continuing to give political, diplomatic, economic, military and other assistance to the racist régime, and they try to mask this by verbal condemnation of apartheid and by taking measures which are really only symbolic.

In the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/42/22) and in its special report on relations between Israel and South Africa (A/42/22/Add.1) there is sufficient evidence of such co-operation with the apartheid régime. The overwhelming majority of the members of the international community condemn the continuing ties in many areas which a number of Western countries - primarily the United States, but also Israel - maintain with South Africa. They are hindering

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the rapid elimination of apartheid and thereby prolonging the suffering of the majority population, which is the object of discrimination. Sometimes there are attempts to portray the conflict in southern Africa as the consequence of a global East-West confrontation.

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We vigorously reject such a distorted interpretation of events in the region. Our only concern is to see that the peoples and the countries of the region are finally given the opportunity to resolve, in sovereignty, their internal and external affairs in conditions of peace and stability, and that this dangerous source of international tension is eliminated.

Peace and security in southern Africa can be established only when there is an end to all acts of aggression and destabilization against independent African countries, when Namibia gains genuine independence and freedom and when there is a final end to the inhumane system of apartheid.

It is necessary to increase joint co-ordinated efforts to isolate the criminal racist régime in order to force the Pretoria authorities to heed the will of the international community. We agree with the opinion of the Special Committee against Apartheid which "considers the complete isolation of South Africa as an urgent target of the international community". (A/42/22, para. 146)

In his article "Reality and the safeguards for a secure world", Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev pointed out:

"A more concerted effort to combat apartheid, as one of the destabilizing factors of international significance, would also be justified." (A/42/574, p. 7)

The Ukrainian SSR has consistently conducted a policy aimed at the speedy elimination of the abhorrent system of apartheid and ending the illegal occupation of Namibia; it has advocated a boycott and the isolation of the racist Pretoria régime; and it does not maintain with South Africa any political, economic, military or any other type of relations.

Our support is wholly and completely for the victims of apartheid. It is on the side of the front-line and other African States struggling to strengthen their

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own sovereignty and independence and struggling against the overt and covert acts of aggression by the racist authorities of South Africa.

Our people unswervingly stand in solidarity with the brave struggle of the patriots of South Africa and Namibia, headed by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization, to bring about freedom and genuine self-determination. We stand in solidarity with the struggle of the African countries to strengthen their own political and economic independence.

The Ukrainian SSR is participating actively in the anti-apartheid activities of the United Nations, especially in the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum products to South Africa. These bodies are carrying out important work by co-ordinating and stimulating the actions of the international community in support of the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

The Ukrainian SSR actively participated in drafting the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and was one of the first to sign and ratify it. We hope that this Convention will soon enter into force and that it will be a further important step towards isolating the racist régime of South Africa and eliminating the manifestations of apartheid in all spheres of activity.

The Ukrainian SSR is a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and has unswervingly observed all of its provisions. Every year in the Ukrainian SSR we celebrate the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling Peoples of South Africa and Namibia; we hold meetings at which we mobilize public opinion in support of the struggle against apartheid and advocate the total elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination. The mass media in our Republic broadly informs our population about the various aspects of the struggle against apartheid

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and about the activities of the United Nations and its bodies and other organizations in this field, as well as about the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

In conclusion, may I once again commend the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Under the skilful guidance of its Chairman, Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, the Special Committee has been carrying out important work to unmask the racist practices of the Pretoria régime and bring about further mobilization of world public opinion in support of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

We support the draft resolutions prepared in the Special Committee and presented for approval at the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Ukrainian SSR intends in the future to support all active and decisive actions taken by the United Nations in order to eliminate the criminal system of apartheid.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): As in past years, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic feels duty-bound to join the international community in denouncing and condemning, from this rostrum of our lofty Assembly, the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. We shall always do so with the same determination so long as this inhumane régime is not removed from the face of the earth.

It is inadmissible that 70 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution created favourable conditions for the emancipation of the peoples of many countries from the colonial yoke, 39 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 1 of which solemnly proclaims that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", and 27 years after our Organization adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

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Peoples millions of human beings on the African continent continue to be oppressed and exploited, merely because of the colour of their skin, by a minority racist tyrannical régime whose nature and inhumanity can only be compared to Hitler's fascism.

Because the white minority pursues this policy of institutionalized racism - apartheid - we note with deep concern that the situation in southern Africa is from year to year becoming more explosive, thereby seriously threatening international peace and security. Flagrant mass violations of human rights, acts of political and economic destabilization and widespread violence are being visited unjustly upon the peoples of the region; such activities are but the expression and the effects of this policy, which has constantly been a source of concern to the international community.

In South Africa itself repression against the opponents of the régime has been intensified. In an attempt to contain the growing and generalized struggle of the people, Pretoria has had to resort to the most repressive and brutal means, going from a reimposition of the state of emergency, which has led to mass arrests, detention and summary executions, to abduction and murder. Anyone can be detained at any time for an indeterminate period.

In 1986 alone, the Pretoria Government estimated at 30,000 the number of persons that were detained, whereas in fact this figure is much higher. Women, young people and even schoolchildren have not been spared. Thousands of political prisoners, including trade unionists, students, community leaders, religious leaders and journalists, are submitted to harsh treatment and torture and have languished in prison for years.

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Nelson Mandela, the respected leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, as well as many of his companions-in-arms, have spent 25 years in prison without having even a hope of finding freedom, despite the appeals and steps of the international community in his behalf.

In this connection, we can only welcome the initiatives that have been taken recently, for instance, by the Special Committee against Apartheid, to have launched a campaign for the liberation and release of political prisoners in South Africa, a campaign that started by a meeting, held on 28 September 1987, in which the Mayors of certain United States cities participated. It is a source of particular comfort to learn through Mr. Berkley, the Mayor of Kansas City, who is indeed the President of the Conference of United States Mayors, that many states, towns and counties throughout the country have adopted resolutions condemning apartheid and asking that economic and political sanctions be taken against South Africa (A/AC.115/SR.609). We have every right to hope that this attitude adopted by United States Mayors in this connection will not fail to have an impact on the political will of their Federal Government with a view to imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Government of Pretoria.

In neighbouring Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa pursues its illegal occupation of the country in flagrant violation of the provisions of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and instruments concerning human rights more than 20 years after the termination of the Mandate of this international Territory. The oppression of the Namibian people, subjected to the same laws of apartheid and the plundering of its natural and human resources, carried out with the complicity of transnational corporations, constitutes a challenge and is an act of defiance of the authority of our Organization. Our Organization, indeed, qualified apartheid as "a crime against humanity" and adopted numerous resolutions

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clearly stipulating that the exploitation of these resources by foreign economic interests, under the protection of a racist colonial administration, was a violation of the Charter and decisions adopted by the competent organs of the universal Organization.

As in South Africa, the freedom fighters, members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), as well as Namibian civilians, were daily thrown into prison, tortured or murdered, victims of the military apparatus of the racist régime of occupation. Indeed, it is not surprising that, according to Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO, South Africa at present deploys in Namibia up to 100,000 troops, which have turned his country into "a huge barracks" and that forced conscription measures and the establishment of tribal armies "militarized the entire society" (S/PV.2759 p. 87). In acting in this way, Pretoria has aimed at a triple objective consisting of protecting the interests of the transnational corporations, which have exploited and stripped to the bone the resources of the country, of repressing the uprisings of the oppressed Namibian people that have been personified by valiant SWAPO, and of using the territory of Namibia as a springboard to invade and destabilize front-line States and other neighbouring States. In this connection, South African troops have not hesitated to organize armed raids or deliberate acts of aggression against the territories of the sovereign States of Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, causing an enormous loss of human life and destroying in certain cases major economic infrastructures. The racist régime has, furthermore, armed and equipped the bandits of UNITA and other gangs of traitors in their pay, permitting them to maintain in these countries a climate of permanent insecurity, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, seriously jeopardizing any economic development programme undertaken in these two States.

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Despite the very laudable efforts of the international community to combat this artificial scourge of which they are victims, the peoples of southern Africa are still far from being able to see the light at the end of the tunnel. All attempts to uproot this "disease" through peaceful means that have been advocated by the highest international organizations, such as the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or the Commonwealth, have thus far stumbled against the arrogant refusal of the Pretoria authorities. Various manoeuvres of obstruction and duplicity, such as the so-called "internal settlement" and "linkage" that Pretoria continues to use, are designed only to deceive international opinion, and this for the purpose of perpetuating and strengthening its system of apartheid both in South Africa and in Namibia. If racist South Africa dares to display such arrogance, defying world public opinion, it is because it has never stopped benefiting from economic, political and even military support from certain Western Powers that share with it enormous economic interests through transnational corporations that have been implanted in the territories under its control. We all know that two permanent members of the Security Council among those Powers have always up to now dissociated themselves from the international community when it came to taking the decision to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Last February, the Security Council, which was seized of the question, was not able to adopt a resolution calling for the imposition of such sanctions against Pretoria.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic fully subscribes to all the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and its competent bodies, designed to dismantle apartheid in South Africa and set up in its place a democratic society not based on prejudices of race, colour or creed. We believe that faced with the unco-operative attitude and intransigence of South Africa, the only peaceful means of reaching

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this end would be to impose against it comprehensive and mandatory sanctions such as those that are contemplated under Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connection, we support unreservedly the creation by the eighth summit Conference of the non-aligned countries in Harare of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA), designed both to support national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, and to help front-line countries in order to enable them to strengthen their economic potential in the face of threats of reprisal by Pretoria.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, since its establishment, has always remained firmly on the side the peoples of South Africa and under the banner of its national liberation movements, headed by the ANC and that of Namibia, under the direction of its vanguard SWAPO, and on the side the front-line States in their just and legitimate struggles to recover their fundamental human rights, and the right to self-determination and national independence, as well as to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is of the firm belief that, thanks to the resolute support of the international community and despite the basic intransigence of Pretoria and the manoeuvres of sabotage of certain Western Powers, those struggles will be crowned with success.

Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community and to reiterate our views with respect to apartheid in South Africa.

The Twelve have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned apartheid and have demanded that it be abolished. Apartheid is an institutionalized system of State racism which deprives the majority of the people of South Africa of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It is a flagrant violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which the Twelve attach the highest importance. It is an insult to the dignity of those it affects and has bred hatred and violence. Indeed violence is inherent in the system.

Today apartheid survives only by the ruthless application of Draconian measures against the great majority of the population by the South African Government. The state of emergency has worsened the prospects for peaceful change by stifling the voices of opposition and by the detention and imprisonment without trial of thousands of people, including women and children. Some reforms have been introduced by the South African Government but they have been far too few and too slow. The Twelve are gravely concerned about the continuation of the violence and oppression.

The Twelve share the widespread anxiety felt by the international community over the conditions in which some detainees are being held. The detentions without charges and the ill-treatment of children are particularly abhorrent. We once again condemn arbitrary arrests and detentions without trial and call for the release of all those imprisoned or deprived of their freedom because of their opposition to the apartheid system.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

The Twelve call once again for an end to the state of emergency and to all other repressive measures being taken by the South African authorities. We view the continued curtailment of press freedom under the state of emergency with serious concern. Freedom of information is a principle of fundamental importance and part and parcel of the democratic process. We urge the South African Government to lift the restrictions on the press without delay.

Let there be no doubt that the Twelve want the complete abolition of apartheid. For this to be achieved, there is an urgent need for an end to violence and for peaceful change through a genuine national dialogue, across lines of colour, politics and religion. Only broad-based negotiations, involving the genuine representatives of the various components of the South African population, can bring about a lasting settlement. The aim of the negotiations should be the emergence of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa which takes into account the diversity of its society.

Dialogue, however, is impossible while black leaders remain imprisoned or detained and anti-apartheid organizations proscribed. We welcome the release of Govan Mbeki but regard this as only a first step. The Twelve urge the South African Government to release unconditionally Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and to lift the ban on the African National Congress and other political parties. We deplore the South African Government's opposition to recent efforts to make a genuine dialogue possible.

Nevertheless, the meeting between a courageous group of individual South Africans and African National Congress leaders this summer illustrated that common ground can still be found.

In September 1985 and 1986 the Twelve agreed on a series of restrictive measures designed to impress on the South African Government the inescapable need

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for fundamental reform. These comprised a ban on new investments; a ban on the import of iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa; an embargo on the export of arms and paramilitary equipment to South Africa; an embargo on imports of arms and paramilitary equipment from South Africa; a refusal to co-operate in the military sphere; the cessation of exports of sensitive equipment to the South African police and armed forces; the prohibition of oil exports to South Africa; the recall of military attachés accredited to South Africa and a refusal to grant accreditation to military attachés from South Africa; the freezing of official contacts and agreements in sporting and security matters; prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector; and the discouragement of scientific and cultural agreements except where they might contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no role in supporting it.

Coupled with these restrictive measures, the European Community and its twelve member States have embarked on concerted programmes of positive measures designed to help the victims of apartheid both individually and collectively. Special emphasis is placed on helping those arrested under the state of emergency and on programmes of training and education for black South Africans. The code of conduct for companies having branches, offices or representatives in South Africa, which has been in operation since 1977, has been strengthened and new reporting guidelines adopted. Greater emphasis has now been given to the role of independent trade unions representing black African workers; and companies have been asked to pay greater attention to education, training, black career development and wider community projects. The aim of the code remains to make a practical contribution towards the abolition of apartheid and to promote substantial improvements in the living and working conditions of as large a number as possible of African workers.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

The inability of the South African Government to resolve the problems created by the system of apartheid affects South Africa's neighbours and contributes to the political, military and economic difficulties of southern Africa. The Twelve view this situation with great concern. The Twelve and the European Community provide substantial assistance to South Africa's neighbours. A major priority is to reduce the dependence of the latter on South Africa by improving transport facilities in the region, a programme which is being carried out largely under the aegis of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference. The countries participating in that Conference also receive development assistance within the framework of the Third Lomé Convention and food assistance from the European Community. In the past few years they have received about US \$1 billion a year of assistance of all sorts from the European Community and under programmes of bilateral co-operation with its member States.

On the face of it, the outcome of the white elections in South Africa in May was a victory for those in the minority community opposed to fundamental change; but in reality it was a defeat for everybody. The white minority community voted for the continued exclusion of the majority of the South Africans from having any say. For the time being the South African Government may be able to suppress opposition by force; but it cannot stop the clock of history.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

The Twelve will continue to monitor every aspect of the effects of apartheid, including human rights violations and other abuses committed under cover of the state of emergency. We will continue to use pressure to bring about peaceful change. In the absence of significant progress in the abolition of apartheid the attitude of the Twelve to South Africa remains under constant review.

