



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

AGENDA ITEM 90

Question of aging: report of the Secretary-General

AGENDA ITEM 84

Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa

AGENDA ITEM 91

Implementation of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons: report of the Secretary-General

AGENDA ITEM 86

Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. POLOWCZYK (Poland), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour and privilege of presenting to the General Assembly this afternoon for consideration and approval eight reports of the Third Committee, on agenda items 84, 86 to 88, 85 and 89 to 91. I will refer to the reports on those items in that order.

AGENDA ITEM 87

Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights: reports of the Secretary-General

2. In paragraph 9 of its report on agenda item 84 [A/39/654], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee by a recorded vote of 104 to 9, with 17 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 88

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination:

- (a) **Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;**
- (b) **Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (c) **Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid: report of the Secretary-General**

3. In paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 86 [A/39/656], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which it adopted by consensus.

4. In paragraph 9 of its report on agenda item 87 [A/39/657], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. Draft resolution I was adopted by a recorded vote of 105 to 17, with 9 abstentions. Draft resolution II was adopted without a vote.

5. In paragraph 15 of its report on agenda item 88 [A/39/658], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of three draft resolutions. Draft resolution I was adopted by a recorded vote of 110 to 1 with 23 abstentions. Draft resolution II was adopted without a vote. With regard to draft resolution III, after separate, recorded votes on paragraphs 2, 3 and 12, the Committee adopted the draft resolution as a whole by a recorded vote of 137 to 1.

AGENDA ITEM 85

International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace: report of the Secretary-General

6. In paragraph 14 of its report on agenda item 85 [A/39/655], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions which it adopted without a vote.

AGENDA ITEM 89

Policies and programmes relating to youth: report of the Secretary-General

7. In paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 89 [A/39/659], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which it adopted without a vote.

8. In paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 90 [A/39/660], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which it adopted without a vote.

9. In paragraph 11 of its report on agenda item 91 [A/39/661], the Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution which it adopted without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Third Committee.

10. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Third Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

11. May I remind members that, in paragraph 7 of its decision 34/401, the Assembly decided that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. I also remind members that, in accordance with Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

12. We shall first take up the report of the Committee on agenda item 84 [A/39/654]. I call on the representative of Ecuador, who wishes to explain his vote before the voting on the proposal before the Assembly.

13. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador, a free, democratic, law-abiding country which respects the principles on which its international policy is based, maintains in all world forums its unswerving position in favour of human rights and rejects all policies of racial discrimination. It could not be otherwise, since article 4 of the Ecuadorian Constitution states that the Ecuadorian State condemns all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, discrimination or racial segregation and recognizes the right of peoples to throw off the yoke of these oppressive systems. Therefore, as it did in the Third Committee, Ecuador will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/39/654].

14. I should, however, emphasize the need for universal, and not selective, implementation of the principle of condemnation of every form of racial discrimination wherever it occurs. Moreover, we do not agree with the inappropriate wording of certain paragraphs of the draft resolutions under agenda items 84, 86, 87 and 88, although we shall vote in favour of or join in the consensus on them. Our dissatisfaction with the wording stems from the unnecessary use of inappropriate, far-fetched language which, instead of creating a climate conducive to political solutions, would tend to exacerbate tension and engender violence in international relations.

15. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa", recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/39/654]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is in document A/39/681. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Malawi, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions (resolution 39/15).¹

16. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

17. Miss MOOKODI (Botswana): My delegation wishes to inform the General Assembly that although we voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted we reserve our position on subparagraphs (c) and (d) of paragraph 5 and on paragraph 12, for reasons well known to the Assembly.

18. Mrs. NHLABATSI (Swaziland): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/39/654, but would like to state its reservation on subparagraphs (c) and (d) of paragraph 5, for reasons known to the Assembly.

19. Mr. VILLAGRA DELGADO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Argentina voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/39/654 because it is convinced that it is useful to exert pressure on South Africa to abandon its policy of racial discrimination. However, the name of Aerolíneas Argentinas has again been included in the list contained in the updated report on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the colonial and racist régime in southern Africa, prepared by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights.² As explained in the note dated 21 September 1984 from the Permanent Mission of Argentina to the Centre for Human

Rights [A/C.3/39/2], Aerolíneas Argentinas has not been flying to South Africa since 1981 and this was duly communicated to the Special Rapporteur.³ Therefore, my country hopes that this error will be corrected and that the name of Argentina will be deleted from the list.

20. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): In voting in favour of the draft resolution submitted under agenda item 84, my delegation joined the international community in reaffirming that any collaboration with the racist régime constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for the establishment of a non-racial, undivided and democratic society in that country, a society wherein each South African, regardless of race, sex or religion, may benefit from the wealth of the country and attain social development.

21. We also expressed our deep concern at the fact that such collaboration remains one of the main obstacles to the eradication of the *apartheid* system, as well as to the elimination of its inhuman, cruel policies. This collaboration also encourages the régime in perpetrating its acts of aggression against neighbouring States. For these reasons, we join the international community in condemning such collaboration.

22. We also share the view that the Security Council should consider taking adequate measures, including those envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

23. However, my delegation would like to put on record that the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique is not in a position to apply sanctions against South Africa for reasons stemming from the geographical position of Mozambique and the historical past imposed on it by colonialism.

24. Therefore, my delegation would like to express its reservations in regard to paragraph 5 of the resolution just adopted.

25. Miss QOANE (Lesotho): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted. However, we would like to put on record that the well-known position of the Lesotho Government with respect to sanctions against South Africa still stands. We therefore reserve our position on subparagraphs (c) and (d) of paragraph 5.

26. The PRESIDENT: We will now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 86 [A/39/656]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination", recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/683. The draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee by consensus. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/16).

27. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their position on the resolution just adopted.

28. Mr. GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The position of the Syrian Arab Republic on the question of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations is known to everyone. There is no need for me to repeat it now, as my delegation spoke at the 12th

meeting of the Third Committee when it considered questions related to racism and the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. My delegation reiterated its view of the Second Decade as being linked to the first Decade, as well as supplementing it. Hence, the concepts of racism as defined in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*], and as consecrated by two world conferences—the first World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978, and the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983—as well as by the relevant General Assembly resolutions, especially resolutions 35/33 of 14 November 1980 and 34/24 of 15 November 1979—all those concepts and principles have not changed, and cannot be changed or altered by anything other than the complete eradication of racism and racial discrimination in all their forms, including zionism, and by the elimination of *apartheid*, which is practised by the South African authorities.

29. At that time my delegation expressed its dissatisfaction for, and even deplored, the plan submitted by the Secretariat on the activities to be undertaken by the Secretary-General during the period 1985–1989 [A/39/167 and *Add. 1 and 2*], in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/14 of 22 November 1983, because it represents a departure from Economic and Social Council resolution 1984/43 of 24 May 1984, especially paragraph 3 thereof, which states:

*"Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session a revised plan of activities for the period 1985–1989, taking into account the priorities reflected in the Programme of Action for the Second Decade and the relevant resolutions and recommendations, including the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the programme of activities to be undertaken during the second half of that Decade, as contained in General Assembly resolutions 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973, particularly paragraphs 18 (b) and (e) thereof, and 34/24 of 15 November 1979;"*⁴

The Secretary-General has indeed presented an amended plan, but has not referred to any activity against the racist practices of the Zionist entity towards the Arab population of occupied Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories.

30. My delegation is keen on seeing a transformation in all efforts aimed at destroying at least one of the two racist bastions in southern Africa, and it did not submit any amendments to the resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted. We believe that every reference to racism inevitably encompasses zionism, which the Assembly has considered as a form of racism. The expression "occupied territories" inevitably includes the occupied Arab territories of Palestine, Jerusalem, the Golan and the West Bank. Every reference to United Nations bodies and organs inevitably includes the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and the Committee on the Exercise of the

Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. On this basis, my delegation decided to join the consensus on this draft resolution. My delegation had hoped that the draft resolution would be approved without any reservation from any side, hoping that that would help the victims of *apartheid* in Africa. But that did not happen.

31. Mr. RAY (United States of America): My delegation wishes the record to reflect the fact that the United States did not participate in the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document A/39/656. The United States is not participating in the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and has not participated in the consideration of agenda item 86 for well-known reasons which were most recently explained when the draft resolution was recommended for adoption in the Third Committee.

32. Miss AL-TURAIHI (Iraq): When we joined the consensus on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/39/656], it was with the understanding that all declarations and resolutions of the Assembly, and decisions of the international conferences organized during the first Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, are applicable to the first and Second Decades, including Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, which considered zionism as a form of racism. The struggle against racism and racial discrimination must be included in the plan of activities for implementing the Programme of Action for the Second Decade, so as to conform with the relevant resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council. It is also our understanding that "occupied territories" means the occupied Arab territories.

33. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

34. Mr. SUFOTT (Israel): My delegation had not wished to do anything to impair the efforts of the African sponsors of the draft resolution to advance the real purposes of the Second Decade. Abuse of the first Decade has already produced the most ill-conceived of all United Nations resolutions, Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), the infamous resolution equating zionism with racism. That same abuse has again thrust itself upon us this afternoon, contrary to the paramount interest of a united effort and unity of purpose. There are Governments represented in the Assembly which have demonstrated in their explanations of vote that they would sacrifice or subordinate to their own narrow political interests the cause of this Decade.

35. This resolution, which has been adopted by consensus, calls for action against *apartheid*, against racism, against the racial genocide of the Kurdish people in Syria and in Iraq, against the almost complete annihilation of the Assyrian Christians in Iraq, against the disfranchisement of the Christians of Syria in the 1962 census and against their persecution and the horrendous racial barbarities perpetrated against them and against Jews, among others, in

Syria—Jewish men, women, girls, incarcerated, raped, murdered.

36. A distinguished Middle East journalist has recently commented that one could take all the human rights of Iraq and place them on the head of a pin and there would still be ample room left for the human rights of Syria. It is an honour to be the object of attack by such régimes and systems. Strictures such as we have heard from Governments such as these are pure praise. We need no other evidence of the decency of our cause.

37. Mr. GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I do not want to dwell on this matter at length or to hamper the work of the Assembly, but I would like to remind the representative of the Zionist entity of the programme presented by the Jewish American journalist, Mike Wallace. The representative should remember this and remember what Wallace said about the status of the Jews in Syria. I do not know if the representative recognizes that there are Arabs in occupied Palestine and knows whether they have any rights.

38. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take up the report of the Committee on agenda item 87 [A/39/657]. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

39. Mr. PASTOR (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When the Third Committee voted on draft resolutions A/C.3/39/L.7, under agenda item 84, and A/C.3/39/L.3, under agenda item 87, we abstained, because the texts contain, although in a milder form, certain elements that are an affront to many countries whether from the east, the west, the north or the south. We consider also that the draft resolutions do not sufficiently emphasize the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. We still have the same reservations and think that those texts could be improved upon. Honduras, however, will vote in favour of both draft resolutions before the Assembly, as it did a few minutes ago with regard to the draft resolution under agenda item 84 since, despite what we have said, they contain many objectives that are compatible with the principles of our foreign policy as described repeatedly in the Assembly. I refer to the principles concerning the struggle against colonialism, *apartheid* and racism, the rejection of the occupation of territories by force and support for the self-determination of peoples, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and reflected in the draft resolutions.

40. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My delegation supports, and will continue to support, the general thrust of draft resolutions aimed at expressing the dissatisfaction of the Assembly with the policies of the Government of South Africa in Namibia and its imposition of the system of *apartheid* in South Africa. This support, however, does not imply that we are in full agreement with all the provisions of the draft resolutions or, indeed, with the language used in those draft resolutions.

41. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/39/657]. Draft resolution I is entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Malawi, Portugal, Spain.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 121 votes to 17, with 7 abstentions (resolution 39/17).⁵

42. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II, entitled "Universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination", was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 39/18).

43. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the Committee on agenda item 88 [A/39/658]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 15 of its report. Draft resolution I is entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq,

Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 121 votes to 1, with 23 abstentions (resolution 39/19).¹

44. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II, entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination", was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 39/20).

45. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination". A separate, recorded vote has been requested on paragraph 2 of draft resolution III. If there is no objection, the Assembly will first vote on that paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Paragraph 2 of draft resolution III was adopted by 123 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions.

46. The PRESIDENT: A separate, recorded vote has also been requested on paragraph 3 of draft resolution III. If there is no objection, the Assembly will now vote on that paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Paragraph 3 of draft resolution III was adopted by 139 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

47. The PRESIDENT: A separate, recorded vote has also been requested on the following part of paragraph 12 of draft resolution III: "including information on the demographic composition of their population and on their relations with the racist régime of South Africa". If there is no objection, the Assembly will now vote on that part of the paragraph.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet

Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

That part of paragraph 12 of draft resolution III was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 22 abstentions.⁶

48. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution III as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Repub-

lic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 145 votes to 1 (resolution 39/21).¹

49. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Committee on agenda item 85 [A/39/655]. The Assembly will now proceed to take decisions on the two draft resolutions recommended in paragraph 14 of that report.

50. Draft resolution I is entitled "International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace". The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/682. The Third Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 39/22).

51. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II, entitled "Efforts and measures for securing the implementation and the enjoyment by youth of human rights, particularly the right to education and work", was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 39/23).

52. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Committee on agenda item 89 [A/39/659] and take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Channels of communication between the United Nations and youth and youth organizations", recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/24).

53. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Committee on agenda item 90 [A/39/660] and take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Question of aging", recommended in paragraph 8 of that report. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/25).

54. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take up the report of the Committee on agenda item 91 [A/39/661] and take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons", recommended in paragraph 11 of that report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/684. The Third Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/26).

AGENDA ITEM 31

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

(a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;

(b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(c) Report of the Secretary-General

55. Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I should like to express to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic our condolences on the death of its Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko. On behalf of my delegation, I request the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to transmit our sincere condolences to its Government and its people and to the family of the deceased.

56. Once again the General Assembly is considering the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Although the United Nations has concerned itself with the question for so many years, the situation in South Africa is deteriorating, acquiring tragic new dimensions.

57. Since the beginning of the discussion of this question in the United Nations numerous resolutions have been adopted. The international community has made several appeals, all of which have gone unheeded by the Pretoria régime, a régime which has persisted in its practices and its defiance of the international community, thus proving its utter disregard of the United Nations and its resolutions.

58. At the very moment when we are discussing this subject, the racists in South Africa are mounting ferocious and criminal repression against the black majority, depriving them of their legitimate political and social rights, reducing the population to silence by brute force and the imprisonment of thousands of young men, women and the elderly.

59. The Pretoria régime's repression is not confined to South Africa. In fact it has used every possible means in order to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia through acts of terrorism and murder against the heroic people trying to break away from the shackles of political slavery imposed upon them by this régime.

60. The South African régime is carrying out its plans by deporting Africans to barren areas in order to force them to live in conditions of poverty and disease, with a view to transforming South Africa into a white man's land and depriving the black majority of its citizenship rights, in order to consolidate its racist control over the entire country and continue its Fascist rule in opposition to growing national resistance and the forces of national liberation.

61. The immoral racist practices of the South African authorities against the black majority give the peoples of South Africa and Namibia the right to carry on an armed struggle with every possible means in order to confront these criminal practices, as well as the acts of brutal repression and genocide commit-

ted by the racist rulers in Pretoria and detention and arrest under arbitrary laws.

62. In its attempts to mislead the international community regarding the true nature of its recent reforms, the racist régime has announced the implementation of the so-called constitutional reforms to give the right to self-determination to the so-called three peoples, but the real objective is, first, to keep the majority of the South African population excluded from the political process and, secondly, to co-opt some segments of the population with a view to promoting the policy of *apartheid*, the continuation of exploitation and the defeat of the struggle for liberation. There is no doubt that the imposition by the racist régime of the so-called new constitution represents blatant defiance of the international community, with serious and far-reaching implications for the already explosive situation in that part of the world.

63. It is regrettable that, although the racist régime in South Africa is continuing its racist policies, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against the front-line States, as well as its defiance of the United Nations resolutions, it is still enjoying the support and co-operation of some Western countries. Their military and economic support has enabled the racist régime to blackmail anti-*apartheid* forces and encouraged the Pretoria régime to persist in its racist policies and its colonization of Namibia. Those countries are co-operating only on the basis of their narrow self-interests, completely disregarding their international and humanitarian responsibilities. Some of those States, speaking in the General Assembly, use language which suggests an interest in and sympathy with the efforts of the majority to eradicate the crime of racial discrimination and even show enthusiasm for the resolutions condemning the racist minority régime in South Africa, but in fact that position is only for propaganda purposes and is not based on a sincere desire to eliminate *apartheid*.

64. With regard to the support received by the racist Pretoria régime contrary to resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, I should mention the alliance that has evolved between the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv, with their continued aggression against the African and Arab peoples. Their co-operation in all fields is continuing, especially in the military, strategic, cultural and economic fields and in the propaganda field. This co-operation is no secret, and the representative of Israel cannot deny it. The world in general, and Africa in particular, knows full well who is openly collaborating with the South African régime, supporting that régime militarily and increasing its capabilities with a view to enabling it to suppress and oppress the struggling African people. At previous sessions the General Assembly has called upon Israel to end all forms of collaboration with the Pretoria régime, especially collaboration in the military and nuclear fields, and to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Instead of complying with those resolutions, Israel persists in its collaboration, thus entrenching and supporting the Fascist racist régime in South Africa.

65. Iraq and the other Arab countries that participated in the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984 [see A/39/450, annex] and in which all African liberation movements

participated, re-emphasized the basic principles of true solidarity with the people of South Africa and expressed sincere support for the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia against racism and colonialism. That Conference showed the magnitude of the solidarity between the Arab people and the African peoples and their common willingness to continue the struggle until the defeat of racism and colonialism in all their forms.

66. At that Conference, which was attended by Iraq and all the other Arab countries, petroleum companies were condemned for their attempts to break the oil embargo imposed on the South African régime. That Conference also re-emphasized the importance of complying with resolution 26/5, concerning the oil embargo, which was adopted in May 1981 by the Council of Ministers of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries.⁷ This fact is mentioned as a clear answer to the allegation made the other day by the representative of Israel [69th meeting], in an attempt to cover up the ignoble collaboration, known by all, between his entity and the racist régime of Pretoria.

67. *Apartheid* is not only a violation of human rights but also a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, and thus it should be eliminated by every possible means under the Charter of the United Nations. The ending of the policy of *apartheid* and colonialism in South Africa and Namibia requires further concerted international efforts in parallel with the intensification of the struggle against the repressive Fascist racist régime in South Africa. This requires the imposition of comprehensive sanctions under the Charter against the racist Pretoria régime to compel it to renounce its racist policies and to withdraw from Namibia. We believe that those who frustrate the Organization's efforts will bear a terrible historical responsibility.

68. All States Members of the United Nations should give their full support to this cause and should not rest until the *apartheid* system in South Africa has been eliminated. My delegation pledges itself to make every effort in that regard, and once again reaffirms its unswerving support for the liberation movements in South Africa.

69. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): Let me first of all join all my colleagues in expressing shock at the passing of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. My delegation takes this opportunity to convey its condolences on this sad loss to the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, and, through it, to the Government and people of the Ukrainian SSR and to the bereaved family.

70. There is hardly any issue before the Assembly that evokes as much emotion or greater anger and frustration than that of the inhuman system of *apartheid*. Correspondingly, few issues have brought the international community to such complete agreement on their condemnation and total rejection. Yet *apartheid* is still in existence, its perpetrators unrepentant and indeed obstinate and contemptuous of the world body. Last year, just before the Assembly took up this item, the international community stood by in apparent helplessness as the racist régime put into effect yet another measure aimed at entrenching and buttressing the system of *apartheid*. Save for the verbal condemnation of the so-called constitutional reforms imposed upon the people of South Africa, no action was taken. Just a few weeks ago the Assembly

witnessed yet another in the series of so-called constitutional dispensations being put into effect. Again the Assembly rejected it as another ploy in the service of *apartheid*. But to the extent to which *apartheid* endures, to the extent that it demonstrates arrogance and contempt for the international community, it bespeaks the failure of the Organization to take effective action to eradicate it. This current session of the General Assembly, therefore, could use this as an opportune moment for us to address ourselves to concrete measures that would help the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for emancipation.

71. That *apartheid* is evil is not in question. The General Assembly has ruled it a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. It is in the context of this consensus that the international community has taken measures and made significant progress not only in sustaining the campaign to isolate the régime but also in galvanizing the struggle inside South Africa.

72. Over the last year significant progress has been made on the political front. Campaigns of mobilization for the boycotting of the *apartheid* régime have gained fresh momentum as the world has become more aware of the atrocities of *apartheid*. The Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, and the twentieth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, reiterated the commitment of the international community to the eradication of the system of *apartheid*.

73. Yet the repeated condemnations of the policy of *apartheid* and the measures adopted and appeals launched by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations to bring racial conflict to an end have all been rejected arrogantly by the racist régime. The measures so far taken, separately and collectively, by Member States have not brought about peace in South Africa.

74. The international community rightly rejected the establishment of the so-called tricameral parliament, which the racist régime had hoped would involve the so-called Coloured and Indian communities in the *apartheid* structure. But not even the appearance of some non-white individuals—and the clear success of the boycott campaign proves that they are no more than that—as members of the so-called parliament alters the basic truth. The *apartheid* structure remains unchanged. Twenty-three million black people are disenfranchised. It remains a fact that in South Africa politics, economics and other institutions are based on race. The system of racial registration, the Group Areas Act, the racial education and health systems and all the other basic pillars of *apartheid* are not affected. The removals policy is being ruthlessly applied. A million people are threatened with relocation, in addition to the almost 4 million who have already been uprooted from their homes. Bantustans—which have been rejected by the international community—are being entrenched in an attempt to divide the opposition to *apartheid* and to confuse *apartheid*'s external opponents.

75. While the people of South Africa have totally rejected this façade of change in South Africa, the

detractors of African freedom have seized upon the events to seek to ease pressure on the régime, on the excuse that the régime, a surrogate of imperialism, has embarked on the so-called road to peaceful change. Their economic greed and ideological fixations have propelled them into a new era of alliance with the *apartheid* régime.