The Twelve have made clear on many occasions their abhorrence of apartheid. That evil system is doomed and the sooner the South African Government comes to terms with this fact the better. Our goal - which is shared by the entire community of nations - is to secure an end to that intolerable system and a South African society with freedom and justice for all.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): It is characteristic that systems of domination and oppression each day show the world proof of their rejection of legality and their obstinacy in pushing to the limit what is tolerable. In this regard the apartheid régime is a good example which only recently violated the territorial integrity of a sovereign State and renewed its dangerous and extraordinary challenge to the international community - the challenge of the presence of the highest representative of apartheid in Angola itself. In making a tour of inspection of his troops - the frequency of whose aggressions has logically transformed them into occupation troops - the South African President illustrates once again, most dangerously, the nature and diversity of the threats which the apartheid system represents for the peoples of southern Africa and the seriousness of the constant challenge carried out with impunity vis-à-vis the international community.

Apartheid - and this will remain true until everything is done to precipitate the end of apartheid - fundamentally leads, through each of its acts, to one or

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

another of three phenomena which are equally dangerous for international peace and security. They are a unique threat.

First, in South Africa itself, there is a system which is singularly sophisticated in institutionalizing racism, and particularly brutal in its expression of it. Its denial of the most fundamental natural rights of human beings lead it to confuse and fuse an entire people - without distinction as to age or sex, and merely because they are not white - into an anonymous mass without voice or rights which can be exploited and repressed as much as desired by a minority ideology which offers the privilege of the so-called white superman to impose the law on those he considers inferior because they are not white.

The brutal denial of human dignity which is apartheid makes apartheid also an arrogant challenge - arrogant because it is certain it will not be punished - to the international legality of Namibia.

In imposing on the Namibian people a colonial subjugation in permanent open violation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the Pretoria régime is also committed constantly to expanding the geographic base of its racist domination and its base for aggression against neighbouring countries. In this regard the present aggression and occupation of Angolan territory by the South African army and its mercenaries are, if not unspeakable, indicative of the nature and permanence of the threat which the apartheid régime constitutes for the front-line States. Those actions are at the same time significant in that they show that the purpose of that system is aggressive escalation. Indeed, for the first time South Africa is arrogantly admitting - an arrogance which only the incapacity of the Security Council to act can give it - to the presence of several thousand of its soldiers in Angola at the same time as the highest representative of racism carries out a review of his troops, as if he were in a conquered territory.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Led by their unlimited political determination to achieve full exercise of all their rights, the people of South Africa and Namibia and their brothers in southern Africa are waging their struggle with military and economic means. Given the formidable oppressive machine, their admirable will to resist and to win has gained the support of the international community, but that community is slow to take the decisive action demanded by the situation in South Africa through the means clearly laid down in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Must the system's latest victims be the ones to bring about the final eradication of colonial and racist domination? If international solidarity is to have any meaning, is it not in southern Africa that it must first be verified? In South Africa an entire people is endangered in a situation of truly tragic significance and urgency that demands universal mobilization of the means of international action set forth in the Charter. All forms of recourse having been explored in vain, and the apartheid régime having proved that its exclusivity renders self-reform impossible, it is now more than ever necessary to adopt and implement those means. For, even if the latest actions of the apartheid South African régime in Namibia and against the front-line States are the final convulsions of a system inevitably condemned to disappear, they are characterized by a ferocious and frenzied aggressiveness which only international action can contain. That international action must precipitate the end of the apartheid régime and lead to a return of peace and security to southern Africa.

Once again it is up to the Security Council to respond to the incessant appeals of the international community and to follow in the steps of the General Assembly by adopting, finally, the measures required under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

In reaffirming for the legitimate representatives of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the front-line States, my country's support for and unflinching solidarity with them at all stages of their fight against apartheid, I should especially like to pay tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its constant activity under the informed chairmanship of Mr. Joseph Garba, the continuous flow of information and the mobilization of world public opinion at this decisive stage of the struggle to dismantle the apartheid system.

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to express the thanks and appreciation of my delegation to all the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid especially Mr. Joseph Garba, the Ambassador of Nigeria and Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Arif Shahid Khan of India, the Rapporteur. I thank them all for the dedicated, unremitting efforts of the Special Committee and the valuable contributions made in the area of monitoring the situation in South Africa, the drawing up of reports and recommendations with a view to putting an end to apartheid and ridding the people of South Africa of the crimes of the apartheid régime.*

*Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

The concern of the United Nations to combat racism, racial discrimination and apartheid is not new; it was one of the corner-stones upon which the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter were built when it first came into being. In the Charter Member States declared their deep belief in fundamental human rights, the dignity of man, the value of the human individual and the equality of all men. They also pledged to respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all and to abide by the Charter in their dealings in the international arena.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is an expression of the profoundest sentiments of all nations concerning the rights of the individual in society, affirms the right of all to be protected from discrimination and declares that all men are born free and equal in dignity and rights. As they have been endowed with reason and conscience, men should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Thus, every individual has the right to enjoy all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, without distinction of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion or ethnic or national origin.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 39 years ago, and now more than ever before it is recognized that respect for human rights is closely linked to the maintenance of international peace and security. Despite all efforts and notwithstanding the achievements of the United Nations in implementing the principles of the Charter, especially those regarding justice, self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security, our world continues to be plagued by a serious absence of peace and security, particularly in southern Africa, where the Pretoria apartheid régime continues to wallow in ceaseless crimes against the majority of the indigenous

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population in South Africa and Namibia. This has led to heightened international tension in that sensitive part of the world.

My delegation has carefully studied the reports of the Special Committee (A/42/22 and Add.1), which contain a great deal of valuable information and unequivocal evidence against the racist régime. The two reports expose flagrant violations of human rights and a consistently institutionalized policy of oppression and persecution against the black majority of Azania at the hands of the racist régime, under the influence of its obsolete racist outlook.

The United Nations has been seized of the question of the policies of apartheid since its inception in 1946. Not a single agenda of any regular session of the General Assembly has lacked an item dealing with that question. For decades this question has been a focal point of the deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council, but after 42 years this vexed question continues to challenge the international community to put an end urgently to the excesses, atrocities and injustice which continue to plague the people of South Africa at the hands of their persecutor, the racist Botha régime.

Over the past year the situation in South Africa has seriously deteriorated. Arrests, detentions and killings have reached a new level. The apartheid régime persists in its acts of terrorism and repression against the black majority. That obnoxious régime continues intransigently to oppress, torture and inflict misery upon that black majority, which it has deprived of its most basic rights. It also continues its aggression against neighbouring countries, which it seeks to destabilize. The bogus reforms which the apartheid régime claimed to introduce recently were nothing but a ploy to mislead, hoodwink and blind the international community in order to give the apartheid régime a new lease of life. Recent developments show that we cannot expect any real, radical change in that régime.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Among those developments have been the bogus elections, the total media black-out through censorship and the continuation of the state of emergency. These are but a few aspects of the painful existence which the people of Azania have been bearing with great courage this year.

The so-called reforms in South Africa proposed by the Botha régime are nothing but a desperate attempt to mislead world public opinion. The régime is desperate to break out of the isolation it has brought upon itself in the international arena. On the other hand, it is desperately trying to face up to the just struggle of the black majority for equality, freedom and self-determination in a unified, non-racial, democratic South Africa. Instead of curbing its racist excesses and thus complying with the will of the international community, the apartheid régime persists adamantly and consistently in its inhuman practices. It continues to step up its racist practices against the oppressed people in Azania and Namibia. Despite concerted international efforts to weaken and isolate this shameful régime, it still enjoys all the means of survival and is daily becoming more ferocious and arrogant. This it is able to do because some Western countries do not wish to co-operate in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

For its part, Bahrain has always adhered to the resolutions of the United Nations. My country has no trade, economic or diplomatic relations with South Africa. The Government of Bahrain, like other oil-exporting Arab countries, has imposed a complete ban on the export of oil to South Africa. In 1975 the Government of Bahrain issued a statement, which is still valid, in which we affirmed our trade and economic boycott of the racist régime in South Africa prohibited all imports to and exports from South Africa and refused admittance to any commodities of South African origin.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

In effect, Bahrain's rejection of apartheid, racism and every other form of racial discrimination and persecution stems from its Islamic heritage of tolerance, based on freedom, justice, fraternity and the equality of all men. We respect the dignity of man without distinction of any kind based on colour, creed, sex or ethnic origin.

The State of Bahrain is also committed to the principles of human rights as set out in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have spared no effort to ensure the implementation of those principles. Evidence of this is the Constitution adopted by Bahrain on 16 December 1973. Chapter III of our Constitution sets forth a number of these rights. Furthermore, the provisions which set out the obligations of the State with regard to human rights and justice and equality for all guarantee protection against any form of persecution, discrimination or abuse of human rights and the dignity of man.

Thus, Bahrain's position on racism and the policy of apartheid is clear and straightforward. We have reaffirmed that position on a number of occasions and in an number of international forums, both inside and outside the United Nations.

Bahrain once again denounces those policies of the ruling racist régime in Pretoria. We reaffirm that the peoples of South Africa and Namibia have a legitimate right to self-determination, independence and equality. We declare once again our full solidarity with the peoples of Azania and Namibia in their legitimate struggle against the apartheid Pretoria régime.

My delegation is fully aware that the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination practised by the Pretoria régime are basically designed to perpetuate the privileges of the white minority, which persecutes and exploits the black majority and denies it full participation in governing its own country.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Through the ploy of the so-called reform legislation, the racist South African régime is trying desperately to perpetuate an obsolete social system. But that system is doomed to collapse, sooner or later.

In order to suppress the legitimate aspirations of Africans and ensure "racial purity", the Pretoria régime resorts to mass arrests of the opponents of apartheid in the hope of forever depriving the black majority of its basic human rights as a sort of punishment for the crime of its colour.

This painful situation in South Africa, and the resultant suffering of the peoples of Azania and Namibia at the hands of racist colonialism and through the domination by brute force of the majority by the minority is not unique in our world. The same thing is happening to the Palestinian people at the hands of racist world Zionism. Zionism has usurped the land of Palestine and uprooted and expelled its people, forcing them to live in exile as refugees. Thus, Zionism has created a settler, racist entity in Palestine. It is doing everything in its power to ensure the complete physical liquidation of the Palestinian people by every means and every weapon at its disposal.

Similarly, the racist Pretoria régime illegally occupies the Territory of Namibia and refuses to heed the resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which sets forth the legal framework for a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibian question that will ensure the exercise by the people of Namibia of their right to self-determination and to decide their own future through free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

Just as Israel refuses to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the South African régime refuses to recognize the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people. It also

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refuses to recognize the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

It is not surprising in such a context that an increasingly close, political, military and nuclear collaboration has developed between the two racist régimes of Pretoria and of Tel Aviv. Such a relationship is in blatant violation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the subject. My delegation condemns and deplores the growing ties between the two régimes, particularly in the military and nuclear fields. The collaboration is a direct challenge to the international will and poses a threat to all the neighbouring countries.

In this connection, I would draw attention to the special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/42/22/Add.1) entitled "Recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa".

We hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will adopt resolutions to force the Pretoria régime to put an end to the state of emergency and the ongoing repression of the black majority and release the political prisoners and detainees, especially Nelson Mandela. We believe that the only way to achieve this is to impose a total embargo that prohibits any transactions with the racist South African régime and to assist the peoples of Namibia and South Africa which are waging a legitimate struggle for self-determination, independence and equality. We also call for the isolation of the racist South African régime. We call on the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter. That is the only appropriate way to help the oppressed peoples in South Africa.

Strict sanctions must be imposed against the perpetrators of the crime of apartheid and racial discrimination which are crimes against humanity as a whole.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

We hope that the General Assembly will adopt a resolution calling on the Special Committee against Apartheid to mobilize world public opinion in support of the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. In that connection, the international community should reaffirm that the oppressed people of South Africa have the right to struggle by all available means, including armed struggle, to put an end to apartheid so that they may exercise the right to self-determination in a non-racial, democratic, unified South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

The continued practices of racism, apartheid and racial discrimination not only tarnish the twentieth century but are an unprecedented blot on the history of mankind. Thus it is our collective duty to work together in order to eradicate this evil policy and to assist the African peoples in southern Africa victims of those policies, so that they may regain their legitimate right to freedom, independence and equality.

Mr. KIILU (Kenya): The evil policies of apartheid immorally practised during the past four decades by the racist white minority régime of South Africa against its black majority and the other non-white races specifically deprive them of democracy, deny them justice, create dependence on the white race, violate their human rights and threaten destabilization of States beyond the borders of South Africa, particularly its neighbours.

It is against that backdrop that the General Assembly of the United Nations and other international forums have continued to address themselves to the problems created by the existence and practice of racist policies of deprivation institutionalized in the conduct of human relations and activities in South Africa. This is therefore not the first time that the Assembly has had to take decisions in an attempt to persuade - indeed, to force - the racist régime to change its attitude and establish a society in which all the people of that tormented country can enjoy a dignified way of life on a basis of equality, irrespective of their racial or ethnic background.

During all this time South Africa has refused to abandon the practices of apartheid. Had it been willing to eliminate apartheid, it would not have been in a position of disadvantage as regards what would replace apartheid. That is so because there are many guiding principles and conventions, backed by a wealth of past experience in other countries, that the racist régime could utilize, as

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appropriate, so that a peaceful process of change could take place and save the country from the racial conflict which of necessity stems from apartheid policies.

In a review of the current developments taking place in South Africa one cannot fail to see the picture of the situation growing even more gloomy than before. The racist régime, instead of moving away from the application of apartheid policies, has further entrenched and intensified its repression against opponents of the system at a time when the clamour for liberation, which is irreversible, is approaching its highest pitch. The régime has taken to employing feverish and panicky measures, as is demonstrated by the unending state of emergency, indiscriminate arrests, unlawful detentions, inconceivable torture, and murders, intimidating violence and mass population displacements.

To hide all these atrocities, and in order to give a false picture outside its boundaries and create an image of the non-existence of resistance, the régime has cast a blanket of censorship on information over the whole country to prevent any news from reaching the outside world. Despite these draconian measures, the international community is fully aware of what goes on inside South Africa, because there is no way in which evil can be hidden.

We are unalterably conscious of the fact that, despite repeated efforts to persuade the racist régime to abandon apartheid, it has with the utmost arrogance persisted in the application and entrenchment of the system of racial discrimination. The apparatus for so doing has been institutionalized and its effectiveness perfectly buttressed by brutality. In addition, the mechanisms of intimidation, destabilization and outright aggression have become increasingly the favoured State policy in dealing with neighbouring African States. This is all happening at a time when the international community is appealing fervently to South Africa to see the imperative need for an immediate change of attitude and to heed world public opinion and United Nations decisions.

(Mr. Kiilu, Kenya)

The effort being exerted by the international community is aimed at achieving a peaceful change; but a peaceful change is not the desired goal of the racist régime, as is revealed by its actions. From this it can be correctly deduced that the options available to the international community are limited. The United Nations has to take a firm stand and decide whether the Organization will succumb to the whims of the racist régime or take decisive measures to ensure that the régime abandons its apartheid policies. As has been demonstrated by the actions of the racist régime in the past, it has no intention of abandoning apartheid, much less any wish to be reconciled with the international community, not to mention its own people in South Africa. The régime, it must be said, has, within the area under its jurisdiction, taken the option of defiance and unrelenting ruthless oppression and repression of all whose voices are raised in opposition to apartheid. It has at the same time adopted a policy of tricks and manoeuvres designed to deceive the international community, or at least those that accept the gimmicks of the régime, that a process of change is in progress. The truth of the matter is that apartheid is evil and therefore cannot be reformed; it has to be eradicated.

The strategies of brutality and killings adopted by the régime to step up repression against the black people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid have taken a disastrous course. The black population and all opponents of the system of apartheid are silenced by imprisonment, while terror and intimidation take care of those outside the prisons.

In these circumstances the international community has no alternative but to find the most effective means of dealing with the deteriorating situation in South Africa. Such means must have coercive power commensurate with the problem faced and be capable of achieving the desired objective. As we speak now, an explosive

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situation emanating from the continued existence of the evil system of apartheid is building up in South Africa and its magnitude is such as to constitute a potential threat to international peace and security.

Despite the emergence at the international level of a consensus on the fact that the system of apartheid must be dismantled, we have doubts as to whether all Governments, particularly those having relations with the racist régime, are sincerely willing to assist in seeing that the system of apartheid is completely dismantled.

(Mr. Kiilu, Kenya)

My delegation holds this view because various measures have long been proposed to accelerate the demise and destruction of apartheid but such measures have all along met with the stubborn resistance of the racist régime, aided and abetted by some Governments.

We cannot fail to mention that even the Security Council has failed to agree unanimously on measures necessary to undo apartheid owing to the resistance mounted by those who have put their selfish interests before those of the international community - and, indeed, the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa.

We take this opportunity to appeal to all those who have in the past opposed coercive measures being taken against South Africa to desist from doing so and support the international call to have the United Nations Security Council impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime on account of its arrogant defiance of the will of the international community to have apartheid dismantled. We expect and appeal to everyone to lend a helping hand in concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. In its place, we anticipate the establishment of a genuine democratic system of government brought about through elections on the basis of one man, one vote. We also anticipate the establishment of a non-racial political system in South Africa once apartheid is dismantled.

Our resolve to continue unwaveringly to support and strengthen our solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their just struggle against oppression, exploitation and the denial of their inalienable right to self-determination remains undiminished. We will continue to condemn the whole structure of apartheid and demand: first, the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and other oppressive measures enacted by the racist régime; secondly, the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political

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prisoners and detainees so that they can participate fully in the political process in South Africa; thirdly, the lifting of the ban on the liberation movements operating inside and outside South Africa; and, fourthly, the immediate and complete dismantling of apartheid.

We call for the genuine support of every Member State of the United Nations. That support is needed if success is to be realized. We wish to appeal also to all Governments to implement all the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council relevant to the struggle against apartheid. Similarly, we support the call for the complete isolation of South Africa in all fields. Those who have dealings of any kind with the racist régime should desist from so doing. We would particularly like to see: first, continued withdrawal of foreign investments in South Africa; secondly, abrogation of economic and trade relations; thirdly, cessation of supply of oil and oil products; fourthly, cessation of dealings in the military field, and non-supply of arms to South Africa in terms of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), on the mandatory arms embargo; fifthly, cessation of collaboration in the transfer of nuclear armament technology; and, sixthly, cessation of cultural and sports engagements with South Africa.

In a nutshell, we should like to see genuine acceptance by all of the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We consider that such sanctions, faithfully implemented, will constitute a major advantage in the ongoing struggle against apartheid. We are already witnessing major reactions in South Africa as a result of the stepped-up struggle against apartheid both internally and externally. In this respect, I wish to commend the role of the liberation movements of South Africa for the valiant manner in which they have executed the

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struggle in the past year. I wish to reassure them that the support of the people and Government of the Republic of Kenya will continue until the struggle is finally won.

Mr. TEP KHUNNAL (Democratic Kampuchea): Twenty-five years ago this month, from the dock of the Johannesburg court, Mr. Nelson Mandela, who soon became and remains a symbol of the aspiration and determination of the South African people to eradicate the inhuman policy of apartheid and establish a non-racial and democratic society, said:

"... the whole life of any thinking African in this country drives him continuously to a conflict between his conscience on the one hand and the law on the other ... Were we to uphold our conscience and our beliefs to strive for what we believe is right ... for all the people who live in this country, both the present generation and for generations to come, and thus transgress against the law? This is a dilemma which faced us, and in such a dilemma, men of honesty, ... of conscience can only have one answer. They must follow the dictates of their conscience ...".

For the vast majority of the South African people, their only aspiration is equal political rights and a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities. But, for apartheid, a system based on white supremacy, it is a crime for blacks to ask for equal rights.

Many decades have passed since the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa rose up to "follow the dictates of their conscience". Yet, the Pretoria régime has never paid any heed or given consideration to their seriously proposed objections and viewpoints. It has, on the contrary, continued over the years with even greater impunity to defy the black South African people's will and that of mankind by consolidating its racial totalitarian system. Recently, an

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unprecedented reign of repression over millions of black people and opponents of apartheid has been introduced. Under cover of the state of emergency in force since July 1985, limitless powers have been given to its notorious police and security forces to arrest, detain, murder and remove the black population. Last year, about 64,000 Africans were forcibly removed to consolidate the so-called homelands, thereby depriving them of their birthright, citizenship. Nearly 100,000 were arrested.

Despite the repeated and unanimous calls by our Organization for an end to violence and repression, the Pretoria régime continues impudently to defy the world community's will by its implementation of inhuman laws and draconian measures. Of late, the situation in the country has drastically worsened as a result of rampant murder of political prisoners, mass arrests and execution of members of national liberation movements, including the 23-year-old Mr. Mlungisi Lumphondo of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

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In an attempt to intimidate the opposition, particularly the youth and children, who have been in the forefront of the resistance, the apartheid régime has turned its murderous machinery more and more towards students at school. According to the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, about half the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 are young people of 18 years of age; some of them are only 12 years old. Moreover, the Pretoria régime has lately established secret youth camps, where detainees are coerced into accepting the totalitarian ideology of apartheid as a legitimate system, or subjected to other forms of intimidation.

In fact, what has been prevailing in South Africa is an undeclared war unleashed by the Pretoria régime against the overwhelming majority of the South African people, whose only crime is to advocate the establishment of democracy, justice and equality in the land of their birth.

Apartheid does not stop at the South African borders; it extends to occupied Namibia and causes a serious crisis in the whole region of southern Africa. Repeated acts of aggression, sabotage and destabilization have been launched by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring independent States in an attempt to weaken their economies, undermine their Governments and dissuade them from supporting the just struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples. While all the front-line States have become targets of Pretoria's barbaric attacks, the effects of apartheid are particularly destructive in Angola and Mozambique. The latter country has suffered a vast human and economic disaster. In addition to the loss of more than 100,000 lives, South African aggression has cost Mozambique nearly \$US 5 billion. Other countries - Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe - are also exposed to violation of their territorial integrity and other forms of pressure by the apartheid régime.

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In this regard, my delegation wishes to reaffirm here the fraternal solidarity of the Kampuchean people with all the victims of Pretoria's criminal acts, and vigorously condemns the violations of the sovereignty and independence of those States. We fully support the appeals made and the measures adopted at the summit meeting of the front-line States held last weekend in Luanda, Angola.

The escalation of repressive violence in South Africa and the growing use of armed forces by the apartheid régime against the countries in the region leave no room for doubt that what Pretoria wants is not only to remain in power in South Africa and pursue its illegal occupation of Namibia, but also to maintain its hegemony in that part of the continent. This policy endangers the peace and stability of the region and the world at large.

However, despite intensified repression and acts of aggression and destabilization, resistance to apartheid has continued to grow inside the country and abroad. The people of South Africa, led by their national liberation movements, have displayed not only their legendary determination to regain their human dignity, but also their ability to satisfy their legitimate aspirations. The losses that the racist régime has inflicted upon them through bloody brutality cannot shake their will in the fight for freedom. On the contrary, the increasing terror and repression can only breed even greater revolt. Faced with the situation in which all avenues for legitimate protest and non-violence opposition are denied, and the intransigence of Pretoria, which continues to turn a deaf ear to all initiatives for a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the problem, the South African people have no choice but to struggle by all the means in their power in defence of their future and freedom. Indeed, this is a legitimate struggle of self-defence being waged by the South African victim people.

Aided by co-ordinated actions by black labour movements, students and youth,

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religious leaders and organizations against the apartheid system, the South African people's struggle is expanding and growing stronger. It begins to undermine the power of the police and armed forces of the Pretoria régime. The number of attacks on the régime's buildings and property by freedom fighters increased nearly threefold in 1986 in comparison with 1985. Without question, these successful operations can be achieved only with the support and co-operation of the masses. The dauntless heroism of the South African people deserves our admiration and support. The people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea feel deeply satisfied with this encouraging development of the struggle of our South African brothers and sisters. We are all the more gratified in that we are fighting for the same cause against foreign occupying forces, whose policies and practices legitimize and sustain the apartheid system and the occupation of Namibia. The determined and heroic struggle of the people of South Africa is a clear proof of their resolve to make whatever sacrifice is needed to bring about justice, freedom and equality.

History has shown that nothing can stop people resolved to fight for freedom and independence. The racist régime should by now be aware of the futility of its repressive violence against the conscience of the black South African people. Brutal and isolated as it is, the Pretoria régime will never succeed in attaining its objective.

While popular resistance is growing, the brutality of apartheid has aroused the condemnation and indignation of the whole world. For nearly 30 years the General Assembly and the Security Council have persistently demanded that Pretoria end its criminal policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. In its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984), the Security Council strongly condemned the anachronistic system and reaffirmed that

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"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 adult suffrage by all the people ... can lead to a just, equitable and lasting solution of the situation in South Africa."

Over the years the people of Kampuchea have unfailingly joined in the universal condemnation and called for the rapid eradication of this evil system. In doing so, we are conscious of the fact that the apartheid system is in contradiction with the Charter of the United Nations a direct challenge to the Organization and a crime against humanity; is the only form of racial discrimination and the most brutal manifestation of racism in the world today; and is the cause of acts of aggression and destabilization in the region which threaten international peace and security.

We are very satisfied by the increasing awareness of the world community of the need to isolate and put pressure on Pretoria and to encourage the people of South Africa in their valiant struggle for freedom. We welcome the fact that more and more countries have extended their recognition to and held talks with the representatives of the national liberation movements. We note with satisfaction that some countries have on their own initiative taken comprehensive mandatory measures against the Pretoria régime.

Regrettably, as one could expect, however, the Pretoria régime has again resorted to intimidation and tricks in response to the world community's demand. According to the Wall Street Journal of 13 April 1987, Mr. P. W. Botha himself vowed that there will never be black majority rule or a black Head of State in South Africa. At the same time, censorship and restrictions have been imposed on the mass media to conceal from world attention the atrocities and crimes of its police and security forces.

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It has upgraded its propaganda machinery to mesmerize the world community about its so-called constitutional reforms and plan of power-sharing based on ethnicity. But no one is duped by these dilatory manoeuvres. The whites-only election held last August can only confirm the intransigence of the authorities to uphold white supremacy over black South African people.

In the face of the continuing stubbornness, the intensification of the reign of terror and the total contempt for the principles and rules of international law shown by the Pretoria régime, we believe that the only measure left for the international community is the imposition of concerted comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria authorities if apartheid is to be brought to an end in a non-violent way. Any new appeal to reason from our Organization would surely be treated with contempt and meet with a similar rejection, for in that country it is not reason that rules.

I should like to conclude my statement by quoting again Mr. Nelson Mandela, who said:

"I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. I hate the systematic inculcation of children with colour prejudice and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind, here and abroad, are with me in that."

My delegation sincerely hopes that this year which marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of his imprisonment the overwhelming majority of mankind will not fail in its noble duty to demonstrate by concerted and concrete actions that it, too, hates the apartheid system and it, too, acts according to the dictates of conscience.

Sir James TUDOR (Barbados): As yet another session of the United Nations General Assembly winds towards its close, few of us here will be able to avoid the question: What have we accomplished? And I suspect that the spectre of agenda item 33 will instantly appear to confound and intimidate us, for it has stared us in the face for the past 25 years.

I believe that students of this period in the life of the United Nations will have to conclude that the question of apartheid was the most crucial and challenging ever to engage the attention of the world body. They will be forced to conclude that this item has been, above all, a most costly affair.

For 25 years the United Nations has been forced to debate resolution upon resolution and to process document upon document on subjects directly arising out of the policies of the Government of South Africa. The Organization has had to finance special missions entrusted with the task of persuading South Africa to relinquish its attachment to the barbarous concept upon which its laws are founded. The time spent by the United Nations in attempting to bring a peaceful end to apartheid defies calculation.

Of course, the greatest cost of apartheid has been the human cost. From the incalculable toll it has taken of men, women and children, whose hapless fate it has been to be born South African; from the Sharpeville massacres to the slaughter of Sowetan high school students and the destruction of young leaders like Stephen Biko, the régime in Pretoria has shown its determination to make murder a priority.

But it is not to be assumed that the human cost of apartheid has been only in black lives. We must not forget that the apartheid régime has shown no regard for any who oppose it, nor must we forget that the Nationalist Party of South Africa is not the sole representative of all the white nationals of South Africa.

(Sir James Tudor, Barbados)

As the General Assembly is no doubt aware, Barbados and its sister territories in the English-speaking Caribbean are ardent participants in the international game of cricket. The West Indies cricket team has for some time now enjoyed the glory of being the pre-eminent combatants in international cricketing competition. Our sense of glory would, I am sure, be much stronger had we been able to engage national teams from South Africa where we know that there exist some of the most illustrious players of this game from all the races.

Alas, because of the senseless racist policies of the Nationalist Party of South Africa, which decrees that only players of a certain hue may represent that country, South Africa has had to be excommunicated from what many regard as the most delightful game in all sports. It is a matter Caribbean Governments and cricket administrators have taken quite seriously, because there are many who will testify that the West Indies cricket team is an inspiring reflection of that racial harmony which marks the society of the Caribbean people. Indeed, we consider the West Indies cricket team our most accomplished ambassadors.

It is because we in the Caribbean have seen demonstrable proof of the forceful impact of sports in international relations that we have been strict adherents to the Gleneagles Accord which imposes strict censure against sporting contacts with teams from South Africa. As evidence of our commitment, we have taken a decision to ban for life any Caribbean player who engages in any sporting activity within South Africa. Barbados, like other Caribbean territories, thus treats with great earnestness its responsibility to promote the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. I am happy to report that this Convention now needs only five signatures before it enters into force. There is still time before the close of this session for us to have those five signatures.