76. Constructive engagement and its philosophical considerations and content have proved to be inimical to the interests of the black people of South Africa. The period of constructive engagement has meant only comfort and support for the racists in South Africa and, correspondingly, oppression and death for the black people. The policy has reinforced *apartheid*. Need we recount the many vistas that have opened of co-operation with the régime? Need we recall the billions of dollars that have been pumped into the *apartheid* economy, the new diplomatic, military, nuclear and political links being forged between some Western countries and the racist régime, or the consistent negative votes in the Assembly and in the Security Council on draft resolutions to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*? The fact that the indefensible policies of aggression of the *apartheid* régime are now being rationalized or put into contexts far removed from the realities of racial tyranny in South Africa bespeaks the reluctance of some countries to accept the evil nature of *apartheid*.

77. South Africa has repeatedly tried to mask its aggression, claiming that it is the object of external attack. We hear an echo of this ridiculous claim from its friends, which have all of a sudden discovered that it is the so-called cross-border violence which precipitates South Africa's acts of aggression.

78. It is clear that the arrogant attitude of the régime, its consistent defiance of the will of the international community and of the relevant United Nations resolution, and its incessant breaches of the rules of international conduct would not be possible were it not for the close co-operation and support of some Western countries. Verily, the *apartheid* régime has become the surrogate of those countries.

79. The record stands. South African troops have conducted repeated and unprovoked military attacks on Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe. They have invaded Angola and remain in occupation of parts of that country. We have heard the excuse in the case of Angola that cross-border violence had provoked the invasion and that the military operations were directed against the militants of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Tremendous pressure is being applied against Angola, and underlying all this are efforts to force Angola to concede to unacceptable conditions for the withdrawal of those occupying forces. Yet ironically we hear no concern about South Africa's violence. The proponents of the so-called constructive engagement have not demonstrated regard for the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of Angola, a Member State of the Organization. Rather, they have joined the *apartheid* régime in further oppressing the oppressed. As regards Mozambique, the focus of all these attacks has been infrastructure, communications and other essential economic facilities for the purpose of terrorizing the people of Mozambique. In all these cases, South Africa has been encouraged to embark on destabilization. It has used political intrigues and economic pressures and, whenever necessary, created armed groups of saboteurs and

other bandits to operate within the territories of its neighbours, all with a view to neutralizing the external opposition to *apartheid*. To us, that is the essence and effect of constructive engagement: to construct political systems in the countries surrounding South Africa that are not only acceptable to South Africa and its friends but are less hostile, if not sympathetic, to *apartheid*.

80. In the Declaration on Southern Africa made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa, it is underlined that:

“Africa is committed to resisting, and ultimately defeating, the efforts to force our countries into any relations with racist South Africa. We shall resist the economic, political and military pressures which are being used by South Africa and its friends to terrorize, intimidate and blackmail individual African countries and to reduce still further their freedom of action”.⁸

81. What needs to be emphasized is that any contacts with the South African régime made necessary by history and geography should not be seized upon by the enemies of Africa to justify opening up for and embracing the *apartheid* régime. On the contrary, the continuation of these contacts is a reminder that the international community has been found lacking in its support of the countries of southern Africa.

82. That the *apartheid* régime is now prepared to talk to the Governments of the countries of southern Africa, which it sought to liquidate only a few years ago, is in itself a demonstration of the failure of the régime to subdue them. Yet we reject the premise of these so-called olive branch initiatives, for *apartheid* cannot offer peace to the black people outside South Africa while massacring those inside its borders. It is an absurd proposition. We hold the view that the *apartheid* régime must settle with the people of South Africa and not seek scapegoats outside. Those close to the régime could help if they chose to see the reality and not circumvent it. We hope those same countries will impress upon their surrogates in Pretoria to follow this course. The régime must release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners who are languishing in the jails and dismantle all institutions of *apartheid* if it desires peaceful change.

83. The *apartheid* régime may have modified its tactics inside South Africa, but nothing has changed. The petty and cosmetic changes that have supposedly taken place have been lauded by the friends and apologists of *apartheid* as signalling a positive movement towards the democratization of South Africa. We have been told to be patient while the racists in South Africa ponder on the direction of change, as though the suffering, the maiming and the killing of the black people were so unimportant that it can wait indefinitely. But clearly, it is no longer possible for the whites of South Africa alone to determine what kind of change will take place, when it will take place and to what end.

84. In sum, we reject the assertions of those who raise their voices against alleged occasional violations of human rights—which fade in significance when compared to *apartheid*—but who demonstrate such cruel disregard of the suffering of the black people in South Africa. We are equally not impressed by their claim that *apartheid* will be eliminated by creating

jobs for the black population, as though finding work were more important or immediate to a slave than regaining his freedom. At issue in South Africa is not jobs but the struggle for the abolition of the instruments and institutions which degrade the humanity of man. We reject the assertion that *apartheid* can be reformed or made more acceptable. *Apartheid* must be eliminated in its totality.

85. Equally we reject any suggestion of neutrality to racism, let alone its appeasement. *Apartheid* represents the total negation of our common humanity which our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations enjoins us to safeguard. That is a responsibility enjoined by the Charter, and the whole world, in particular those more powerful among us, have the duty to ensure that evil does not endure, let alone be provided with its sustenance.

86. The agonizing question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the atrocious policies of *apartheid* must be squarely addressed. *Apartheid* constitutes permanent aggression against the people of South Africa. The General Assembly has judged the system to be a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. It is the system of *apartheid*, its acts of terrorism, destabilization and aggression that is the sole obstacle to freedom, peace and security in southern Africa. Hence, we call upon the Assembly to continue to demand the institution of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. In the meantime, Tanzania continues to believe that the total isolation of *apartheid* South Africa is a necessary component of the campaign to force that régime to abandon its obnoxious policies. To do so, a global campaign must be sustained to ensure that the régime does not find comfort. In this regard, we were encouraged by the massive demonstrations by the anti-*apartheid* forces in Europe against the visit early this year of Botha, the racist representative, to certain European countries. We condemned the visit then and regret the fact that those countries did not find it possible to sustain the international quarantine of the *apartheid* régime. Let me take this opportunity, on the other hand, to express our satisfaction with the actions of the present Government of New Zealand, among others, to contribute to international efforts against *apartheid* in all its manifestations. The actions of the new Government of New Zealand are indeed most encouraging.

87. Within the context of international solidarity against *apartheid*, my country had the privilege of hosting the Conference on Southern Africa organized by the Socialist International Committee on Southern Africa and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament from 4 to 5 September this year. The Heads of State and Government of the front-line States participated in the Conference. In reiterating its commitment to the elimination of *apartheid*, that Conference concluded in its communiqué that:

“ . . . *apartheid*, a crime against humanity, is at the root of the problems in southern Africa and has been entrenched further in South Africa . . . It is clear, therefore, that South Africa’s policies are a threat to international peace and security. There will be no real peace in southern Africa until *apartheid* is eradicated. Today, the *apartheid* structure remains unchanged and the so-called reforms have only strengthened this evil system.”

88. The Conference further reiterated that:

“Not until real change takes place, that is, the destruction of the system of *apartheid* and separate development, can South Africa have a place in the family of nations. South Africa is trying to destabilize neighbouring countries. This may affect political relations in the region but that does not mean others can use this as an excuse for passivity in the common struggle against *apartheid*. By various means South Africa must be isolated in order to keep up pressure for real change.”

My delegation wishes to reiterate that position.

89. I would be remiss if I did not pay a deserved tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Garba. The leadership he has given to the work of the Committee underlines his personal commitment to freedom and justice and also that of his country, Nigeria, which has been at the forefront in the struggle against *apartheid*.

90. I also wish to convey our appreciation of the work of the Special Committee. Its world-wide campaigns of mobilization against *apartheid*, its programmes, in particular the campaign for cultural and sports boycotts, the release of political prisoners and disinvestment have begun to take root. In this regard my delegation commends those individuals, institutions, organizations and countries which have been supportive and urges them to endeavour to do more.

91. Of course our own efforts would have been in vain had they not been complemented by the struggle of the people of South Africa themselves, who even in the face of death have continued to challenge the régime. Their constant sacrifice has been recognized by the international community. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu was a recognition of the legitimate struggle of the South African people. Their unrelenting dedication to their own freedom has reinforced our own.

92. Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): Before I speak on the agenda item which is now before the Assembly I should like to add my voice and that of my delegation to those who have spoken before me and express our condolences on the death of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko, and I would request the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR to convey our sorrow and sympathy to his family and to the people and the Government of the Ukrainian SSR. May he rest in peace.

93. The General Assembly is once again debating the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa against the background of relentless terror and violence that makes the behaviour and practices of the Hitlerite Nazi régime of the 1930s and 1940s appear to be a lesser evil on earth. As we once again express our outrage at the practices of *apartheid* we find ourselves alarmed by the echoes and shadows of horror, as seen, heard or read through the daily news media, emanating from the never-ending atrocities inflicted on the black South African majority.

94. The free and freedom-loving world, which could apply leverage on the South African régime, is duty bound in the name of humanity and human rights to side with those in South Africa whose daily lot has become an everlasting struggle which they wage in the most unfavourable environment for the

exercise of the inalienable rights bestowed on them by the Almighty.

95. It is high time for the freedom-loving world to express itself in support of this struggle and bring the political, economic, social and diplomatic pressure to bear on South Africa in order to secure peace and security in that region.

96. How long, we ask, can a small, white, selfish minority keep the vast majority of black South Africans in bondage, hem them in on all sides and deprive them of their most elementary human rights? For how long, and at what level and manner of persuasion, can this minority treat the overwhelming black majority as subhuman beings, unworthy of a decent livelihood?

97. Students of elementary natural laws believe that those short-sighted Afrikaners who enjoy the huge wealth of South Africa in a disproportionate manner should know that they cannot retain that privileged position indefinitely. Cognizant of that fact, the *apartheid* policy teaches that in order to extend the term of their privileged position the racist régime of South Africa and its white minority proponents will need to compromise with their human conscience, if they imprison and deny the basic rights of those who challenge them peacefully and kill on a massive scale those who oppose them.

98. It is the spectre of *apartheid* which has made the territory of South Africa, despite its fertility, its huge mineral resources, wild life, abundant human resources and natural beauty—offset by man's unkindness to man—one of the unhappiest countries on earth, where inequality flourishes on the largest scale and acute injustice is enthroned and where the oppressor and the oppressed are in constant fear of spontaneous conflagration. This is because the vast majority of the black African nation has been denied equality in its own country. It has been subjected to the most extreme humiliation of segregation, racial discrimination and insult. The African individual has been denied even the barest recognition of participation in the government of his own country. Black South Africans are imprisoned without trial. They are tortured and killed in prison. Schoolchildren and their parents are killed in the streets in hundreds and thousands. Family members are scattered and condemned to oblivion. Black families are left to live in squalour in the black settlements. They are insulted, intimidated, and denied their legal rights. The houses of innocent families are broken into without any search warrants. Black political leaders are incarcerated. Black communities are separated and their children are segregated in education and merely prepared for servitude. Such is the depth of degradation inflicted on black South Africa under the *apartheid* régime.

99. Meanwhile, a tiny minority of less than 15 per cent arrogates to itself sole possession of the best 86 per cent of the South African territory and forcibly condemns the great majority of 85 per cent of black South Africans to bare survival in the unwanted and most barren 14 per cent of the territory, where they endure the most abject poverty and destitution.