(Sir James Tudor, Barbados)

True to the ways of arrogance the Government of South Africa has used the enticement of monetary gain to lure international sportsmen and sportswomen into defying the proscriptions of their Governments. Not content with the betrayal of the interests of its own citizenry, South Africa seeks to promote what in its spirit is nothing short of treason among other nations.

(Sir James Tudor, Barbados)

I have emphasized sport because it represents the area in which Governments in the Caribbean have had their closest contact with South Africa's social arrangement.

Regrettably, in its international contempt for the sovereignty of States, South Africa goes far beyond money and sport. Within its own borders it has embarked upon a callous campaign of internecine wrath, turning black against black in bloody confrontations in order to prolong the survival of its unholy régime.

South Africa finances and equips rebel organizations in sponsored subversion among its neighbouring States. It uses the best techniques of mass communication in attempts to seduce the unperceptive to its vision of a world order. Deluded by such a vision, the governors of South Africa have shown diabolical ingenuity in devising ways to defy international opinion and to mount their crude obstacles to the natural course of history. Their challenge to the principles of the Charter of this Organization is unprecedented in its boldness.

I should like to believe that there is another dimension to this matter before us, one which I trust will be discerned by the more perceptive students of these times. This Organization has in fact consistently denounced South Africa. With all its resources and the capabilities of its allies, the Government of South Africa has been unable to weaken or subvert the resolve of this Assembly to destroy apartheid. Every year since November 1962 this item has engaged the attention of the General Assembly, and every year the verdict has been the same: apartheid must go. Steadily, but relentlessly, and against forceful odds this Organization has led world opinion to the now almost universal conclusion that apartheid besmirches all that is human and is an aberration of the story of mankind.

Indeed, far from weakening the resolve of this Organization, the Government of South Africa has offered the United Nations a splendid opportunity with which to discover and to test the sources of its strength. Somewhere it is said that on all

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fundamental matters all persons of goodwill and reason will in time arrive at identical opinions. So persistence must remain the watchword of all our efforts, until we see signs that the detestable régime of Pretoria is on its last legs.

To the Special Committee against Apartheid the Government of Barbados conveys its highest commendations and to the United Nations the affirmation of its firmest confidence.

This issue is not without precedent. It is not the first time that the world has been confronted by a small band of aberrants, driven by disordered consciences which veer sharply away from the precepts of civilized and progressive societies. What is unique and unshadowed by precedent is the opportunity afforded us during the past 25 years to summon from all our varied cultures that decency which is common to all mankind and to direct it against a concept incompatible with the best in our humanity. I trust that all who think about what we are doing here will thank us for the perseverance and determination with which the Assembly leads the struggle against this evil.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): When the white nationalists in South Africa coined the term apartheid to describe their infamous policy of racial separation they probably did not realize that they were about to add to our vocabulary a word that would one day be regarded as the very notion of evil and the negation of human values. They probably did not foresee that apartheid was a concept that would cause them and their State to be isolated from the family of nations. They did understand, of course, that apartheid would bring suffering to the black majority and deny them their human rights. That was the purpose. But did they realize to what extent they would have to rely on brutal violence, oppression and aggression to uphold the policy of apartheid? And did they realize that in the end they would, ironically, themselves become victims of apartheid, prisoners of their own system?

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

One of the leading white writers in the Afrikaans language has aptly described this relation between the oppressor and the oppressed. He wrote:

"As long as society is typefied and conditioned by exploitation and oppression nobody in that society can be free. The oppressed is not free from poverty, hunger, squatter's conditions, illness, bitterness, humiliation, corruption, collaboration even; the oppressor cannot be liberated from his fear, his greed, his ignorance, his prejudices and his illusory constructions, his degrading way of life, his political and economic and cultural corruption."

Over the past year the crisis in southern Africa has deepened. This crisis affects all countries in the region, but its roots are in the policy of apartheid of the whites-only Government in Pretoria.

The realities of the apartheid system have now become so gruesome that the Pretoria régime feels compelled to try to hide them. Obviously, it is not out of shame and bad conscience that they do this, but out of fear that the reality, if fully revealed, would convince the world that it must increase its pressure on Pretoria and further isolate that régime. The horrifying plight of children under apartheid is becoming more and more apparent despite the efforts by the authorities to restrict and censor information from South Africa. Of those detained since the imposition of the state of emergency, more than 10,000 are children.

The International Conference on Children in Apartheid South Africa, held in Harare two months ago, gave us a chilling insight into the grim realities of apartheid. There the world could listen and see, without censorship from South Africa. There were testimonies from children about torture and injury to which they had been subjected. Lawyers explained the lack of legal protection of children. Soweto in 1976 was not an isolated case.

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Last year Pretoria was offered a dialogue and a negotiating concept by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. They rejected it and refused to seize that opportunity for peaceful change. After the whites-only elections in May this year they became further entrenched in their negative posture and offered bogus discussions in the hope of weakening international resistance to apartheid. Their intransigence continues and the crisis deepens.

South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia in defiance of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the International Court of Justice. South Africa has introduced its policy of racial discrimination also to that Territory, it denies the people of Namibia its rights and violates the human rights of its inhabitants. It uses Namibia as a base for its acts of aggression and destabilization directed against South Africa's neighbours.

This brings us to yet another grave accusation against South Africa. That country was once shielded from other sovereign African States by a zone of territories under colonial or, in the case of former Southern Rhodesia, white domination. But the irrepressible wave of national liberation has in the past 20 years reached the very borders of South Africa. Now South Africa is surrounded by independent African States, the very existence of which is a denial of apartheid. South Africa cannot undo the process of national liberation but South Africa can attack and try to destabilize these independent States in order to weaken and coerce them.

So, time and time again, South Africa has violated the territorial integrity of its neighbours, committed acts of armed aggression, threatened, blackmailed, engaged in sabotage and supported insurgents. South Africa has now officially acknowledged its presence in southern Angola and its war against the legitimate Government of that country in a most defiant way. These acts are in complete

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contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute a violation of international law.

The conclusion is clear. The policies of the Pretoria régime are a threat to international peace and security. The action to take is also clear; it is spelled out in Chapter VII of the Charter: mandatory sanctions decided by the Security Council.

It has been said that sanctions will have no effect. But we cannot know that, for the world community has not, so far, applied the wide, co-ordinated and mandatory sanctions that could be effective. If we declare that sanctions will not work, what are we then offering as an alternative to the black majority in South Africa in its struggle against apartheid?

Others argue that the only effect of sanctions will be to destroy the South African economy, increase the burden of the black majority population, and render the South African Government even more intransigent. But how can we, the outsiders, be so sure about this when the majority inside and their leaders appear to be equally sure about the opposite? When those under oppression, those in prison and detention, those in the townships and the bantustans seem to be willing to take the risks and bear the burden of sanctions designed to shorten the cruel, violent and degrading burden of apartheid which threatens and diminishes their daily lives, who are we then to say "No, in your best interest we withhold sanctions"?

Many countries have in fact voluntarily introduced sanctions, varying in degree from country to country, and my Government welcomes and supports the international sanctions movements now under way. But why are voluntary sanctions good and mandatory sanctions bad? Why are half-hearted and unco-ordinated measures better than concerted action by the international community?

Two weeks ago, when I had the honour to address this body on the question of

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Namibia, I said that the question of the efficiency of the United Nations should not be reduced to budgetary and administrative terms. The question of the efficiency of the United Nations, in the eyes of world public opinion, is above all a question of political action. The Members of this Organization must have the courage and the boldness to act through the United Nations to defy the evil of apartheid and to show solidarity with its victims. I asked on that occasion what signal the Security Council was giving to the people of Namibia. There is reason to ask the same question today, this time with respect to the black majority in South Africa. What answer can we give to the thousands and thousands in detention, to the mothers of the children that have been arrested, tortured, shot in the back and killed while they were running away from the South African police?

The Swedish Government regrets that the Security Council has failed to act in response to the increased repression, the increased aggression and the increased intransigence of the South African régime. While we respect the right of the permanent members to decide on the use of their veto we regret the vetoes cast in February and April this year by certain permanent members in the Security Council. We believe that these were two occasions that were, sadly, missed by the international community to try to change the course in South Africa.

After that Sweden for its part - together with the other Nordic countries - has proceeded to adopt its own sanctions. We have extended our previous unilateral measures and since 1 October introduced a general ban on trade with South Africa and Namibia.

It is important now that international pressure on South Africa not be relaxed but, on the contrary, stepped up. The momentum gained over the past year must not be lost. The sanctions applied so far should be tightened and brought under the

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umbrella of the United Nations, and every effort must be made to extend the measures already recommended by the Security Council and to make them effective and mandatory. That is how the international community can contribute to peaceful change in South Africa and to the struggle against apartheid.

We can contribute to that struggle also in another way. We can assist the victims of and opponents to apartheid by generous voluntary contributions to the various United Nations programmes for refugees, for relief work, for education, for legal assistance, or through direct contributions to the organizations involved in such humanitarian work. Sweden has for many years now given humanitarian assistance to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). This year that assistance amounts to the equivalent of \$US 20 million. By this assistance we in Sweden also express, in our way, the same opinion as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which in its report said about the black leaders of South Africa:

"Their idealism, their genuine sense of non-racialism, and their readiness not only to forget but to forgive, compel admiration. These are precious assets which a new South Africa will need".

The same appreciation - and solidarity - was expressed in Sweden when the first Olof Palme Award was given on 24 October to Cyril Ramaphosa, the leader of the mine workers' union in South Africa. These are the people who already are planning for a post-apartheid South Africa. Notwithstanding the oppression and persecution these leaders work tirelessly to defend the ideals of this Organization, indeed for human civilization. Their aim is simple to state: a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa. They deserve our strongest possible support.

A pillar of any international strategy to overcome the apartheid policies of South Africa must be support for the front-line States. This support is crucial.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

South Africa does not seem to be willing to accept that the sovereign non-racial States in the region be allowed to develop in peace. When the violence of the apartheid policies spills over outside South Africa its neighbours are the first victims. These countries have given refuge to the people that have been forced to escape from apartheid and they are attacked and destabilized by military and other actions by the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

But assistance to the front-line States is important not only in order to reduce their present vulnerability; it is important also for future development, when apartheid is gone and all the countries of the region, including South Africa and Namibia, join in peaceful co-operation.

Assistance to the front-line States has therefore for many years been a corner-stone of Swedish policy. This year Sweden is allocating half of its bilateral assistance, or \$US 420 million, to the countries in southern Africa. In addition to this Governmental assistance, there are also substantial contributions from non-governmental organizations. Over the last five years Sweden has given about \$1.5 billion in different forms of assistance to the region. Another important element of Sweden's policy on South Africa is its participation in the broad-based co-operation between the Nordic countries and the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the purpose of which is to develop the economic and cultural relations between these regions and to reduce the dependence of the SADCC countries on South Africa.

In conclusion, I should like to summarize the Swedish position as follows.

My country strongly condemns apartheid. It is a crime against the most basic human rights, the root cause of the crisis in southern Africa and a threat to international peace and security.

If there is to be a peaceful change in South Africa, the Pretoria régime must fundamentally change its course. It must release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, lift the ban on political and other organizations, withdraw the army and police forces from the black townships, end the state of emergency and start genuine negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid.

We further believe that the Pretoria régime will yield to those demands only if international pressure is maintained and increased. Sweden supports comprehensive mandatory sanctions as decided upon by the Security Council.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

In the meantime, we must all show in a practical way our solidarity with the victims of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. Furthermore, we should substantially increase our support to the front-line States.

Mr. FLOREAN (Romania) (interpretation from French): The debate on the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa is taking place at a time of serious exacerbation of the situation in the southern part of the African continent in the form of an unprecedented intensification of violence and repressive acts by the Pretoria régime against the South African people, the continuance of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the stepping up of acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion by South Africa against neighbouring independent African States.

The legislative elections organized by Pretoria at the beginning of May this year solely for the white population of the Republic of South Africa showed yet again the desire of the racist authorities to perpetuate their policy of apartheid in this part of the world and to maintain and encourage the climate of tension in the region.

In this context, the struggle for freedom and social justice has been intensified both in South Africa, despite the savage repression carried out by the police forces, and in the whole of southern Africa, and forms part of the increasing action of peoples throughout the world against the policy of force and domination.

The report submitted to this session by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the reports of the Secretary-General on the question present a terrifying picture of the serious deterioration in the situation in South Africa caused by the unlimited stepping up of the criminal policy of apartheid, which is becoming more and more like genocide.

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

The political situation in South Africa has deteriorated. The state of emergency has been prolonged yet again and the police forces have been given discretionary powers. According to the figures mentioned in the reports I have referred to, thousands of people have been killed since September 1984 and tens of thousands imprisoned, many of whom are children or adolescents under the age of 18.

The black trade union organizations of South Africa were the target of savage repression during the big miners' strike this year. As a corollary and in keeping with its strategy of domination in the region, the Pretoria régime has continued to intensify its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent States in order to weaken them economically, make them dependent upon South Africa, and discourage support for the forces opposing the policy of apartheid.

At the Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that took place at the beginning of October in New York deep concern was unanimously expressed at the serious deterioration in the situation in South Africa. The South African racist régime was vigorously criticized for its policy of apartheid, which has been declared a crime against humanity and which constitutes an insult to the universal conscience. The Ministers restated their conviction that apartheid was the root cause of the violence and conflicts in southern Africa, as well as within South Africa itself, and that there could be no peace, stability or security in the subregion until the heinous and inhuman policy of apartheid was totally eliminated. They stated that only the creation of a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa could lay the basis for the just, lasting and universally acceptable solution of the problem.

The situation that exists today in South Africa in particular and in the whole of southern Africa in general emphasizes more strongly than ever the imperative

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

need to take without delay new and effective measures for the elimination of the policy and practices of apartheid in South Africa, so as to ensure stability in that region and international peace and security.

More than ever before Member States have clearly shown at this session of the General Assembly their total opposition to apartheid and firmly condemned the attitude of the racist régime of Pretoria, which denies to the majority of the people of South Africa their fundamental civil and political rights and defies the resolutions of the United Nations concerning southern Africa. This consensus reflects the unanimous awareness that apartheid, which is an expression of the policy of racial supremacy elevated to the level of a State policy, is in flagrant contradiction with the fundamental principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Romanian delegation associates itself with all those that consider that it is high time for the United Nations to begin to shoulder its special responsibilities to enable the oppressed people of South Africa and all the peoples of southern Africa to exercise their right to freedom, progress and national dignity, and their right to forge their own destiny.

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

For, in this connection, the United Nations has long since determined the final objective - that is, the elimination of the policy and practices of apartheid and racial discrimination and the establishment of a democratic society based on the granting of equal rights to the entire population, without any distinction as to race, colour or creed.

It must be noted that, despite the repeated appeals of the majority of Member States, unanimous agreement has not been reached on the most appropriate means to attain that final objective and, above all, on the adoption of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. That fact has been emphasized on more than one occasion by African and other countries, and the racist régime has taken this as encouragement for its arrogant rejection of the appeals by the United Nations and the African countries for the opening of a constructive dialogue to settle the racial conflict in South Africa, eliminate tensions in the region and put an end to South Africa's violations of the rules of international conduct.

Firm and unanimous action by the United Nations is, in our view, the only path to follow. For the events of this period have once again proved - if proof were really necessary - that the only way to settle the racial conflict in South Africa and to eliminate tension in that area is not to reform apartheid but totally to eliminate this obsolete system based on racial supremacy, on the policy of force, on expansionism and on domination. We share the conviction that if all States undertake to pursue that objective and renounce all reservations about the events in South Africa, the voice of reason will prevail and the role and authority of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the effective actions of all Member States to settle the main problems of mankind will be strengthened.

Romania has constantly demonstrated its sympathy for and solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples for freedom, independence and progress. The oppressed people of South Africa have always enjoyed the unreserved solidarity of

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

the Romanian people. Faithful to its position of principle, Romania resolutely continues to condemn the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and actively supports the oppressed people of South Africa, the African National Congress and the other liberation movements struggling for the elimination of the apartheid régime.

That position has been expressed in many political documents of the State and Government of Romania, as well as in Romania's activities in the United Nations and other international forums. It has also been constantly reaffirmed in summit meetings between President Nicolae Ceasescu and leaders of African States and national liberation movements. On those occasions, the Head of State of Romania has stressed that it is important for all peoples to be united if a political solution is to be found to the various disputes and situations of tension in the world, particularly those afflicting southern Africa. He has reaffirmed the need to eliminate policies based on racism and apartheid in South Africa and to establish a democratic State in which all the citizens of the country, regardless of their colour, race or ethnic origin, would be guaranteed equality of rights.

A few months ago, during a visit to Romania by a delegation of African front-line States, the President of Romania once again expressed the Romanian people's solidarity with the peoples of that part of the continent in their struggle to ensure the complete elimination of colonialism and all forms of domination and oppression and the strengthening of their national independence and economic and social development. He emphasized that Romania vigorously condemns the acts of aggression by South Africa against independent neighbouring States, the racist policies of apartheid and the repressive measures by the Pretorian authorities against the majority population of the country.

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

In that spirit, the Romanian delegation joins the other delegations that have asked that the United Nations act promptly by adopting effective, decisive measures to support the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to put an end to the repulsive policies and practices of apartheid. Hence, the Romanian delegation firmly supports the draft resolutions that the General Assembly is called upon to adopt at this session in order to abolish the inhuman policy of apartheid.

We are convinced that the march of history is implacable and inevitable. The odious laws of racial discrimination are doomed. No kind of pressure can block the road to freedom and the achievement of the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Mr. BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam): The debate in the General Assembly this year on the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" is taking place at a time of profound crisis. The racist régime of Pretoria is launching large-scale armed raids against Angola. The world community is gripped by deep concerns. For the security not only of Angola or southern Africa but of the world is threatened.

Together with other delegations, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam strongly condemns these attacks and vehemently calls on the world community to take strong, effective measures to stay the bloody hands of the racist régime of South Africa. Let us today send a stern warning to Pretoria from the Assembly that there can be no place for it in this civilized world so long as it continues to practise its law of the jungle.

South Africa's current attacks against Angola are serious. They are even more serious because they have been conducted since the General Assembly, last week, called for a cease-fire in Namibia and an end to South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring countries. South Africa's response has

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been a greater escalation of its attacks against Angola. This act of arrogance constitutes a serious challenge to the world community. It threatens the credibility of the Organization. It reveals South Africa's intransigence about its strategy of domination in the region. In fact, this strategy has been intensified in order to weaken South Africa's neighbours and thus keep them dependent on South Africa, to use them as hostages to alleviate outside pressures, to dissuade them from supporting opponents of the racist régime, and indeed to intimidate physically and eliminate such opponents at home and abroad. That confirms the universal belief that apartheid is a crime against humanity, a stain on human civilization. It testifies to the verdict of the times - that apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated.

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

Regrettably, there still exists some wishful thinking on the part of the supporters of the apartheid régime. They are the ones who formed the policy of constructive engagement and who still maintain relations of various kinds with racist South Africa. Now that all those policies have failed and those relations have proved to be destructive, they talk of forging reforms through quiet diplomacy, but they are only the latest of a host of foreign sympathizers with racist South Africa to play repeatedly the same broken record, as quiet diplomacy does not work with apartheid. In fact, it has been used as a delaying tactic.

Early in this century, when South African blacks protested in London against the white dominance, they were told to place their hope in the Cape Province's decision to give the vote to a few educated blacks. After the Soweto massacre they were offered the morality of non-discrimination codes adopted by foreign businesses. All such tactics, old or new, are resorted to for the same purpose: to retain the racist régime in South Africa. For that reason those who advocate the tactics are held responsible for Pretoria's belligerence, which has cost thousands of innocent lives and billions of dollars in material damage. They are also to be blamed for the prolonged instability in southern Africa and the continued state of emergency, widespread repression and a long list of untold crimes committed by the South African racist régime against its people.

It has now been made abundantly clear that the dangerous situation prevailing in southern Africa can be restrained only through the adoption of sanctions against the apartheid régime. There can be no justification for any hesitation in the face of the need to adopt sanctions. Further delay in taking measures to end apartheid only encourage it in its pursuit of the policy of aggression and destabilization against Angola, Mozambique and other front-line countries. A day gone by without sanctions means hundreds of people, including women and children, will be killed and thousands more thrown into prison in South Africa and Namibia. Without

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comprehensive mandatory sanctions the future for a free, democratic, unfragmented and non-racial South Africa, an independent Namibia and a stable southern Africa is likely to be pushed back further.

Sanctions have been widely acknowledged as the most appropriate, effective and peaceful means to bring apartheid to an end. However, arguments are sometimes put forward that sanctions would hurt African blacks, but recent studies have proved that the racist régime of South Africa would be hit most. It is significant now that the African people have decided to face whatever sacrifice sanctions would cost them, for they have realized that the costs of coexisting with apartheid are immeasurably higher. We believe the time has come for the international community to adopt sanctions - comprehensive and mandatory, not just individual and selective - against the racist régime of South Africa.

In the light of the worsening situation that prevails in South Africa, its extension throughout southern Africa and the challenge apartheid poses to the whole of international society, immediate and determined action is needed now much more than speeches and condemnations.

The downfall of apartheid, broadly defined, is definite. Sanctions, the most effective peaceful means to bring apartheid to an end, are the only instrument that may shorten the agony. If those who have a role to play in imposing sanctions do not perform it, or even hesitate to perform it, they will have only themselves to blame for what they have failed to do today.

Mr. BELYAEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The item before the General Assembly on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa will undoubtedly always remain one of the darkest pages of history, and not of the history of the African continent alone. That is why we consider it entirely relevant to start our statement with a reference to the event

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of the century which not only predetermined the character and content of our present world but also laid the objective foundations for the eradication from the planet of such shameful events and phenomena as the policies and practices of apartheid.

Only a few days ago, the multinational Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind solemnly observed the seventieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the history of mankind, an era of social renovation of the world and the crumbling of the system of colonial oppression and enslavement of peoples. For over 70 years the homeland of the October Revolution, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has been steadfastly speaking out as a standard-bearer of progress and peace. It has been a loyal ally of peoples struggling against colonialism, racism and apartheid in all its forms and manifestations and has been in favour of their achieving freedom and independence.

The philosophy and ethics of the new way of thinking in the present modern world proclaimed at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the bold and constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community, are now the foundation for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security. The proposed bases for security are fully in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter and will be capable of contributing to their practical implementation in the specific conditions of our time.

As the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, one of the elements of a comprehensive system of international peace and security must be the

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"unconditional eradication of genocide, apartheid, fascism and any other racial, national or religious exclusiveness, as well as discrimination against people on that basis."

As is known, in its numerous decisions the United Nations, in expressing the will of the international community, long ago branded apartheid as a manifestation profoundly hostile to peoples and a crime against mankind. In view of the persistent explosive situation in southern Africa, the Security Council recently adopted a whole series of resolutions which again firmly condemned the policies and practices of apartheid, mass arrests and murders committed by the racists. Those resolutions contained an urgent demand immediately to liberate all political prisoners and emphasized that the just and long-term solution of the problem of South Africa would be possible only on the basis of the total elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united, multiracial and democratic State.

The patriotic forces of South Africa are struggling precisely for that kind of society; and the African National Congress is in the vanguard of that struggle. Nevertheless, the colonial racist régime of Pretoria, in disregard of the decisions of the United Nations and ignoring the appeals of other international forums and of the world community, is not only continuing but also intensifying its terror and repression against the indigenous population of the country.

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Seeking to save itself from inevitable collapse, to maintain its colonial domination in the unlawfully occupied Territory of Namibia, and to restore it in neighbouring African countries, the racist South African régime is resorting to flagrant repression and open blackmail and engaging in treacherous, aggressive attacks upon them and other subversive actions characteristic of the policy of State terrorism. More evidence of its policy of cynical disregard for international law was provided by the recent visit of senior South African officials to territory of the sovereign People's Republic of Angola.

The entire international community is justly indignant at the situation in southern Africa. With the madness of the condemned, the Pretoria régime continues grossly to flout the fundamental human rights of the absolute majority of the indigenous African population of the country and the people of Namibia, which is subjected to unlawful occupation of the cruelest kind by the South African colonialists.

In conducting the shameful policy of bantustanization, the South African racists, hoping to perpetuate their system of apartheid and to convert the African population into a population devoid of rights, respond to all lawful actions of the Africans in defence of their land and human dignity with ever more vicious forms of oppression and repression, shooting unarmed persons, torturing and executing patriots - first of all, members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). They prohibit the activities of mass organizations which unify the peaceful indigenous population, and disband them. Those arrested on fabricated charges of State treason disappear without a trace or are annihilated by special repressive units without any formal trial. Violent, harsh treatment is inflicted on teenagers and children. In other words, there is an open bloody war against the overwhelming majority of the coloured population of South Africa and Namibia, who oppose the criminal policy and practice of apartheid.

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In the face of the intensifying resistance to the system of apartheid in South Africa itself and the ever growing liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, the rulers of Pretoria are ever more frequently seeking a way out of their predicament through treacherous aggression, subversion and numerous acts of destabilization and terrorism against neighbouring independent African States.

As is pointed out by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization, "a human tragedy of overwhelming proportions appears imminent unless timely action is taken to prevent it." (A/42/1, p. 6)

The general situation in southern Africa confirms the obvious truth that racism as a State policy constitutes a constant threat to peace and the security of peoples and cannot be reformed or transformed and made compatible with the basic norms of justice, freedom and human dignity, as is suggested by certain historical allies of the South African racists and those who advocate "constructive engagement" with them. Apartheid has to be eliminated, totally and immediately.

It is beyond dispute that the South African racists would not be able to conduct themselves so brazenly without the direct and indirect support of imperialist and reactionary circles of certain Western countries - primarily the United States and some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The whole point is that the maintenance of a focal point of colonialism and racism in the southern part of the African continent accords with the long-term interests of those circles which view South Africa as a bulwark and base for their struggle against independent Africa and as their strategic springboard in that part of the planet. They therefore use various means, including transnational corporations, to maintain and strengthen their relations with the apartheid régime. Particularly dangerous is their continuing and growing co-operation with

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the South African racists in the establishment and development of Pretoria's nuclear potential.

The partial measures to protect their interests in South Africa recently declared by certain Western countries, and measures supposedly to put pressure on the policies of the racist régime, are nothing but further manoeuvres to protect the apartheid régime from harsher and more effective actions against it, to undermine the international isolation of the racists and to halt the growing wave of protest, particularly in their own countries, against the continuing co-operation with Pretoria.

Decisions recently taken in international forums on problems of South Africa and the present debate unequivocally demonstrate that the international community does not intend further to acquiesce in the existence of the apartheid régime. The United Nations is expected to come up with new, more efficient and effective measures to ensure the practical implementation of its decisions designed to eliminate the dangerous hotbed of colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa, which has doomed millions of indigenous inhabitants of that region to a slave-like existence in their own countries.

In this connection, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully supports the steadily growing call of the international community for the immediate application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, and it calls for strict compliance by all States with the relevant decisions already adopted by the Security Council.

Constantly guided by our position of principle on the South African policy conducted by Pretoria, the Byelorussian SSR strictly complies with well-known international agreements and corresponding decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at the elimination of that shameful phenomenon.

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The Byelorussian SSR was one of the first to sign and ratify the recently prepared Convention against apartheid in sports. We hope that this Convention will come into force soon and will be instrumental in the further isolation of the South African racists. Decisions taken at this session of the General Assembly should make a valid contribution in this regard.

To that end the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, together with the delegations of other States, has sponsored a number of draft resolutions, in particular on international solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa, the application of co-ordinated and strictly monitored measures against South Africa, the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, relations between Israel and South Africa, and the introduction of an embargo on oil supplies to South Africa. Our delegation also supports the measures proposed in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the elimination of apartheid, the early granting of independence to Namibia and the unconditional cessation of aggressive actions of the racist Pretoria régime against neighbouring African countries. Our delegation is ready to co-operate in the achievement of these noble purposes.

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): The situation in South Africa over the past year has continued to deteriorate as a result of the Draconian and repressive measures inflicted on the black majority by the racist régime through the imposition of the nation-wide state of emergency, decreed in 1985 and which still continues. During this period, tens of thousands of people fighting for their inalienable right to self-determination and independence have been arrested, tortured, maimed, killed or detained without trial. The régime has grown so desperate that opponents of the apartheid policy have been killed on the streets by its ruthless security forces and police. These victims of indiscriminate killings, arrests and detention include even children under eight years of age. The violence resorted to by the racist régime has claimed hundreds of innocent lives. In the past two years, for example, it is estimated that a total of over 2,500 people have died and over 30,000 remain incarcerated without trial. Lately, there are disturbing reports concerning the disappearance of even children, press censorship, abductions, secret assassinations and murder squads and the use of instigated right-wing vigilantes, who carry out cold-blooded murder against their fellow brothers and sisters.

However, despite all this State-sponsored terrorism, the black majority are now determined, more than ever before, to dismantle the hated policy of apartheid and in its place to establish a non-racial and democratic society in a united South Africa. The determination of the struggling people against the racist régime was well exemplified by the month-long strike by miners last August while demanding increased pay and better living conditions. The people of South Africa have also made it clear that they will not be cowed by the apparatus of the repressive régime unless and until their political, economic and social rights are restored.

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of Tanzania)

In this context, the so-called reforms currently being orchestrated by the racist régime are meaningless, because the main pillars of apartheid are still intact. The Group Areas Act, the Population Act, the Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act, to mention only a few, are a telling illustration of the sad fact that the racist minority régime is still determined to perpetuate its evil system of apartheid not only inside South Africa, but in Namibia as well.