100. *Apartheid* South Africa believes that the black race is incompatible with the white race and that no harmonious match, physically, culturally or socially can be achieved. It claims that African tribalism and white South African sophistication are like oil and water and must always remain separate.

101. Because of the arrogance and ignorance implicit in this argument, it needs no refutation. Implicit in the attitude of the racist régime, it negates common sense and belongs to the annals of Nazi philosophy. It is regrettable and unfortunate, however, that that attitude predominates and has provided the driving force in condemning the black African population to live outside the urban areas, where life has been made unbearable for them. Under this hideous policy of *apartheid* the black South African population has been forcibly settled in the most inhospitable areas now referred to by the racist régime as homelands and bantustans.

102. A black South African is destined at birth to belong to a homeland and thus becomes internationally stateless, deprived of his or her right to nationality, contrary to article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

103. Homelands are in the middle of nowhere. Some of them are little blocks of separate territory completely isolated in the midst of South African land and having no communication whatsoever with each other. Bophuthatswana, for instance, is made up of different pieces of waste territory and a citizen of that so-called State has to travel across South African territory to get from one part of it to another. Electricity, water and other public services and amenities have to come from the mainland and can be cut off with great ease.

104. The grand *apartheid* policy designed for the homeland inspired in the South African régime the misguided hope that all the blacks of South Africa could be relegated eventually to a defined territorial area, leaving the great bulk of South Africa as white territory. The failure of the grand *apartheid* homeland policy, however, becomes clear when the total inability of the South African régime to move over 10 million black Africans from urban areas to the homelands is realized.

105. *Apartheid*, which has no backing of moral authority, as a result of the gathering storm of resistance and opposition emanating from community organizations, workers and their unions, students and religious institutions, as well as growing international condemnation, now tends to gain support from its military arm which, although it cannot maintain the régime indefinitely, can inflict heavy blows on the struggling black South Africans and the neighbouring States that have been extending moral and material support to the freedom fighters in South Africa.

106. South Africa's relations with its neighbours and its criminal acts of intensified terrorism and armed aggression against the neighbouring front-line States of southern Africa have become unbearable. The covert manoeuvres of the South African régime and its collaborators threaten the security of the front-line States and should be condemned and halted through the collective efforts of the peace-loving forces of the international community before the already tense situation in the area explodes into a serious conflagration.

107. The South African *apartheid* régime, bent on its policy of intimidation, oppression, exploitation and dispossession of the South African black majority, has chosen the military option to subjugate this majority, and has thus intensified its efforts to achieve its evil design by increasing its military expenditure 45-fold, or 4,500 per cent, since 1961. It

is also known that the South African régime has acquired nuclear-weapon capability.

108. Confronted with moral bankruptcy and strong resistance from the masses, the *apartheid* régime has not balked at any measures to escalate its obnoxious military and police violence and intimidation. As a result, tension, violence and mass destruction of life and property have become the order of the day. The Pretoria régime arrogantly ignores all international appeals, including the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to change its *apartheid* practices. Faced with this dangerous and defiant behaviour, the world community will need to take concerted international action to prevent the subsequent escalation of violence to a wider international conflict. The international community, in taking action against *apartheid*, should seriously consider all aspects of socio-economic and military sanctions, including the full and effective implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa, and especially action to prevent it from acquiring further nuclear-weapon capability, as called for in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and decisions.

109. The so-called new constitutional reforms have created a spectre of violence and terror throughout South African territory. When the *apartheid* régime defiantly embarked last September on the introduction of the so-called new constitution, which demonstrated yet another odious aspect of its policy of racism and racial discrimination and segregation, the whole South African black and Coloured community rose in revolt against it. These so-called new constitutional reforms have led to yet another strategy of confrontation which have opened the door to intensified violence and police brutality directed against the black majority of South Africa. They have resurrected the old policy of divide and rule and made a mockery of the normal democratic process as we know it.

110. We were pleased to learn, however, that the elections to the so-called tricameral parliament in accordance with those constitutional reforms met with a complete boycott and non-participation by all the Coloured population. The shameful and humiliating defeat thus inflicted on the *apartheid* policy is clear proof of the prevalence of popular support for and desire for the victory of the struggling black majority of South Africa.

111. We find the so-called new constitutional reforms and the manoeuvres under them no more than a new phase and new ramifications of *apartheid* and believe that they should be condemned and declared null and void.

112. We were glad that the General Assembly rejected the so-called constitutional reforms in its resolution 38/11, and that both the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the OAU rejected and condemned them.

113. The important role played by international conferences in highlighting the great dangers the *apartheid* policy of South Africa poses to southern African States is a great contribution to the efforts to safeguard world peace and security. However, conclusions or decisions adopted at these conferences will have no effect in combating and eliminating the system of *apartheid* unless individual Governments are compelled to respect and implement them.

114. We commend the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria and in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 38/11 and 38/39 A through K has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the serious situation in southern Africa resulting from the aggressive policy of the South African régime.

115. We are gratified to note with appreciation the active role the Committee has played to gain worldwide support for the global mobilization of action against *apartheid*, as effectively expressed at regional conferences convened in Africa, Asia, Latin America and North America. We also commend the Committee's efforts in promoting action on specific aspects of the campaign against *apartheid* and in establishing task forces on women and children under *apartheid*, on political prisoners and on legal aspects of *apartheid*.

116. The delegation of Djibouti fully concurs with the conclusion of the Committee and accordingly supports its recommendation.

117. We call upon all Governments and other institutions of the international community to cooperate in efforts to mobilize effective solutions against the South African régime and to continue to provide all necessary assistance to the people of South Africa and their national liberation movements.

118. With international solidarity and the active support of all freedom-loving nations, we look forward to the day, which is not far off, when majority rule will triumph and the African masses will form their own Government representing a free, non-racial and democratic society.

119. Mr. MAZARI (Pakistan): My delegation also wants to join members in offering our sincere condolences on the sad demise of Mr. Vatchenko, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

120. The odious and immoral policies of *apartheid* of the South African régime is once again the subject of debate in this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Unfortunately, South Africa's pursuit and practice of this abhorrent philosophy has been as vigorous during the year under review—if not more so—as in earlier years.

121. The year saw South Africa's crude attempt at deceiving its people with the promulgation of a so-called new constitution and the holding of managed elections which were conducted under martial law conditions and marked by widespread public protests in the country.

122. In its consideration of the situation in South Africa, the Assembly reaffirmed, in its resolution 39/2, that "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 in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa". The resolution also rejected South Africa's so-called new constitution as a further entrenchment of *apartheid* and condemned the racist régime for perpetuating a system that was "a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security". But no indictment, however intense, has had any effect on the obdurate rulers of South Africa.

123. Chapter III of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] gives a detailed and factual account of South Africa's acts of repression against its own people. It also documents the resistance struggle against the régime by the people of South Africa. South African workers and students, supported by the angry masses and church organizations, are involved in an underground armed struggle against the Government in power. We have read also of developments relating to South Africa's military build-up, its acquisition of nuclear capability and its acts of aggression against its neighbours. No other régime anywhere in the world is as culpable of so many diverse crimes as is the South African régime.

124. Pakistan has since its very inception remained staunchly committed to the eradication of *apartheid*, which is abhorrent to the concept of universal brotherhood and equality enshrined in its Islamic ideology. In a message expressing solidarity with the political prisoners of South Africa last October, President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan said:

"Belief in the equality of man is the corner-stone of the faith of the people of Pakistan and the policy pursued by the Government of Pakistan. Racial discrimination is anathema to Islam and to Pakistan, and we have always considered it our sacred duty to provide full support to all victims of the abominable policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its manifestations."

125. In another message of solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa in June this year, our President said:

"In reaffirming their solidarity with the people of South Africa, the Government and the people of Pakistan renew their pledge to extend all possible assistance for the complete eradication of *apartheid*, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace. We are convinced that the day is not far when the valiant struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom, equal rights and human dignity will be crowned with success and racial oppression will be eliminated from the face of the earth".

126. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed and must be totally destroyed. This is a task that can be accomplished only by a collective and determined effort on the part of the international community. We express our complete solidarity with the Special Committee's recommendation that the international community should urgently adopt a strategy for decisive action to secure peace and freedom in the region.

127. To this end the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations will be imperative. Meanwhile the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) should be strictly enforced. Accordingly, the Pakistan delegation fully endorses the recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report to the General Assembly. We are confident that the struggle of the valiant people of South Africa for equality and human dignity will soon be crowned with success.

128. Mr. KOR BUN HENG (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): One of the first actions of the current session of the General Assembly was to adopt on 28 September last resolution 39/2 on the situation in South Africa, a situation which remains serious because of the tide of bloody and

deadly repression inflicted by the Pretoria racist authorities on the black majority population in imposing their so-called new constitution.

129. This so-called new constitution has been condemned by the international community. Security Council resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) and General Assembly resolutions 38/11 and 39/2 have clearly and categorically rejected this so-called new constitution and quite rightly declared it to be null and void. It is in fact nothing other than a manoeuvre to have us believe that the *apartheid* régime has become more flexible in its position, whereas in reality it is only trying to strengthen white minority power and *apartheid*.

130. This so-called new constitution, conceived in accordance with principles of racial segregation, makes so-called Coloured people and people of Asian origin second-class citizens, and makes the black population, which represents more than 70 per cent of the total population, non-persons. Therefore, 24 million blacks, already deprived of their rights, have become non-persons in their ancestral home, in accordance with the logic of *apartheid*.

131. If this so-called new constitution was rejected and condemned by the international community, it was above all rejected, condemned and fought by the overwhelming majority of the South African people. The massive boycott by the Coloured and Asian communities of the recent "elections", and the heroic struggle of the black population against this so-called new constitution, are proof positive that a large majority of South Africans said no to the so-called new constitution, as it has always said no to *apartheid*.

132. But instead of hearing the voice of reason of the international community, and preferring to be blind to blatant reality in South Africa itself, the Pretoria racist régime continues to defy Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and has imposed implementation of this so-called new constitution by force. To do this, it has in fact established in South Africa a situation of martial law in order to facilitate the brutal repression of the black population. The events of the last three months in South Africa have shown that Pretoria has not hesitated to resort to violence and murder against defenceless demonstrators and striking workers, to arrests and arbitrary imprisonment of leaders and activists of mass rallies, or to the closing of schools and universities. The racist authorities have even resorted to intimidation and repression on a large scale, as was the case in Sebokeng, which has added another name to the list of martyred cities such as Sharpeville and Soweto.

133. The past year has also witnessed other criminal activities of the Pretoria racist régime as part of its continued policy of bantustanization and forced expulsion of the black population from their homes and lands. Pretoria is even contemplating proclaiming the so-called independence of another bantustan, the Kwa Ndebele. If that is the case, this would be the fifth independent pseudo-state. The international community also readily rejected, and has not recognized, the first four bantustans and it will not fail to do the same for the fifth, because everyone knows that the policy of bantustanization is only designed to deprive black Africans of their property, their roots and their nationality.

134. Every time we consider this agenda item, we always bear in mind the fact that the Pretoria racist régime also applies its inhuman policy of *apartheid* in Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally, and also its acts of aggression committed against neighbouring States.