The policy of the so-called "Bantustans" is yet another deep-rooted policy of the apartheid régime aimed at perpetuating the hated and inhuman policy of apartheid based on the colour of one's skin. In view of this obsolete and primitive philosophy, the disenfranchised majority black population is relegated to an inferior status in South Africa. The "whites only" elections held in May this year is a case in point. The elections, which were held at the height of increased internal resistance, were undoubtedly intended to boost the morale of the racist régime, whose policies had become unworkable and had made South Africa ungovernable.

In this regard, we commend the liberation movements of South Africa for their resolve to eradicate apartheid with all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle. We also commend the steps being taken by the enlightened white South Africans, especially university students, academicians, businessmen, parliamentarians, church leaders and others, for the opening up of contacts and dialogue with the leaders of the liberation movements. We believe that such contacts are a prerequisite to creating trust among the South African people.

The recent release of Mr. Govan Mbeki does not call for any gratitude to the Botha régime. Mr. Mbeki was jailed on trumped-up charges. The restoration of his freedom is, therefore, a recognition by the racist régime of the grave injustice it committed on Mr. Mbeki. His release should mark the beginning towards the

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long-awaited release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. We reiterate our call on the racist régime to lift the ban on all the political parties. The régime should observe the principle of one man-one vote in free and democratic elections to be held nation-wide after the dismantling of apartheid.

The policy of apartheid, already unanimously condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity and an affront to human conscience, is the root cause of the political instability in southern Africa. The racist régime's acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbouring States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, is a serious threat to world peace and security. The frequent armed attacks by the Pretoria régime against the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique, and all the other front-line States, is aimed at nothing else but the perpetuation of the evil policy of apartheid. The racist régime's illegal occupation of Namibia, the arming, supporting and financing of UNITA and the Renamo bandits in Angola and Mozambique, respectively, are also all aimed at perpetuating its apartheid policies.

The case of Mozambique, which involves the arming and financing of the RENAMO, or MNR bandits, has caused hunger and untold misery and suffering to the people of Mozambique. Of late, the RENAMO bandits have resorted to carrying out cowardly attacks on defenceless women and children and putting on fire buses crowded with innocent people, in addition to destruction of badly needed social and economic infrastructures. The Mozambican people should not continue to be victimized by South African-backed bandits; they deserve and merit peace. It is the duty of the international community as a whole to rally to their aid.

We reject the policy of constructive engagement pursued by a major Power in collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa. The policy, if anything, has just increased the suffering of the people in southern Africa and made the apartheid

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régime more intransigent. The people of Namibia continue to be denied their right to independence because of irrelevant and extraneous issues and the front-line States have become targets of unprovoked aggression. It is estimated that the loss caused to the front-line States and other neighbouring countries has exceeded \$15 billion in the past five years. Roads, railways, hospitals, hydroelectric power stations and transmission lines, schools, dispensaries, to mention but some, have become targets of the South African-backed armed bandits. The international community should thus respond positively to calls of assistance to the front-line States in the face of this naked aggression. In this connection, we commend the non-aligned countries for establishing the AFRICA Fund. We also commend the Nordic and some European Economic Community countries, Canada and other donor countries for their economic assistance to the front-line States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries. It is our hope that their assistance will continue until apartheid itself is eradicated in South Africa, thus paving the way to genuine self-determination and independence for Namibia.

(Mr. Chagula, United Republic
of Tanzania)

The defiance of the racist régime and its refusal to implement the various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the abolition of apartheid is a matter of grave concern to my delegation. We believe that the strength with which the racist régime has been able to carry out attacks against its neighbours and its support for armed bandits, such as those of UNITA and RENAMO, would cease if punitive economic measures were taken against it. It is now high time the Security Council imposed comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime; for this is the only effective and peaceful means left of forcing the régime to abandon its apartheid policies in South Africa and Namibia. Let there be no excuse by those which oppose the application of sanctions against South Africa but which, in a double-standard manner, unashamedly impose them elsewhere, as we all know.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon the General Assembly to request the Security Council to send a clear and unambiguous message to the racist régime about the unanimous agreement by the international community to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the racist régime so as to compel it to abandon its apartheid policies. In this context, one essential is the scrupulous and thorough implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), on the arms embargo against the racist régime.

In this regard, the establishment by the General Assembly of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa is a step in the right direction. My delegation, as a member of the Group, wishes to appeal to the oil-producing and oil-shipping countries to undertake effective legislative and punitive measures to deter multinational oil corporations and shipping companies from supplying oil to the racist régime. We strongly believe that the imposition of an effective oil embargo

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would not only force the racist régime to the negotiating table, but also considerably reduce the ability of the régime to carry out acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States.

In conclusion, I wish to extend my delegation's gratitude and appreciation to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Joseph Garba, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, for his indefatigable efforts in sensitizing the international community against the evil policies of the Pretoria apartheid régime. We hope that the international community will, sooner rather than later, act in concert to bring about the total abolition of apartheid.

Mr. KAROUI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): The only way to explain how a political system based on the principle of racial discrimination and apartheid has managed to survive is to see it as part of the strategy of oppression and domination which has always offended our sense of justice, dignity, and peace. Experience has amply shown that such a system is inseparable from violence.

The present climate in southern Africa is heavy with uncertainty and threats. There is uncertainty regarding the harmful effects the blind policy of the Pretoria régime cannot fail to have for the future of the indigenous people of South Africa, the future of the Namibian people and the future of neighbouring independent countries subjected to brute force and clear-cut acts of aggression. There are threats because international peace and security are endangered by these acts of aggression, the continuing occupation and the escalation of inhuman practices.

How then are we to deal with their situation and with the Government of South Africa's declared desire for hegemony with regard to Namibia and all southern Africa?

(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

First, the practice of apartheid must be seen in its proper context. It is not simply a moral problem or a question of violation of human rights. It is also a political problem, concerning the legitimate exercise of power by the majority, while the white minority stubbornly wishes to perpetuate its domination over that same black indigenous majority made up of 24 million individuals who are constantly being reminded that they are aliens in their own land.

But it is also an economic problem, because the human and natural resources of the country are being shamefully exploited and, indeed, are considered the exclusive property of the white minority and their leaders.

Finally, apartheid is a social problem because of the abject poverty of the millions of South African blacks who are forced to live in the poorest and most remote regions where they must daily deal with the most outrageous injustices of our time.

This then is a colonial enclave where there is a system based on racism and exploitation, the systematic use of violence and force, repression and aggression, constant defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions and of world public opinion, and total disregard of international morality and law.

At times one is inclined to engage in wishful thinking, hoping that the South African régime will change in some way its attitude and its indescribable concepts thanks to the patient representations of the international community and the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. But all this has been going on now for decades. Is it likely that that régime will of its own accord make this change, heed the voice of reason, and accept the new realities of our world?

(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

What is the situation today? We are witnessing an intensification of policies centred on the inexorable logic of the system of apartheid and domination, and increasingly repressive legislation to strengthen racial segregation and deprive Namibians and South African blacks of their most basic and sacred rights, including their right to full citizenship. New brutal measures are constantly taken to send to prison - or to death - freedom fighters, whose only sin is their opposition to apartheid and occupation. Sterner military measures and new, more sophisticated weapons are obligingly supplied from outside or manufactured within the country with imported technology. Finally, enormous and ever-increasing economic and financial investments come from abroad, attracted by the desire for quick profits; outside investors aggressively exploit and plunder the resources of Namibia and South Africa for the sole benefit of transnational corporations and the minority Pretoria régime.

I just mentioned that we can hardly expect any voluntary change on the part of the South African Government. But are we to continue to make the same response to that unchanging stance of defiance and arrogance? Is it not time to re-evaluate our position, adopt a new approach and undertake new, resolute joint action?

There is no question that enforcement action and comprehensive mandatory sanctions under the Charter should be imposed against South Africa. The arms embargo should be strengthened, and a whole range of action must be taken to disseminate information so that world public opinion will be more aware of the legitimate demands of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the seriousness of racist practices, and the threat to international peace and security posed by the present situation throughout southern Africa.

(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

Although the racist régime of Pretoria has intensified its massive repression and violence against the oppressed South African majority, progress in the struggle for freedom in South Africa and international support for the peoples of southern Africa and their legitimate aspirations now hold out hope for the prompt and total elimination of apartheid and the advent of freedom and peace for all those peoples, especially since a general and unprecedented rebellion has been unleashed against apartheid.

Tunisia once again reaffirms its commitment, support and active solidarity with respect to the struggle of our fraternal people of South Africa and its liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

To our fraternal people of Namibia and its sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), we reiterate that they are not alone, and that their heroic struggle and their sacrifices are supported by all nations that cherish peace and justice.

We urgently appeal to all peoples and countries and to world public opinion to make a common effort to neutralize the forces of evil and rid mankind of that centuries old aberration, apartheid.

Mr. KARIM (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish to salute at the outset the Special Committee against Apartheid for its intensive efforts to expose the practices of apartheid and alert international public opinion to the racist crimes involved in those practices, which violate every norm and law of humanity and civilized life. Perusal of the Special Committee's report on the political situation in South Africa shows the most regrettable deterioration of that situation, especially in the case of the black majority, which has been deprived of all its civil, political and economic rights and, above all, of the right to self-determination and to a Government based on majority rule.

(Mr. Karim, Sudan)

That deterioration of the political situation manifest itself in several ways. First, the continued political mobilization of the black majority in the face of the nation-wide state of emergency.

Secondly, the May elections, which were conducted on the basis of race among the white minority, which accounts for only 20 per cent of the population and the isolation of the 25-million-strong black majority, that is, 80 per cent of the population, which have no say in running their own affairs or those of their country.

Thirdly, the continuing repression of the population and attacks against black African citizens, especially since the imposition of the state of emergency two years ago.

In this context, the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states that:

"Under cover of the emergency, the basic laws of apartheid are being enforced against blacks in a variety of spheres. In 1986, for instance, about 64,000 Africans were forcibly removed, compared with 40,000 in 1985; nearly 100,000 Africans were arrested for trespassing in 1986". (A/42/22, para. 24)

It goes on to say that:

"the presence of armed men in classrooms, has become institutionalized. As much as four fifths of the country's police force is now on duty in the townships". (para. 25)

Moreover,

"Since September 1984 more than 2,300 persons - most of them black - have been killed" (para. 26), and "40 per cent of the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 are children 18 years of age or even younger" (para. 31)

- younger, indeed, than 13 in some cases. In fact,

(Mr. Karim, Sudan)

"Black children have become the target of violent repression by the State as they have been in the forefront of the resistance in the townships".

(para. 36)

(Mr. Karim, Sudan)

For more than two decades the international community has been calling for the cessation of the racist practices pursued by the Pretoria régime against black citizens, but those calls have been to no avail. With impunity, the racist régime defies the international community, and its citizens continue to suffer from practices and policies that are contrary to all international laws and norms. It could not have persisted in this contemptuous attitude but for the constant aid it receives from certain countries in all fields - political, moral, economic and commercial - especially in the military and security fields with regard to the exchange of information in the nuclear and intelligence fields.

In political terms, the attempts made by the international community to exert political and economic pressure on the apartheid régime and its practices have been all doomed to failure owing to use of the right of veto in the Security Council by certain Western countries permanent members of the Council which have so far prevented the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

In economic and commercial terms, statistics available to us indicate that four Western States have trade relations in excess of 4 per cent of their foreign trade and annual national income.

In military and security terms, the South African establishment stands way above all the front-line States, both qualitatively and quantitatively. This has made it possible for that country to take steps to destabilize those States and keep them under constant military and economic pressure. The best proof of that is the incursions and occupation that have taken place in Angola. Our information indicates that the racist forces are now 300 kilometres inside Angolan territory and that they are engaging in murder and destruction against the Angolan people.

(Mr. Karim, Sudan)

When one speaks of the shameful co-operation with South Africa which enables it to defy the international community, one must stop and consider the measures that the racist Zionist State in Palestine claims to have taken in past months against the other racist State, South Africa, which lead us to make the following observations.

First, those measures have not been taken in implementation of the resolutions of the international community, which for years has been calling for the cessation of the policy of apartheid. Israel has taken those measures under pressure to encourage the United States Congress not to reduce aid to it because of its military co-operation with South Africa - this in spite of the Security Council resolution that imposed an arms embargo 10 years ago.

Secondly, Israel has always claimed that it would not co-operate with South Africa. However, recently, in March 1987, it was obliged to admit that it had close relations with the racist Pretoria régime.

Thirdly, when the Zionist and racist régime in Palestine decided to take certain measures against the racist Pretoria régime such measures were neither mandatory nor clear; indeed, its military and intelligence co-operation with South Africa were passed over in silence. Those measures are not obligatory. Israel merely declared that it did not intend to extend agreements concluded between the two racist régimes. Yet those agreements have no specified time-frame and could remain in force for more than 10 years. Although it says that it prohibits co-operation, at the end of a paragraph it introduces exceptions by using expressions such as "subject to the approval of a competent committee or the competent Israeli authorities".*

*Mr. Karoui (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Karim, Sudan)

In short, my country's delegation feels that those Israeli measures in no way affect the intense co-operation that binds the racist Pretoria régime to the racist Zionist régime in Palestine. Those two régimes are based on anachronistic, outdated concepts of ethnicity and colour - the most abject form of extremism and reaction known to mankind.

The African liberation movements have always said that co-operation between those two régimes is primarily in the military and security fields. That co-operation is particularly evident between the Israeli Mossad and the intelligence services of South Africa, and enables the latter to pursue African militants and to put an end to their activities against apartheid and the racist régime.

Before concluding, I should like to reaffirm Sudan's position with regard to apartheid and the South African régime and to summarize it as follows.

The Pretoria régime is anachronistic; and the policies of apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eliminated completely. It is necessary to enable the black majority to exercise its right to self-determination, free of the white minority's hegemony and domination and in accordance with international law and the will of the international community; to free unconditionally political militants, and first and foremost Nelson Mandela and his comrades; to establish a democratic, non-racial society; to condemn South Africa's policy of aggression against the independent neighbouring African States aimed at destabilizing the region; and to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa to force it to respect the international community's will.

Therefore the delegation of Sudan supports all the draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly and will vote in favour of them.

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): The apartheid policy of

the South African régime is repugnant and cruel: absolute power in the hands of the white minority; political views from another age; and rules of the game that are carefully worked out so as not to allow anyone allegedly a dissident to escape hatred, violence or cruelty.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

Is the denial of the rights of the majority, which is predominantly black, to full citizenship not scandalous? The egregious violation of the rights of black men, women and children has the direct effect of excluding them from political life in South Africa - indeed, life for them is hardly worth living - and is the source of widespread violence in the face of the repressive efforts of the ruling minority, which carefully refines its methods and develops its means.

The following enlightened excerpts from the Secretary-General's report of 15 October 1987 provide the reader with a glimpse of the heart of darkness:

"... the nation-wide state of emergency was extended in December 1986 and again in June 1987 in spite of international opprobrium and reiterated appeals from the international community for its lifting. The Draconian provisions of the emergency and security regulations were further tightened to criminalize and stifle extra-parliamentary opposition, political dissent and protest.

"Under the circumstances, the South African army and police, which are virtually encamped in black townships, have been given exorbitant powers to crack down with impunity on opponents of apartheid; detentions without charge or trial, searches without warrants, bannings of meetings, outdoor funerals and banning of publications have continued unabated.

"According to the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, a prominent human rights monitoring group in South Africa, black townships, which are now being sealed off, are subjected to 'a systematic campaign of terror against children and, indeed, against all township residents. It would seem that this campaign is intended to strike fear into the hearts of all township people to thus break the spirit of unity and resistance that has developed and continues to grow in South Africa'. Detention without charge or trial is common. As a result, activists, many of whom are young persons, disappear." (A/42/659, p. 5, paras. 4-6)

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

Committed to this battle, which inevitably has universal importance and tremendous historical interest, the United Nations must ask how civilized Governments can remain aloof and drag their feet, all the while learnedly professing policies and ways and means to be used against apartheid, which in fact offer an ideal cover for the supporters of apartheid who are in power. As a crime against mankind, apartheid is a constant source of deep concern to those who cherish peace. They are not thinking only of the tragedy of South Africa, but also about the international Territory of Namibia, which has been illegally occupied and colonized, and about the front-line States where there continues to be much bloodshed. President Botha's grotesque review of South Africa's invading troops in Angola the other week was strangely reminiscent of the darkest days of European history marked by the loud raging of the little corporal from Berlin. The international community and all peace- and justice-loving Governments must firmly condemn Botha's régime and demand the unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and compensation for war damage.

What are the people of South Africa to think of the procrastination of the powers that be? What about all the atrocities, the killings and imprisonment of the young and the not-so-young of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) - all these crimes of the apartheid régime that have gone unpunished? What are the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to think as they deal with the unlawful occupation? And the Powers which have a special responsibility to take action and put an end to any act of aggression or threat against international peace and security, what have they done? Indeed, how do the sovereign peoples of the front-line countries feel? After all, they are the victims of acts of aggression and military occupation by South Africa. And yet President Botha and his friends and allies are in effect

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

asking us to accept that apartheid régime with its atrocities, its repeated acts of aggression and its crimes. No. Enough is enough. The international community cannot condone South Africa's continued defiance of international laws and customs and its continued defiance of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

Public opinion has detected definite progress in the steps aimed at isolating the apartheid régime, especially in the economic sphere. However, these measures must be strengthened by stepping up the campaign in support of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. In this respect, the positive attitude of the black leaders and anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa have encouraged the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in its initiatives and measures to come to the assistance of the victims. Firmly supported by the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU successfully created the AFRICA Fund, whose Steering Committee, which has been meeting regularly since the Fund was created, decided to hold its next meeting this month in Brazzaville, Congo.

In the same spirit, and as part of the same effort, my country decided to join the sponsors of the draft resolutions before the General Assembly. Hence my delegation will be voting in favour of these draft resolutions, secure in the knowledge that only comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime will eventually bring it down. Then and only then will there emerge a democratic, multiracial society in South Africa, one that recognizes that the majority of the people should exercise their full rights and fundamental freedoms. That is why the Congo continues to support the efforts of the international community and in particular the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid, whose activities we firmly support.

Mr. MOHSIN (Nepal): At the very outset I wish to stress the great importance that my delegation attaches to the agenda item entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa". In this context, my delegation recalls that Nepal has always considered it a matter of pride and honour to serve as Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and thereby make a humble contribution to the ongoing international campaign directed at securing apartheid's early demise. I should be remiss if on this occasion I failed to take appreciative note of the Committee Chairman's forceful and enlightening contribution to the debate on the item the day before yesterday.

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid so eloquently documents, since the General Assembly took up consideration of the policies of apartheid of the racist Pretoria régime a year ago there has been a further stiffening of Pretoria's position. This has been particularly manifest in its attitude towards the opponents of apartheid both within and outside the country, as well as by its brazen acts of aggression and destabilization against independent African States.

Pretoria's insolent defiance of world public opinion as reflected in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council continues to surface in many heart-rending ways. Apart from creating a climate of general repression in the country under successive states of emergency, the racists of Pretoria have not only sunk to the level of massive arrests of children, but increasingly resorted to the use of surrogate groups, such as vigilantes and death squads, against opponents of the criminal apartheid régime.

The racist régime's intensification of acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States - often indirectly - has also not gone unnoticed by the international community. It is equally galling to my delegation that the unrepentant South African segregationists should stubbornly persist in illegally

(Mr. Mohsin, Nepal)

holding on to Namibia, once again in open defiance of the repeatedly expressed will of the international community in favour of Namibia's immediate independence.

More positively, it is encouraging to note that, while national liberation movements within South Africa have been able to strengthen their activities, they have also been able to gain increasing recognition abroad. Similar note also deserves to be taken, we believe, of the fact that the black trade union movement in South Africa has, despite the repression by the racist bigots at the helm of political power, continued to grow.

On this occasion my delegation also takes note of the recent release of Mr. Govan Mbeki by the Pretoria authorities after he had languished in South Africa's infamous prisons for more than 23 years. We sincerely hope that this is not just an isolated action but is the beginning of a process of national reconciliation that ought to have started long, long ago. We reiterate our call for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Zephania Mothopeng and others in a similar situation. We believe that such action could help create the political atmosphere necessary for negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people, leading, ultimately, to a democratic, multiracial society in South Africa. This goal - which all people of goodwill the world over would like to see attained - can obviously not be secured through exercises such as the sham whites-only election of last May, which sought to provide the fig leaf of legitimacy to Pretoria's ruling National Party and its so-called constitutional plan of power-sharing based on ethnicity.

As I have already stated, Nepal has had the honour of serving on the Special Committee against Apartheid ever since it was set up in 1962. We have always

(Mr. Mohsin, Nepal)

attached great importance to our work in the Special Committee, which we see as being totally in line with Nepal's belief in the equality not only of nations, but also of races.

We were therefore pleased to be able to make a modest contribution to the Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa, which was established by the Non-Aligned Movement at its Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government, in Harare last year. This is for the specific purpose of providing emergency assistance to front-line and other African States to enable them to withstand the effects of retaliatory sanctions by racist Pretoria. We appeal today for generous contributions to the Solidarity Fund, which would strengthen the ability of front-line and other States to pursue programmes and policies that aim at the total dismantling of the hateful apartheid system, which is a blot on the face of human civilization.

My delegation is concerned to learn that the Pretoria régime has been able to exploit the current glut in the oil market and circumvent the oil embargo. It is also concerned to note that, while some Governments have taken a number of economic measures against racist South Africa, some even on their own initiative, others have been less forthcoming.

We believe that the draft resolutions now before us relating to the policies of apartheid of the Pretoria régime express very well what should be the direction and priority of our collective efforts to bring about the collapse of the apartheid structure. We believe that they deserve the full and earnest support of all.

I end by reiterating Nepal's deep conviction that the application of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions remains the best and perhaps the only remaining means of bringing about a peaceful transition to a multiracial, representative society in South Africa.

Mr. AGATHOCLEOUS (Cyprus): Racial discrimination and apartheid have been unanimously held by Member States to be in violation of the Charter of the United Nations as well as of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all other international instruments on human rights. Yet it has been, and continues to be, the basis of the political and legal system of the Pretoria regime in South Africa, in defiance of the Charter and the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Moreover, the survival of this inhuman apartheid system is based on repression, State terror, intimidation and blackmail.

There are some who still believe that the Pretoria régime could be approached with caution through the policy of constructive engagement, a policy of persuasion gradually to transform South Africa into a free and democratic society, with equal rights for all citizens. Events, however, have shown, and continue clearly to show, that it is futile to expect this transformation, because the apartheid system, based as it is on injustice and immorality, and therefore intrinsically evil, is incapable of any transformation or reform. It can only be totally eradicated.

Only the other day the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid detailed for us the grim realities of the South African situation. Arrest and detention of even women and children, trials, tortures, executions, abductions and assassinations have become the order of the day. The press has been muzzled. The policies of homelands and forced population removals continue unabated. The main pillars of that evil system are intact.

However, it is important to note that, despite all the terror of the police State under the continuing state of emergency, the determination of the struggling people of South Africa is stronger than ever.

(Mr. Agathocleous, Cyprus)

The recent release of Mr. Govan Mbeki, although welcome, is an isolated and unconvincing gesture. Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the indomitable struggle of the black majority against racist bondage, as well as thousands of others, are still in prison, where they have been for more than a quarter of a century. We shall continue to insist on their immediate and unconditional release if conditions are to be created conducive to meaningful negotiations for the desired fundamental changes in South Africa.

However hard we may try, we cannot escape facing the real issue as regards South Africa, and the real issue is how to effectively and speedily eradicate the evil system of apartheid and racial discrimination. Should we, as an international community working together in a determined way, follow the course of the Charter, and in particular Chapter VII, and thus bring about the change peacefully, or should we allow events in South Africa to take the present course of coercion, repression and State terrorism on the one hand and armed struggle on the other, leading inevitably to a horrifying blood-bath and unimaginable human and material destruction? The desirable choice is obvious, and we still have the time to halt the course of events. But we must be unanimous and determined to use comprehensive and effective sanctions for as long as is necessary to bring about the desired result.

Cyprus, along with the rest of the Non-Aligned Movement, and indeed almost the whole of the international community with the regrettable exception of a few, is committed to working in earnest to achieve this goal. We still believe and hope that the peaceful dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic and unified South Africa is still within our reach.

We shall therefore this year, as before, support all the draft resolutions before us in the fervent hope that very soon those among us that still hesitate

(Mr. Agathocleous, Cyprus)

will eventually join with us to apply in practice the principles which we all support - for support of principles by itself, without their actual application, is not only meaningless but harmful as it gives comfort to the guilty party and allows it cynically to defy our efforts and our calls.

In the final analysis, those who now refuse to follow the peaceful course of the Charter through comprehensive and mandatory sanctions will have forfeited their right to criticize, or even to regret, the inevitable revolutionary and bloody alternative.

Let us hope that it can be averted.

Mr. JARRETT (Liberia): Once again, my delegation wishes to register its grave concern at the continuous and unabated deterioration in the social and political condition of the black population of South Africa brought about by the repressive and oppressive policies of the white minority racist régime in Pretoria.

Before I proceed I should like to extend my delegation's gratitude to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its dynamic Chairman for the crucial role it continues to play in sensitizing international public opinion about the plight of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. The report of the Special Committee to the forty-second session of the General Assembly, as graphically contained in document A/42/22, is replete with factual up-to-date accounts of the increasing brutal repression of the black majority in South Africa, aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring States and the heroic resistance of national liberation movements, the black labour movements, students, youths, religious leaders and institutions, against the evil policy of apartheid.

The racial policies of South Africa have been an annual fixture on the agenda of the Assembly since 1946. This then means that after 41 years the United Nations is still seeking a solution to this vexing problem.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

What then accounts for this long delay? It is the opinion of my delegation that the international community has been unable to muster the necessary political will to enforce compliance by the Pretoria régime with the many resolutions and decisions of the Assembly and the Security Council. It would seem to us that the signals we send to the racist white minority in Pretoria are not strong enough for them to understand that we are indeed determined to see an end to the abhorrent policy of apartheid. So, after four decades, this policy continues to be the order of the day in South Africa.

It should be obvious by now that the racist régime in Pretoria cannot be reasoned with and that it does not intend to respect or comply with the decisions of this Organization. Those who advocate "constructive engagement" should now realize that this policy, which has been rejected by the international community, has also been abandoned by the white minority whose only interest is to make race the basis of political rights, thereby depriving the vast majority of the population of their own rights and human dignity.

As long as the eradication of apartheid is delayed, the racist régime in Pretoria will continue to tighten its stranglehold on the black majority for whom life becomes more unbearable each day. The black population is continuously harassed and lives under mounting repression. The use of surrogate forces, such as vigilantes and death squads, by the white minority has grown to an unprecedented level. A recent media report stated that between 7,500 and 10,000 children, aged were in custody in 1985 and 1986 "awaiting trial". About 2,185 children were serving gaol sentences in January this year, while another 2,280 accompanied their mothers to prison last year. The report also stated: "Such incidents add up to a systematic campaign of terror against children ... to break the spirit of unity and resistance".

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

While this reign of terror goes on inside South Africa, the apartheid régime continues to engage in State terrorism and to commit acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring States, as well as to give military support to the UNITA and RENAMO bandits, who are fighting against the legitimate Governments of Angola and Mozambique, respectively. Other front-line States, such as Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe, have at one time or another been either attacked or subjected to economic blockade by the racist régime. These acts of aggression and destabilization are intended to weaken the economies of those independent States and keep them dependent on South Africa, as well as to dissuade them from supporting opponents of apartheid.

In spite of the Draconian measures of the racist régime, resistance to apartheid continues to be intensified. The national liberation movements, the black labour movements, students and youths, religious leaders and institutions, grass-roots organizations and white critics of the system have given a new dimension to the struggle against apartheid. This is indicative of a determined and concerted effort by the members of the oppressed majority to free themselves from the shackles of the apartheid policy of the white minority. The continuous and increasing police violence is a manifestation of the régime's bankruptcy and its inability to govern except by excessive military force and police brutality.

It continues to be the considered opinion of the Government of Liberia that apartheid cannot be abolished through dialogue with the racist régime. Increased international pressure is the only peaceful means at our disposal to eradicate this despicable policy. We therefore urge the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and call upon those who up to now have opposed sanctions to reassess the implications of their actions.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

As the Government of Liberia supports and calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, because of its intransigence and its persistent refusal to dismantle its apartheid policy, it calls also for increased political, material and other support for the people of South Africa, the front-line States, including Namibia, and their liberation movements in their just struggle against racism and colonial domination. As we said earlier, sustained military and economic pressures are being put on the front-line States to make them dependent on South Africa and to deter them from supporting the opponents of apartheid, and we have no doubt that comprehensive sanctions effectively applied would greatly increase those pressures and adversely affect the economies of those States.

My delegation, like those that spoke earlier, welcomes the recent release from detention of the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Govan Mbeki, and other political prisoners. That action will be all the more gratifying if the Pretoria régime proceeds with the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and lifts the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa and other political parties.

The Government of Liberia will not support any superficial reforms designed to divert attention from the heroic struggle of the people, who are resisting the might and fury of a police force armed with the most modern sophisticated instruments of war.

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated. It is a crime against humanity, and its elimination offers the prospect of peace in southern Africa. Apartheid must be uprooted and replaced by a just and democratic society embracing all the people of South Africa and based on equality of civil and political rights and on respect for the individual.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In conformity with General Assembly resolution 31/152 of 20 December 1976, I call now upon the Observer of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Mr. ANGULA (South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)):

Mr. President, my delegation renews its congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at the current session.