135. My delegation recognizes the sovereign right of independent States to pursue a policy in accordance with their national interests. Nevertheless, the international community should refrain from doing anything that might encourage the Pretoria régime to pursue its unjust and inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

136. In this connection, my delegation would like to express its solidarity with the people and Government of Lesotho in defending their national interests in the face of pressures brought to bear by the South African authorities.

137. The General Assembly and the Security Council have always advocated a reasonable way to solve the problem under consideration. They have just reiterated this in paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 556 (1984) and in paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 39/2, which read:

" . . . 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 in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa;"

This is the only way that the evil will be rooted out.

138. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would like to avail itself of this opportunity to express once again its firm support and fraternal solidarity with the heroic struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and its liberation movements: the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] and the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] for a democratic society without distinction as to race or colour. This struggle, waged with immense and prolonged sacrifice, should also be part of the annals of the struggle to defend the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

139. What do South African blacks want? In order to answer this question, my delegation believes that Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, duly reflected the opinion of the black majority in South Africa and of the African continent, as well as that of the international community as a whole, when he stated, on 23 October last, before the Security Council that "blacks are not intent on driving whites into the sea, but on claiming their rightful place in the sun in the land of their birth."

140. It is our bounden duty to do our utmost to see to it that these legitimate claims are met.

141. May I, by way of conclusion, pay tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, above all, to its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for the constant efforts they have made to mobilize world public opinion and to denounce, condemn and end the inhuman policy of *apartheid* as pursued by the racist régime of Pretoria. My delegation would like to give assurance of its support to the Committee in carrying out its noble mission.

142. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): It was with a deep sense of shock and grief that the Ghana delegation received

the news today of the sad passing away of the distinguished Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko. With your permission, Mr. President, I wish to extend to the Government and people of the Ukraine, and to my colleague, the representative of the Ukrainian SSR, and his entire staff, our sincerest condolences on this sad loss.

143. My delegation welcomes the opportunity to participate today in the debate on the *apartheid* policies of South Africa, because it concerns the denial of fundamental human rights to South Africans and especially because the events in that country are becoming increasingly more ominous for all races there, as well as constituting a threat to international peace and security.

144. It is almost 40 years now since the United Nations was founded, and the question of *apartheid* as practised by the racist Pretoria régime has been on the agenda of the Organization for almost as long. The main reason for the failure so far to find a solution to the problem has been the extraordinary length to which some friends of South Africa are prepared to go to protect that culprit régime. It is ironic that those countries which provide protection for the racist régime through the regular use of their veto powers in the Security Council and through other subtle forms of solidarity are the same States which passionately profess support for the Charter of the United Nations and for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

145. Once again the Assembly must address the serious situation in South Africa as it has the ingredients of a threat to international peace and security. But we are entitled to ask whether there has been any change in the South African situation since the debate last year. The only change that has occurred unfortunately has been one for the worse, thus negating all the progress of the past. The so-called constitutional reform has only enabled the racist régime to entrench *apartheid* through further establishing by law that 73 per cent of the black population shall continue to be disenfranchised. This legislation therefore contravenes the provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and should be vigorously condemned and opposed by all Member States.

146. The continuing deterioration of the situation in South Africa brought about by increasing brutality and treachery and manifested in the Pretoria régime's policy of *apartheid*, especially in the last 12 months, remains a source of great anxiety to the Government and people of Ghana. It is our view therefore that the situation deserves more than the casual attention that some Member States habitually give it.

147. In spite of the numerous resolutions of the Assembly and of the Security Council, as well as those of other United Nations forums, and notwithstanding the international abhorrence of the *apartheid* policy of the South African Government, the international community is repeatedly being treated with utter disdain and arrogance by the Pretoria Government. Its unco-operative attitude is clear when it obstinately persists in the practice of a system rightly acknowledged by the international community to be a crime against humanity and an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind. Is

it not time to call a halt to South Africa's offensive arrogance, therefore, to ensure justice and equality for all South Africans and save the reputation of the Organization?

148. It is well over two decades now since the Special Committee against Apartheid was mandated to work to raise international awareness of the evils of *apartheid*, with a desire to bring international pressure to bear on the South African régime to change its policy. As can be ascertained from its reports, the Special Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, has over the years performed most creditably within the terms of its mandate. But, while the international anti-*apartheid* campaign grows in intensity, we also witness more repression in South Africa as well as more subtle efforts to entrench *apartheid*. The reasons for this trend are not very far to seek. The South African régime is emboldened to pursue its obnoxious *apartheid* policy in total defiance of international public opinion because of the support the régime continues to receive from certain Western countries. It would thus seem that the perennial consideration of the item by this body is degenerating into an intellectual exercise with nothing being achieved concretely in the direction of bringing our hopes for a non-racial democratic society in South Africa to fruition.

149. I should like to devote a moment to the phenomenon of the overt support that certain Western countries give to the racist régime, because the protests of those Western friends of South Africa at being identified as collaborators with South Africa have recently reached a shrill pitch as they trudge many capitals in defence of their unacceptable policies. They insist that we clothe in anonymity their activities in support and encouragement of the racist régime. We are being vigorously persuaded to agree that there is merit in their call for the forging of intimate relations with the racist régime when we can all see that the result of their efforts is the calamitous killing of more and more people in the streets of South Africa. Only the politically naive can agree with them for they have indeed become the interlocutors of the racist régime against all enlightened advice. If truly they are for the same goals as we pursue and are only adopting a different methodology to achieve them, I challenge their representatives to come to this rostrum and openly declare in this forum that they support the immediate establishment of the system of one man, one vote, in South Africa and that, as genuine and influential Members of the United Nations, they will not accept anything less. Our partners in the West must understand that their inability openly to support for South Africa a principle upon which their own democracies are founded does injury to their credibility.

150. Guided by history, the delegation of Ghana is convinced that the great strides made in increasing international awareness about the crime of *apartheid* have sufficiently eroded the fraudulent basis upon which the *apartheid* philosophy was nurtured. It is a trend which confirms the historical fact that any system based upon a fraudulent premise must necessarily crumble. We are hopeful that with the struggle against *apartheid* in the form it has taken in recent times the racist régime of South Africa is going to be swept away. It is an obvious historical necessity from which nobody can escape. We therefore wish to renew the appeal to the friends of *apartheid* to be faithful to their conscience and the principles upon

which their own systems have been established—principles on which was based their indignation against the Nazi and Fascist threat to Europe not too long ago—to help bring the *apartheid* régime to its knees.

151. Members of the Assembly are very much aware of the atrocities that the *apartheid* régime of South Africa must necessarily unleash on its black citizens as well as its neighbours in order to continue in existence. The régime's bantustan policies with their attendant forceful removals of millions of black people from their ancestral homelands, their moribund constitutional reforms aimed at redefining *apartheid* in a manner that can only entrench a racially segregated society, their enforcement of the notorious and despicable pass and terrorism laws and their acts of aggression, massive destabilization, terrorism and economic blackmail against neighbouring independent African States all serve as pointers to the highly volatile character of the situation in southern Africa.

Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

152. The policy of *apartheid* is a violent policy and it is no surprise that its enforcement has to be effected through violent means. Yet the black and oppressed South Africans have never relented in their heroic resistance to *apartheid*. The successful opposition to the cosmetic reforms recently introduced by the racist régime through the promulgation of its new constitution deserves special mention. It not only has disappointed the régime's apologists in the United States and other Western countries who sought to gain some political points by citing the so-called reforms as the internal evolutionary process they have all along said *apartheid* would undergo in the application of the constructive engagement policy, but has further demonstrated the tenacity of purpose within the national liberation struggle inside South Africa. Over 70 per cent of South Africans, smarting under the yoke of *apartheid*, say *apartheid* cannot be reformed, it has to be eradicated, and we agree with them.

153. In this regard the delegation of Ghana cannot accept the respectability being accorded the white minority Government by certain Western countries, as exemplified by the official reception given to Prime Minister Botha by the leaders of Government in Portugal, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Italy and even the Vatican in the summer of this year. P. W. Botha and all that he stands for should remain in isolation, and all countries genuinely committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should condemn his reception.

154. We must mention also that the recent so-called peaceful accords entered into by South Africa and some of its neighbours under the prodding of the creators of the constructive engagement policy do not enjoy our support; nor have they altered our fundamental view that the policies of the racist régime are contrary to the Charter and must therefore be repudiated. These accords have been designed by P. W. Botha and his friends to satisfy the hegemonistic objectives of South Africa and its friends in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], thus dragging the whole southern African issue, which

should rightly be a matter of universal human rights, into the cold war.

155. The recent change in relations between some front-line States and South Africa has been used to boast of the kind of success inherent in greater interaction with the racist régime. But two things are clear about these recent far-reaching changes in relations. In the first place, the reversal of policy indulged in by some front-line States represents a military truce—indeed, a military surrender—and has nothing to do with the anti-*apartheid* principle. Secondly, the colonial integration of the economies of the front-line States with that of South Africa limits their sovereignty and freedom in the matter, but is no reason why the principle of the equality of races should be suspended in South Africa. We are emboldened by our sense of propriety to answer our Western friends, especially those in the United States, by saying that accords resulting from South Africa's international State terrorism cannot enjoy our patronage. The United Nations was founded to achieve peace, and their attitude will help endanger peace in that part of the world.

156. Furthermore, it ought to be clear even to the apologists for the racist régime that the mandate for the so-called new constitution at which we are being asked to rejoice was at best the squeak of a die-hard minority in that country. On 22 August 1984, when the first voting was held, a massive number of the 2.7 million registered voters not only stayed away but protested at the elections, leading to hundreds of arrests and detentions. Vast majorities of both the Indian and the Coloured community refused to register and vote. Only 20 per cent of the Indian voters and only 30 per cent of the Coloureds turned out at the polls. Six hundred and thirty thousand coloured students boycotted classes on that day. The Indians also registered only 7 per cent to 23 per cent at the polls. In no way, therefore, can the result represent a resounding endorsement of the goals of the new constitution. On what moral grounds, then, does Washington describe the proceedings as a "step in the right direction"? It is Washington, therefore, that must revise its views, not those that condemn the so-called constitution and *apartheid*. Those that condemn the so-called constitution are right. The express denial of the vote to the black majority cannot be a step in the right direction.

157. The stage reached in the international attacks on the *apartheid* policy of the South African Government is most critical, and the delegation of Ghana renews its commitment to the noble cause. It is now time to focus all energies on the adoption of concrete steps in addition to the numerous resolutions of condemnation that the Assembly has adopted and is going to adopt during this session.

158. Ghana fully supports the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and recommends the vigorous pursuit of the Programme of Action against *Apartheid*, commended by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/39 B. We give our support to these measures in the full knowledge of their very serious repercussions for South Africa and for the international community. We believe that we are unable to condone the continuation of *apartheid* in one form or another even for one more day, because every day constitutes racial injustice to the black majority of that country. We agonize also with our black brothers and sisters because, in a way, their

continued oppression detracts from our own freedom and human dignity. In the circumstances, no tendentious theories satisfy us as a panacea for the insult to our dignity. Sanctions represent an effective and peaceful instrument for inducing meaningful change, and we invite all States to join in their institution.

159. On a concluding note, let me reiterate Ghana's unflinching commitment to the international efforts to eradicate *apartheid*. We have been so committed from the first day of our independence, and we will continue to be so. We wish to pay a tribute to the suffering and dispossessed masses of South Africa who have dedicated their lives to the elimination of a system that threatens the very roots of humanity. Ghana remains solidly behind the national liberation movements leading the struggle against the *apartheid* régime and wishes to request material and political support from the international community so that those movements can carry on more expeditiously their struggle for their freedom and independence as well as for the total emancipation of the continent of Africa from racial oppression and colonial domination. We hope that we can rely on this.

160. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): The delegation of Zimbabwe has learned with the deepest sorrow and sympathy of the demise of the Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I extend my delegation's deep sympathy and condolences to the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR and, through it, to the Government and people of that country. Our deepest sympathy and condolences go also to the family of the late Head of State.

161. Since 1946 the Assembly has been concerned about the racial policies of the Government of South Africa. Since then important decisions and resolutions on this subject have been adopted, and continue to be adopted, by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. And yet *apartheid*, as the system of the government of South Africa is called, continues unabated. In fact, the more the international community tries to end that country's archaic and barbaric policies, the more the white minority rulers in Pretoria attempt to fight against the march of human history and lead the country backwards from the twentieth century. The principles of justice, liberty and equality for all men and women, regardless of the colour of their skin, are anathema to the racist rulers of Pretoria.

162. The black people—or, as they are called by their oppressors, non-whites—are denied every right, including citizenship, simply because of the colour of their skin. Instead, numerous laws are imposed upon them, essentially to control and exploit their labour for the benefit of the white minority rulers and exploiters. A massive bureaucracy and police and military machines are maintained to ensure the efficient brutalization and dehumanization of the exploited masses of the black people of South Africa. Simply because they are not white, these people are denied all sorts of human rights which most of us, and all the civilized world community, tend to take so much for granted.

163. One of the chief designers of the policies of *apartheid*, and a former Prime Minister of that racist country, once explained the evil and barbaric philosophy behind *apartheid* in the following terms: "We want to keep South Africa white. Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely, white domination,

not leadership, not guidance but continued white supremacy". This was said by Hendrik Verwoerd.

164. Yet the *apartheid* system continues. In fact, some countries regard *apartheid* South Africa as an ally and a bastion of Christian or Western civilization. By implication, therefore, such defenders of the régime also view the exploited and oppressed masses, who have decided to fight for their liberation and freedom, as criminals and enemies of so-called Western and Christian civilization. For us, however, the struggling oppressed are freedom fighters and defenders of human dignity. Their struggle is justified under the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. If they have taken to armed struggle, it is because every possible channel for achieving peaceful change has been brutally denied them. The current acts of brutality and murders committed by the racist régime's repressive police and military machines in black townships are eloquent testimony to this.

165. As we in Zimbabwe are convinced of the legitimacy of the struggle for freedom and self-determination by the oppressed masses of South Africa, we also join those who have appealed for increased international solidarity with, and moral, material and other forms of support for, the people of South Africa. Accordingly, we are encouraged by the positions adopted by the Assembly every year, including the characterization of *apartheid* as "a crime against humanity". We are also encouraged by the Assembly's rejection on 28 September this year [resolution 3912] of the so-called constitution of South Africa, thereby reaffirming an earlier Security Council resolution declaring that instrument null and void.

166. We believe that *apartheid* should not be modified. It should be courageously opposed and totally eliminated. The so-called new constitution is not designed to eliminate, or, for that matter, even to change, the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa. Its objective is to entrench and perpetuate *apartheid*. Frustrated by the massive rejection of the so-called constitution by the oppressed and exploited masses, and by the international community, the régime has unleashed terror and repression against innocent black workers, community leaders and students in South Africa. Again, we unreservedly condemn those acts.

167. On the regional front the régime is intensifying its campaigns of economic sabotage and blackmail, brutal and blatant aggression and destabilization against its peace-loving neighbours, in a vain hope to intimidate them in such a way as to stop them supporting the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia and also to establish its regional hegemony. Recently the racist régime's leaders have not only been bragging and boasting about their position as a regional military super-Power but also threatening to demonstrate this against those States refusing to normalize relations with Pretoria. We reject those threats, just as we condemn and reject the policy of recruiting, training, arming and sponsoring counter-revolutionaries, mercenaries, bandits and dissidents against neighbouring States in the region.

168. The racist Pretoria leaders must be told in very clear language that neither their ferocious and repressive domestic policies nor their nakedly aggressive regional policies and acts of blackmail can for ever halt the tidal wave of freedom and justice in South Africa. The legitimacy of the struggle of the op-

oppressed people of South Africa for the full exercise of their right to self-determination and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society, as reaffirmed recently by the Security Council in its resolution 556 (1984), will, and must, come sooner rather than later.

169. Any realistic search for solutions to the dangerous situation in South Africa must involve the oppressed people of South Africa, through their legitimate leaders and liberation movements, such as the ANC and PAC. In this regard, the delegation of Zimbabwe is distressed to observe that some Western Governments do not seem to appreciate fully the importance of this approach, as is clear from the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid [A/39/22, paras. 329-351]. Moreover, some countries have sought to justify their collusion with Pretoria with totally unacceptable arguments, such as the argument that too much isolation of, or pressure on, the régime will only make Pretoria adopt more of a laager mentality or position.

170. If the opposite of this argument is that without pressure the Boer rulers will abandon their laager and accept change, then we are compelled to ask how much real change has taken place in South Africa since the introduction of the policy of constructive engagement? The answer is none. Instead, the policy seems to have given solace to Pretoria in the ruthless pursuit of its barbaric policies and practices. In fact, Pretoria has even been encouraged to induce or even compel neighbouring countries to enter into unequal agreements, or non-aggression pacts, as they are sometimes called. South Africa has no reason to fear, even to imagine, that any of our countries in the region could commit aggression against its territory. The rulers of Pretoria know this full well; so also do their Western allies. Let South Africa desist from its aggression against its neighbours and address seriously and genuinely its domestic policies, and peace will immediately come to the region, to the benefit of us all.

171. Economic and military collaboration with Pretoria and Israel by some Western countries ensures the perpetuation of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa. Transnational corporations which continue to reap profits from their South African investments must know that they are acting against the interests of the oppressed South African masses. Such co-operation with *apartheid* impedes progress towards the achievement of their aspirations to freedom, social justice and the full exercise of self-determination.

172. For our part, in accordance with our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, we in Zimbabwe will co-operate in all genuine efforts totally to eradicate the scourge of *apartheid* from South Africa. We shall continue our solidarity with and support for the struggling South African and Namibian masses until true freedom, self-determination, social justice and equality are achieved in those countries of our region.

173. In conclusion, I wish to express my delegation's richly deserved tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic and imaginative guidance of Mr. Garba, the representative of Nigeria, for the work that Committee has been doing. My delegation fully supports the Special Committee's recommendations and pledges its full and continued co-operation with it.

174. Mr. SOLOMON (Ethiopia): Allow me to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me in conveying, on the occasion of the passing of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the most sincere condolences of my delegation to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as to the bereaved family.

175. It is indeed paradoxical that *apartheid*—based as it is on inequality, oppression and exploitation—could still survive in this age in which new frontiers of knowledge and enlightenment are being opened up and the world community is striving for the attainment of international harmony and understanding and the establishment of a new economic and social order based on equality and justice.

176. Today *apartheid*, which is supposed to promote the separate development of the races but which in actual fact is an institutionalized system of racial segregation, oppression and exploitation, enables the white minority of South Africa to control the destiny of the black majority. In South Africa a person's racial classification is all-important, since it determines his worth as a human being. For a non-white, *apartheid* determines where he may live, what work he may do, what sort and level of education he can receive, what political rights, if any, he will have, the extent of the social, cultural and recreational facilities open to him and generally the extent of his freedom of action and movement.

177. Blacks in South Africa are torn from their land and driven into arid tribal reserves which comprise only 13 per cent of the land surface. In order to earn a living they have to go to white industrial areas as migrant workers only. Furthermore, they are subjected to innumerable discriminatory laws. If such a system, which degrades the worth of human beings, is not a crime against humanity and a grave menace to international peace and security, then what else can be?

178. The struggle against *apartheid*, therefore, cannot be a struggle to reform a system but must be one to destroy it. It is not a struggle of blacks against whites but a struggle by all democratic and freedom-loving people against racism. Indeed, it is a struggle of all those who believe in peace, justice, human rights and human dignity.

179. The United Nations has discussed the policy of *apartheid*, in one form or another, for decades. The Assembly has declared the policies of *apartheid* "a negation of the Charter of the United Nations and . . . a crime against humanity" [resolution 2671 F (XXV), para. 1]. It has, furthermore, affirmed the inalienable right of the people of South Africa to self-determination and freedom and the legitimacy of their struggle to eradicate *apartheid* and racial discrimination by all available means. It has also rejected and condemned the establishment of bantustans and the forcible removal of blacks to those areas as a violation of their inalienable right to self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the country and the unity of the people.

180. In practical terms, unfortunately, all the decisions of the United Nations have not compelled the racist régime to change its policy and obnoxious practices. Of course, most of the countries of the world have already severed all relations with the racist régime of South Africa, yet the most important

ties that régime has with the Western world are still intact. Despite the repeated calls by the General Assembly for the total isolation of South Africa, the Western world, regrettably, continues to collaborate with the *apartheid* régime in political, economic and military as well as in nuclear fields.

181. In this connection, we have to reaffirm our conviction that the policy of so-called constructive engagement has failed to convince the Pretoria régime to change its ways. On the contrary, all indications are that Pretoria has been emboldened and reinforced by that policy. As a result, we invite the United States Administration to review its policy and perhaps consider a policy of constructive disengagement, which we are confident will bear better results.

182. Within the Republic of South Africa itself, the racist régime is doing everything in its power to entrench further the obnoxious policy of *apartheid*. While continuing to deny the African masses their fundamental human rights and freedom, the *apartheid* régime has in recent times been attempting to entice the so-called Coloured and Asian population with constitutional subterfuges and meaningless political reforms.

183. I submit that the so-called new constitution is nothing but the latest in the series of legal frauds presented to the world by the racist régime in Pretoria. Inasmuch as it excludes the black majority from any share in the Government of South Africa, it cannot but be a reaffirmation of Pretoria's bantustanization policy. Furthermore, it attempts to drive a wedge between the black majority on the one hand and the so-called Coloureds and those of Asian origin on the other, in the hope of weakening the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses as a whole.

184. This latest machination of Pretoria has, of course, misled no one, least of all the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin. We are indeed heartened to learn that many from those two groups have rejected the new proposals and that the international community has not been hoodwinked by this fraud either.

185. The black people's massive and vigorous opposition to this constitutional fraud and the brutal retaliation perpetrated by the South African régime against freedom fighters, students and journalists represent a new stage in the struggle of the South African people for freedom, and an inescapable challenge to the international community. Encouraging as it is, such resistance by the oppressed must be complemented by sufficient pressure from the outside world, especially from those countries which are collaborating with South Africa.

186. Ethiopia believes that the United Nations has a special responsibility to the oppressed people of South Africa. We believe it is that responsibility that led to the creation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. In this connection, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Chairman and all the other members of the Special Committee as well as to the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid* for their invaluable contribution to the liberation struggle in South Africa, a contribution they make by keeping the question of *apartheid* high on the international agenda.