On 30 October 1987, the Security Council adopted resolution 601 (1987), which authorized the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in order to undertake the administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. Since then, 19 days have gone by, yet there seems to be no imminent response from the apartheid régime, notwithstanding SWAPO's prompt offer of a cease-fire agreement with that régime.

Furthermore, on 6 November, the General Assembly concluded three days of debate on the question of Namibia. Again, the response from the ruling Botha-Malan-Botha clique was the usual contempt with which it treats this world body. In his press release of 7 November, Botha, the Foreign Minister, commenting on the General Assembly resolution on the question of Namibia, not only subjected this world assembly to the oft-repeated accusation of so-called favouritism towards SWAPO, but also arrogated to himself the power to question the General Assembly's competence to pass judgement on South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. Such is racist Pretoria's opinion concerning this important question, universally acknowledged to be an international responsibility.

To add insult to injury, while the Security Council was working to adopt a resolution calling for a cease-fire in Namibia, the Boer régime was ordering more troops to commit further acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

(Mr. Angula, SWAPO)

When the international community, through the General Assembly, was seized of the Namibian question, South Africa announced to the world, publicly, its military presence in Angola, in callous disregard of international law.

(Mr. Angula, SWAPO)

Last Saturday, 14 November, through the press, the international community learned with dismay that the leaders of apartheid South Africa - led personally by fascist P.W. Botha, the apartheid President - in an act unprecedented in modern times, of utter disregard for international law, paid a so-called visit to their troops in occupied southern Angola. Only Nazi Germany's Hitler was capable of committing such an act of repudiation of international conduct. SWAPO of Namibia strongly condemns the ruling Boer clique for the unprovoked aggression against Angola.

Our presentation should surprise no one, for without the apartheid system in South Africa the question of the occupation of Namibia would not arise; nor would the war of aggression unleashed against Angola through Namibian territory be a subject for discussion. Apartheid is a cancer eating at the bone marrow of all southern Africa. It has been rightly described as a crime against humanity.

Apartheid, the subject of our discussion, is an ugly philosophy based on heaps of lies and false conceptions through which the minority whites in South Africa, since their arrival in that part of our continent about 400 years ago, have sought to appropriate power by crookery, thievery and armed robbery. The minority whites are descendants of mediaeval Europe's outcasts and persecuted religious dissidents, who through prejudice and because of their inferiority complex tried to take refuge in the false concept of the most outdated and disgraced Old Testament myths and allegories that supposedly brand African people, or blacks, Canaanites, and therefore condemned to be eternal slaves of the whites. In this false concept of the origin of the races the South African rulers, generation after generation, found nourishment in conceptualizing their misconceived philosophy of apartheid.

An understanding of the historical background of the racist minority in South Africa is imperative if one is to grasp the moral, spiritual and ethical values of

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white South Africa and why they are in sharp contrast to those of African peoples, whose moral values are kindness, love, tolerance and humanity - the essential components of a sedentary and settled way of life.

Apartheid - sometimes referred to as "separate development", which is meant to mislead the public - has been rightly declared by the international community to be a new form of slavery. Slavery and racial discrimination are twin brothers, children of the process of violent territorial expansion, that promote legal discrimination and segregation on ethnic, social and religious grounds. Apartheid is the current chronic development stage of this long-established malignant socio-political disease. Apartheid, that ignominious creation of a particularly sick segment of mankind, is influenced and motivated by the evil forces of envy, prejudice and greed. It fosters widespread dehumanization, torture and subjugation of African peoples and thrives on the violent and illegal territorial expansion associated with genocide.

Violent territorial expansion, together with slavery, has been used to destroy ancient African civilizations. To many it is the agency that inflicts on them brutality and torture, massive misery and inspired barbarity, programmed pain, organized murder and early death. To others it is a recognized way of life, a treasured means, hallowed instrument and legal agency to promote brutality, terrorism and genocide with impunity, to achieve enduring socio-political power and speedy wealth, in conformity with the doctrine according to which the world is for those who have access to land-ownership and to whom the heavenly kingdom shall be open.

In their fanatical search for earthly kingdoms, the minority whites in South Africa and Namibia have robbed the African people of every essential element of life. In South Africa 86.3 per cent of the land belongs to the whites, who make up 15.5 per cent of the population, and only 13.7 per cent belongs to the

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84.5 per cent Africans, Coloureds and Asians. Inevitably, this kind of situation has led to peasant revolts, many times put down in cold blood. Govan Mbeki, in his South Africa: the Peasants' Revolt, wrote:

"The people do not bear suffering such as they bore when the army occupied the Transkei without becoming steeled in their determination to regroup, re-examine their methods of struggle, develop new ones, and retain the spirit that seeks forever for freedom."

We welcome the release from Robben Island of that indefatigable fighter for African freedom and leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Comrade Govan Mbeki. His release is a victory for progressive forces the world over, in particular those that have tenaciously carried on the campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia.

It is this combination of imposed poverty, denial of fundamental human rights and intolerance by the minority white supremacists that has driven the majority to embark on the present revolutionary path, which the Botha ruling clique describes as "disturbances sponsored by outside forces". Initiatives have long since slipped out of the hands of the settlers. The people will now for ever determine the course of history in South Africa, notwithstanding the massive build-up of arms supplied, indisputably, by major Western capitalist Powers, themselves guilty of being partners in the carnage unleashed by the ruling white supremacists.

It is the arms from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and others that the Boer régime has been using to gun down schoolchildren in the streets of South African cities, and peasant communities in Namibia. Apartheid South Africa has not only unleashed wars of aggression against the black populations of South Africa and occupied Namibia; it has, against all norms of international law, subjected neighbouring independent

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African States to an undeclared war of aggression, the principal victims being Angola and Mozambique, although not a single country in the region has been spared South Africa's attack.

Angola alone, in monetary terms, has suffered damage amounting to \$US 12 billion. Right now, as I speak here, South Africa has 7,000 troops inside Angolan territory fighting a legally constituted Government, while reports reaching us a short while ago tell of a tank division of approximately 10,000 men massing on the Angolan border from Namibian territory. Yet the United States has the audacity to demand the withdrawal not of aggressive foreign troops from Angolan territory, but of friendly volunteers assisting that young Republic.

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Such is the logic of imperialism. The victim is asked to ensure security for the aggressor, which has to be appeased not only by economic incentives but also by delivering to it more Stinger and TOW missiles to commit more savage attacks against unarmed peasants. Such is the frequently stated civilized behaviour of Washington, London and Bonn.

An eminent member of the Namibian clergy, during a discussion with me, made a comparative analysis of Angola, South Africa and the United States. He said that South Africa is a highway robber and rapist and Angola is an innocent woman travelling on the highway. Angola repeatedly had the experience of being raped by the highway robber, South Africa. But once she decides to put on many underpants, and the robber now has a problem in continuing the rape. When the robber continues to force her, she cries out for help and a passer-by, a merchant - that is, the United States of America - says, "Why are you crying out?". She says, "Help me. This man is attacking me," And the passer-by, the United States of America, says, "Why do you put on so many panties? You had better get rid of those panties in order to ensure that the robber does not violate you any more." That is the situation of an armed or lightly armed country that is asked to divest itself of the little defence it has in order that the rapist may continue to rape it.

Notwithstanding this imperialist collusion in the suppression of our peoples' aspirations, there is growing resistance to apartheid. The national liberation movements, the labour movements, students and youth, religious leaders and institutions, grass-roots organizations and enlightened whites have given new dimensions to the struggle against apartheid in Namibia and South Africa. Every act of repression perpetrated by the Boer régime against the African people in our two countries breeds new hard-core militants united in their resolve to overthrow

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the apartheid system. Moreover, every criminal act of aggression against the front-line States and other neighbouring countries is met with undeterred determination on the part of the front-line States in particular and their allies in the international community in general to intensify the anti-apartheid struggle.

In this connection Franz Fanon's axioms in his book, Towards the African Revolution, remain as valid today as when he said,

"Among colonized people there seems to exist a kind of illuminating and sacred communication as a result of which each liberated territory is at a certain time promoted to the ranks of 'guide territory'. The independence of a new territory, the liberation of new peoples, are felt by the other oppressed countries as an invitation, an encouragement and a promise. Every setback to colonial domination in America or in Asia strengthens the national will of the African peoples. It is in the national struggle against the oppressor that colonized peoples have discovered, concretely, the solidarity of the colonialist bloc and the necessary interdependence of the liberation movements."

The anti-apartheid struggle has indeed gained momentum. We note with appreciation legislative measures initiated by the Nordic countries and others against apartheid South Africa. It is our hope that the Washington/London/Bonn anti-sanction axis will in the not-too-distant future join in the international consensus on seeking to impose mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria, for these remain the only peaceful means that promise change in South Africa with minimal bloodshed. The apologists for apartheid must understand that sanctions offer the best hope of avoiding a total catastrophic race war in South Africa.

Time is running out for peaceful solutions to the problems of apartheid South Africa. If that system is not abolished soon the whole region of southern Africa

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may go up in flames through a violent upheaval whose consequences for the white minority are predictable.

Yet, should not the world, in particular the anti-sanction axis, lend its ears to the wise counsel of the world-renowned French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who at one time remarked:

"From how many crimes, woes and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes, might not anyone have saved mankind by pulling up the stakes or filling up the ditch and crying to his fellows, 'Beware of listening to these imposters. You are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all and the earth to nobody.'"

In conclusion, allow me, on behalf of the fighting people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, to express our support for the Special Committee against Apartheid, which under the able and dedicated leadership of Ambassador Joseph Garba, representative of Nigeria, continues to mobilize the international community against the apartheid system and in support of the just struggle of the people of South Africa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in conformity with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), of 22 November 1974.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): Who could better understand the plight of the people of South Africa and what they suffer through being deprived of their fundamental human, social and political rights, who could better understand the desire and desperation of the people of South Africa to live free at this time, the end of the twentieth century, who could better understand their struggle in pursuit of happiness, health and education, but, primarily, to be considered human beings - a status that they have been denied - than we Palestinian

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people? We not only understand, but share their aspirations, their plight and their suffering. What is more, we share not just their aspirations and hopes; but the joint struggle and determination to free ourselves from the practices of the dark mediaeval ages.

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Racism and racial discrimination are the underlying factor and ideology in the policies and practices of both régimes, the apartheid and the Zionist régime. Both are anachronisms, and it is high time that the international community represented here took concrete action against both. We believe it is fully within the powers vested in this Organization and its various organs to take such action.

Is it sufficient to reject the accreditation of the representatives of the apartheid racist régime and keep them out of this Assembly, when the Charter provides us with concrete means - comprehensive mandatory sanctions? But for an immoral régime in Pretoria it is not at all significant or relevant whether it is here or not. What hurts is what hits the pocket.

In May 1981, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa stressed the need to apply sanctions as the most appropriate and effective means to ensure South Africa's compliance with the decisions of the United Nations. It is the only means to ensure respect for the international norms of civilized behaviour, including respect for the principles of the Charter, particularly the principle of self-determination, and for the provisions of the international covenants on social, political and economic rights.

The international community is duty-bound to demonstrate by deeds the universal abhorrence of apartheid and to demonstrate its solidarity with the legitimate aspirations and struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

Could the racist apartheid régime survive without the concrete support of some very well-known States, Member States of the Organization? Some are even hypocritically carrying the banner of freedom and democracy. I wonder whether they know what that means. At least they claim that they do.

The imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions of necessity calls for safeguards and guarantees that they will be respected and enforced. Trojan horses must be identified and dealt with.

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Shopping for steel, timber, tobacco, hides, wool, sugar, foodstuffs and paper products here in New York and other major cities - and not even major cities - in the United States, one "innocently" purchases so-called Israeli products. But how Israeli are they? They are produced by Koor, Iskoor or Mondi Paper Company and others. Such South African products will eventually be in United States markets through the free-trade agreement with Israel, as is currently the case in some European markets. Let us not be misled by the International Monetary Fund tables concerning commerce and trade between the two racist régimes.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/42/22/Add.1) shows the total value of trade as approximately \$265 million. But honesty prevailed, and the report tells us that those figures exclude military sales, diamonds, gold and goods intended for re-export. The re-export of "Israeli" diamonds in 1983 totalled \$1 billion, of which \$800 million-worth were rough diamonds from, most probably, or almost certainly, occupied Namibia. The \$200 million difference represents polishing.

We should not miss the point. It is through Israel that South Africa's racist régime can ensure that it has economic and financial resources. Here I reiterate that comprehensive mandatory sanctions will be meaningless without safeguards and guarantees ensuring respect for such sanctions by all Member States.

The General Assembly has heard a great deal about brutality, inhuman behaviour and discrimination based simply on the fact that one person looks black and another is not all that black. But maybe such people are more black at heart, or those with black skins are really clean at heart. The people of South Africa and their leaders have had enough of this situation. They have decided to adopt and advocate realistic policy aimed at achieving peace through democracy and the end of acts of State terrorism and the perpetuation of racism in all its forms. They are keen

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to ensure for the generations to come what they themselves have missed - happiness and prosperity.

We are alerted to beware of some manoeuvres by the Botha régime, which continues to spend millions of dollars on a propaganda campaign to promote numerous bogus groups being groomed for co-option. We in occupied Palestine, in those Palestinian territories occupied by Israel, have gone through that stage. The Israelis have their supporters, and millions of dollars flow from the United States to promote Quislings in our country. Our beliefs, our determination and our struggle have frustrated all those attempts by the Israelis and those supporting them and keeping them alive, particularly from the coffers of the United States and the funds raised in the United States, depriving the United States people of their dues and also depriving the people of the United Nations of their dues.

The Botha régime has neither the desire nor the intention to engage in any meaningful negotiations. We are told by our comrades-in-arms, our brothers in the struggle, that, on the contrary, everything the Botha régimes does is directed at the destruction of their national liberation movement. We are not surprised. We have the same enemy, with the same tactics, on Palestinian territory. In South Africa it is the suppression of the democratic movement and the entrenchment and perpetuation of the apartheid system of white domination; in our case it is an ideology and a narcissism of exclusivity. The Botha régime intends to impose its will on those it may be talking to and force them to accept its dictates. It is very clear that, as the representative of the African National Congress told us:

"The conflict in our country is between the forces of national liberation and democracy on the one hand, and those of racism and reaction on the other. Any negotiations would have to be conducted by those two forces, as

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represented by their various organizational formations ... We call on the international community to join the ANC in rejecting, without qualification, the proposed National Statutory Council, which the Botha régime seeks to establish through legislation to be enacted by the apartheid parliament and on the basis of the constitution, which the General Assembly and the Security Council have declared null and void. The National Statutory Council seeks to entrench and legitimize the very structures of apartheid that our struggle seeks to abolish." (A/42/PV.72, p. 122)

Finally, we must pause for a moment to ask: Should the crime against humanity last forever or should we join forces to put an end to it?

The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.