187. I should like also to reiterate Ethiopia's deeply-felt frustration at the failure of the Security Council to adopt effective enforcement measures

under the Charter against the Pretoria régime in order to facilitate peaceful change. As we all know, the failure of the Security Council and the defiance of Pretoria are due to the diplomatic, political, economic and military support that that régime receives from certain Western States. Without that support, *apartheid* South Africa could hardly have survived for so long. It is with this conviction that we in Africa have so often and so insistently appealed, as we continue to appeal, to the sense of justice and reason of those Western Powers. If those few Western States refuse to heed the voice of reason, then they will very soon have to reckon with the consequences of armed struggle.

188. The *status quo* in South Africa, from which the West has continued to reap immense profits, cannot and will not last forever. The racist, oppressive and exploitative system of *apartheid* will eventually be demolished by the popular resistance of the masses, whose struggle continues to gather momentum with each passing day and whose commitment and determination will in the end prove more potent and decisive than the nuclear capabilities of the fascist régime. We therefore call once more upon the Western Powers concerned to join us in our efforts to rid Africa and the world of the racist scourge that is *apartheid*.

189. Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all to discharge a very unhappy duty. We heard with sadness of the death of Comrade Aleksei Vatchenko, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I take this opportunity to convey to the Ukrainian delegation our deepest condolences.

190. Is the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa still to be put on trial? Is it still to be put on trial after 70 years of crimes and treachery, after it has ousted an entire people from its ancestral lands, stowed it away in bantustans, looted its wealth, humiliated it and dehumanized it? If there is yet to be a trial, it can be only in the court of the international community, of those who—wittingly or through cowardice—have not desired justice to be done for the black people of South Africa.

191. In fact, the trial of the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa is not yet to be carried out: that policy has already been condemned before history and before the Organization. It has been condemned on moral and legal grounds, condemned on the grounds of equity and civilization. It is a crime against humanity. That is the verdict of the entire international community.

192. After the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, the South African régime revealed to the world its hideous face. Even those who have not determined to end their blameworthy relations with this loathsome régime try to justify them with quibbles that they do not themselves believe; indeed, they declare their hatred for the régime.

193. But at this very moment this policy—unanimously condemned and universally abhorred—is terrorizing and killing with such savagery and hatred as have rarely been equalled. The black people of South Africa are counting their dead in the hundreds, even in the thousands, following the demonstrations that in recent weeks have shaken the dormitory-towns of the African townships.

194. These events have shown the truth to those who refused to believe that *apartheid* could not be reformed and that only its total elimination would bring peace and harmony to a land which has suffered too much the torments of racism and racial discrimination.

195. The so-called constitutional proposals, adopted a year ago by an exclusively white electorate, which were to permit the Asian and Coloured minorities to participate in the political life of the country, will not prove to be what has been called "a step in the right direction". The "new constitution" resulting from those proposals will turn out to be just one more villainous law in the arsenal of repression and in the denial of the most fundamental rights to the black people of South Africa. The General Assembly has seen in that constitution nothing but a manoeuvre to fragment the black population and to persuade the Coloured and Asian minorities to cooperate with the régime in order to perpetuate the system of white domination. That is why the Assembly, in resolutions 38/11 and 39/2, and the Security Council in resolution 554 (1984) rejected it as being contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and declared it, therefore, to be null and void.

196. The tragic events which for several weeks have been occurring in South Africa—the general strikes, the riots, savagely repressed by the South African soldiery—show if such were necessary that dialogue and collaboration which certain countries stubbornly maintain with that régime have not had the expected redeeming virtue. In fact they constitute an out and out denial of the virtues of the policy of so-called constructive engagement.

197. The indictment of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa is also an indictment of all of those who bring it aid and assistance, enabling it thus to maintain itself in power. It is also an indictment of those who help it in its heinous policies, in its arrogant refusal to conform to the decisions of the Organization and to the desires of the whole international community. It is an indictment of those who in the Security Council oppose the adoption of appropriate measures, these being the only ones which might be such as to bring the Pretoria régime to reason, namely, the imposition of global and binding sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It is an indictment of those who are concerned above all to preserve their privileged commercial relations, their military and scientific relations, which they maintain with Pretoria and who, in so doing, have contributed not only to the pillage of the natural resources of the country but also to the acquisition by the illegal South African Government of nuclear weapons, enabling it to intimidate and terrorize its neighbours.

198. The indictment of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa is also an indictment of those who do not dare to raise their voices to oppose these acts of aggression, of massive destabilization, of terrorism and of economic blackmail to which the Pretoria régime resorts against its neighbours. The agreements giving itself the lion's share which it has imposed on certain of its neighbours have been possible only by virtue of the connivance or even the blessing of certain Western countries. It is also an indictment of those who, playing South Africa's game, agree to receive the racist P. W. Botha in official or private visits, thus giving aid and comfort

to the efforts which that régime is vainly deploying to find a way out of its isolation. It is also an indictment of Israel which shares with this régime the same policy based on terrorism and aggression.

199. The indictment of the policy of *apartheid* of the South African régime is also an indictment of those who, by cupidity or cold calculation, give aid and comfort to the South African illegal occupation of Namibia. The stubbornness of South Africa in its flouting of the unanimous decisions of the Organization is explicable only through the complicity of certain Western Powers who, in connivance with it, shamelessly exploit the Namibian people and implacably pillage its resources.

200. This indictment is finally and above all of the United Nations and more particularly an indictment of the Security Council, which has not yet managed, six years after its adoption, to implement resolution 435 (1978) leading to the independence of Namibia. The inability of the Security Council to implement its own resolutions can only discredit an organ of the United Nations whose responsibility of maintaining international peace and security is being permanently tested by the crimes of Pretoria.

201. *Apartheid* is a monstrous crime. It is so monstrous that it sometimes succeeds in shutting the eyes of certain people to the original crime of the usurpation of the land of South Africa and of power there by a minority of unprincipled expatriates from Europe.

202. As can be seen, it is no longer a time for empty condemnations; it is more than ever time for action which we must undertake to eradicate this scourge. While stating here our confidence in the armed struggle being carried on by the liberation movements of South Africa and by SWAPO, we want to urge the Organization once again, and more particularly the Security Council, finally to adopt more decisive measures against the Pretoria régime.

203. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Garba, has competently and objectively discharged its task. As it has so well stressed in its report, "International action must not only match the greater danger posed by the action of the *apartheid* régime, as well as the courage and heroism of the oppressed people, but must be directed at the total eradication of *apartheid* with no further delay." [*Ibid.*, para. 296.]

204. Mr. BAYONA MEDINA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to say how much we valued the statements made in this Hall by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

205. My delegation is taking part in this debate to reiterate its commitment to joining its efforts to those of the international community to achieve our common aim of eliminating *apartheid*. Our position is based on the conviction that respect for fundamental human rights is a guarantee of peace, and on the mandate of Peru's Constitution, which declares that all men are equal before the law without distinction as to sex, race, religion, opinion or language. Likewise, we reject all forms of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination and express our solidarity with the oppressed peoples throughout the world. A faithful interpretation of this principle cannot be of

greater significance in a multiracial country such as Peru.

206. *Apartheid* is one of the most distressing problems facing southern Africa. Another is the illegal occupation of Namibia, with the perpetual danger looming over the borders and territories of the young Republics neighbouring on South Africa. This panorama of constant crisis affects the regional peace of the African continent which it is the responsibility of this international community to safeguard.

207. Institutionalized racism in South Africa is the lot of approximately 25 million inhabitants. If we think that out of the 159 nations represented in this Assembly only 30 have a population greater than the figure I have just mentioned, we can appreciate the true magnitude of this tragedy.

208. In South Africa we are facing a kind of contemporary colonial conquest. The indigenous majority has seen its ancestral lands wrested from it and has been transferred *en masse* to other regions so that the minority which holds power can occupy the best land and exploit the richest natural resources. That majority has no access to Government and no other rights are granted to it so that the difference between the conquerors and the conquered may be clearly established. In a word, we seem to be blowing the dust off the pages of an old history book and re-enacting in the atomic age, one of its most sinister chapters. In the case before us the process of occupation and conquest begun by the so-called "white African tribe" of Afrikaners in 1652 when they reached the southern end of the black continent is being intensified at this late date.

209. However, throughout history there has been one constant in this process of conquest and colonialization: the oppressed peoples have ended by freeing themselves, however powerful the oppressor. We do not have to look outside Africa for examples; that continent has many, and not very far from the borders of South Africa. Hence, it may be affirmed without reservation that the oppressed majority of that country will once again prove the truth of that constant. The people of South Africa is an heroic people, filled with zeal for liberty. Its courage is measured by the fierceness of its struggle against a powerful police and military apparatus which has been set up to ride roughshod over its claims and in response to the danger which that struggle represents for the continuance of the system in power.

210. In this Hall much testimony has been heard from freedom fighters from among the black people of South Africa who have served long, hard prison sentences. Today the prisons of South Africa continue to hold many of their companions. It is clear that the series of sentences pronounced cannot condemn the black majority to the chains of oppression for ever, particularly when in these trials the white majority in power acts as judge and jury. That is why we call on the international community to step up its efforts to bring about the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and put an end to all repression against those who are fighting against *apartheid*.

211. A year ago the South African Government, in a fresh attempt to undermine the struggle against *apartheid*, obtained from a majority of the white minority in a referendum approval of constitutional reforms by which the Coloured and Asian populations would be granted very limited participation in

Government matters, while the black population was wholly excluded and disregarded. These political provisions do not change any of the basic features of *apartheid* and are aimed only at dividing the groups that make up the alienated majority. The response received by the Pretoria Government in the elections of August 1984 could not have been more significant. On the one hand more than 80 per cent of the people whom those constitutional reforms were supposed to benefit did not vote and on the other the protests of the black population were felt throughout the whole territory. At the international level, the Security Council, of which my delegation is a member, adopted resolution 554 (1984), in which it strongly rejected and declared null and void the so-called new constitution and the subsequent elections and urged all Governments and organizations not to accord recognition to the results of the elections.

212. During the months of May and June this year Prime Minister Botha made a well-publicized trip through various Western European countries with the obvious aim of demonstrating to the international public that South Africa was not isolated. To those who hoped that this trip would be a success it should be pointed out that it gave Botha the chance to observe at first hand that the international rejection of the policy of *apartheid* is not a mere invention of the United Nations or the result of an automatic ganging-together of a majority of countries manipulated by interests foreign to the purposes of the Charter. In point of fact, the streets of the cities he visited were filled with demonstrators protesting against his presence, showing him that repudiation of the practice of *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia was widespread and not confined to any political party. On the contrary, as far as we know there were no similar groups going out into streets to express their support for the racist policy of his Government.

213. In this connection I must point out that my delegation, as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, had the opportunity of attending a seminar on the practice of *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia, held last October in the Federal Republic of Germany, where representatives of the various European anti-*apartheid* movements gathered. On that occasion we were able to observe the concern felt by the European public, and particularly by young people there over the maintenance of this practice in southern Africa and the existence of a colonial régime in Namibia. Furthermore, we could not fail to notice the sound and thorough knowledge of this problem on the part of the participants and their sincere desire that the countries of Western Europe and others should make a constructive and decisive contribution to the cause of freedom in the south of the African continent.

214. The Latin American region is not unfamiliar with the struggle against the *apartheid* system. Proof of this is the success achieved by the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Caracas from 16 to 18 September 1983. That Conference adopted by acclamation the Caracas Declaration on Measures against *Apartheid*.¹⁰

215. The Declaration expressed solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and with the independent African States of southern Africa. It recognized the fact that stability and peace cannot exist in that region unless *apartheid* is eliminated. It affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the South

African people to bring about the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial society which would guarantee the enjoyment of equal rights by all South African people, regardless of race, colour or creed. It urged the South African régime to put an end to repression, to free political prisoners, to repeal the law on illegal organizations and to seek a peaceful, just solution through negotiations with the genuine leaders of the oppressed people, and it urged all countries to use all their influence to ensure the achievement of that goal. The Conference declared that in view of the intransigence and defiant attitude of the racist régime the international community should apply pressure on that régime through sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

216. In conclusion, we must state that various events that have occurred in South Africa this year show that sectors of the majority seem to be inclining more towards armed struggle as a means of bringing about social change. There is no doubt that this trend will grow stronger as long as the Pretoria Government continues to step up its repression and refuses to dismantle *apartheid*. For that reason it is important to understand that the only viable solution to the problem under consideration is a peaceful transition to government by the majority within a free, democratic and multiracial society and that we must direct our efforts towards that goal.

217. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government and the people of Bolivia were profoundly shocked by the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We ask the representative of the Ukrainian SSR to transmit to his Government and to the family of Mr. Vatchenko the sympathy and condolences of my delegation and my country.

218. My delegation is taking part in the debate on this item to reiterate Bolivia's constant rejection of racial discrimination whether as an idea or as a practice, and more especially when such racial discrimination is the basis of a system aimed at perpetuating the exploitation of man by man.

219. *Apartheid* constitutes a crime against mankind and it is for that reason that the constitutional Government of Bolivia, faithful to the principles of democracy and of respect for human rights, last year deposited the instruments of accession to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]. That act was carried out in accordance with the traditional policy of the Republic of Bolivia which, since 1946, has expressed its repudiation of that disgrace to humanity which is *apartheid*.

220. My delegation cannot understand how for 38 years, the Republic of South Africa has continued to mock the international community, violating the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, without a fitting punishment that would bring it to modify its brazen behaviour.

221. There is no doubt that over those 38 years the international community has become fully cognizant of the significance of that sinister practice. This has been possible thanks to the efforts of the United Nations which has effectively responded to the mandate of the Member States to carry out this praiseworthy task.

222. However, it is not sufficient merely to have created an awareness of the problem. It is necessary for the international community to impose the principles of the Charter and to destroy this appalling scourge that has condemned the majority in South Africa to live in subhuman conditions.

223. How is it possible that at the end of the twentieth century we should still tolerate the idea that the South African majority can be shut up in bantustans like wild animals kept in reservations?

224. Hence my delegation once again expresses its total condemnation of the practice of *apartheid* and demands that the Republic of South Africa honour its international commitments set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights.

225. We wish to pay tribute to the South African majority on the heroic manner in which it is resisting the injustice of *apartheid*. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu is universal testimony to the whole South African people and its martyrs in the struggle to achieve its most fundamental rights to freedom and equality.

226. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): We extend to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the condolences of the Government and the people of Viet Nam on the death of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Comrade Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. We also express our profound sympathy to the people of the Ukrainian SSR and to the family of the deceased on this sad occasion.

227. The appeal made by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Joseph N. Garba [66th meeting], to all Governments and organizations, calling upon them to condemn the wave of killing and repression being carried out by the racist régime of South Africa, has placed at the forefront of the world's consciousness all the gravity of the escalation of threats to the fundamental rights of the people of South Africa, the stability of southern Africa and international peace and security.

228. My delegation has studied closely the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/39/22] and has listened attentively to the poignant and eloquent statements made before the General Assembly since last Tuesday, and we have nothing to add in the facts and the complete and detailed analyses which have been presented. We only wish to join our voices and our indignation in the universal condemnation of this monstrosity which is the régime of the racist colonialists in Pretoria—a monstrosity which still weighs heavily on international civilized society and the conscience of our time.

229. At the same time, my delegation takes this opportunity to express once again the vigorous support of the people of Viet Nam for the just and heroic struggle of the people of South Africa to rid itself of the yoke of *apartheid*.

230. Having had to endure colonialist domination, exploitation and repression for a long time, and having had to conquer and defend its independence and freedom in long wars of resistance, the people of Viet Nam is profoundly at one with the legitimate aspirations of the fraternal people of South Africa, and has every reason to believe in that people's final victory in its heroic struggle to overthrow the régime of *apartheid*.

231. This conviction is based on the following considerations of the analogy between the conditions of struggle of the two peoples.

232. In the first place, the struggle of the people of South Africa is at once a struggle of racial and national liberation, a struggle for the most fundamental human right, the right of a people to self-determination. Many preceding speakers have quite rightly stressed the essential identity between racial oppression and colonial domination, especially in a country like South Africa where, since 1948, a white minority has usurped all State power and subjected the overwhelming black and Coloured majority to complete domination.

233. Throughout the last 36 years the oppressed people of South Africa has steadily waged a struggle for its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, whose ultimate goal is to establish a non-racist, democratic State in South Africa. Confronted with the ferocious and inhuman brutality of oppression, the people of South Africa has not allowed itself to be intimidated and in fact has expanded and intensified its struggle.

234. At the present moment, this struggle has taken the form of resistance on the national scale, encompassing all levels of the oppressed population: workers, students, women, the young and the elderly. It has taken on the character of massive opposition and revolutionary violence against the barbarous, blind and desperate violence of institutionalized racism, which is in the process of turning into fascism and genocide.

235. In the second place, the experience of colonialism undergone by the Vietnamese people fully corroborates the observation often made during the last few days before the General Assembly to the effect that *apartheid* cannot be reformed and that the object of the struggle against this international crime must be its total suppression.

236. We have a saying in our country, which arose during the resistance struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonialism, to wit: "This monster does not change its nature, even if it is beaten to death". The more colonialism is subjected to the blows of popular resistance, the more it persists in its policy of "divide and conquer", setting up puppet administrations which help it to levy native troops to strengthen its capacity for terrorization and suppression. Such manoeuvres to divide people, with which our own people were very familiar, have been seen in recent years in South Africa in this farce of reforms and constitutional elections, in the reinforcement of the militarization of the *apartheid* régime and, as a logical consequence, in the increased terror and repression being carried out against the oppressed South African majority.

237. But why do these racist colonials of Pretoria not change their nature? Why, on the contrary, do they oppose popular resistance with added arrogance and ferocity? It is simply because these racists cannot cease exploiting the natural and human resources which are so abundant in South Africa, this exploitation being vital to their interests, to their very *raison d'être*. It is also because they have a sure and continuing guarantee of collusion and the interested support of powerful Western allies and Israel. This is indeed a plot, an alliance, a consortium of sordid political, strategic, economic and other interests, a sort of collective colonialism and neocolonialism

with the United States and some other NATO Powers at its head. That is why Pretoria has been able to defy so insolently and blandly an impressive series of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as repeated appeals by the international community.

238. It is no longer the time for verbal declarations of denunciation and incrimination. It is to the great credit of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that it dispensed with them in order to mobilize and increase international understanding, solidarity and assistance in the many-sided struggle for the elimination of *apartheid*. My delegation warmly congratulates the Committee, in particular its Chairman, on this fruitful work.

239. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Garba, has just launched from this very rostrum a vigorous appeal for concerted international action to accelerate total suppression of *apartheid*. We should respond to this appeal more effectively.

240. First of all, my delegation is of the view that we should redouble our efforts to isolate more effectively the *apartheid* régime in all areas—political, commercial, cultural, sports, strategic, military—and at all levels—global, regional, local—in various governmental and non-governmental organizations, in cities and villages, associations and corporations. In this respect, we must infinitely deplore the United States policy of constructive engagement, as well as the official visits by the boss of the *apartheid* system to certain Western European countries and to the Vatican, which have further comforted those criminals in their arrogance and boldness.

241. Next, we must considerably augment diplomatic and political pressure of States and international political opinion on the United States and other permanent Western members of the Security Council to ensure that they no longer impose their veto on comprehensive and obligatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter and to compel them to stop violating the arms embargo against Pretoria.

242. Finally, the community of States should more vigorously manifest its encouragement and provide increased assistance at all levels—political, diplomatic, material—to the courageous South African people, whose struggle is increasing in intensity. In this connection my delegation is happy to see that, tempered in new and unprecedented trials, the oppressed South African populations have stood their ground and reinforced their unity when confronted with tactics of division and intimidation. We warmly welcome the increasing strength of this organized resistance on the part of the South African people to repression, a resistance that testifies to the more effective political mobilization of the masses in step with an intensified armed struggle, in particular by the combatants of the ANC.

243. In conclusion my delegation would once more like to renew to the martyred South African people the expression of the Vietnamese people's militant solidarity. May it emerge from its present trials more battle-hardened than ever and better able to intensify its struggle in every possible way at its disposal because this will be the price of its final victory.

244. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Congo heard with consternation of the death of Comrade Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the

Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We share the sorrow of the Ukrainian people at this sad news, but we know that they will bear it with courage. The life of Comrade Vatchenko was devoted to peace, progress and the well-being of the Ukraine and the great Soviet people as a whole. His loss is even more serious because we knew that he could have done even more for the just cause which he served so well all his life. We request the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to accept the condolences and the sympathy of the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo.

245. The policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa is one of the problems of vital importance on the agenda of the General Assembly which cannot be approached without raising essential questions relating to the very nature of the human being and the moral bases of his behaviour.

246. So much muddle, so much shilly-shallying and so much cowardice have strewn the course of the relations between the *apartheid* régime and the rest of the international community, in particular the United Nations as the organ entrusted with promoting peace and harmony in the world, that at times one feels as much to blame as the Government of South Africa itself for the tragedy of *apartheid*, from which nearly 20 million people are suffering on a daily basis in their own country.

247. The entire world and almost all the world public have already condemned and continue to condemn racism, segregation and *apartheid* as a principle of government and a way of life. The number of speakers and the quality of their statements from this rostrum demonstrate, if demonstration is needed, the paradox of this situation, on the one hand there is unanimous condemnation, but on the other hand there is no action.

248. Is the world today so spineless, so blasé, that it can no longer distinguish between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable, between honour and shame? This is the outline of our preoccupation today.

249. What we cannot understand, after so many years of explanations and even of confrontation, is the role assigned to fear, fear which on the one hand influences the policy of the Government of South Africa and on the other neutralizes any positive action by other Governments, in particular the Western ones—with which, alas, Israel has fallen into step—and prevents any decisive action which might put an end to the racist experiment in South Africa.

250. This is a bitter comment but it should not leave us powerless; it only needed a few Sharpevilles or Sowetos for the *apartheid* régime no longer to have any claim on our conscience.

251. *Apartheid* remains a crime against humanity, therefore no man that cherishes peace and justice can rest until at last it is relegated to the same category of shameful memories as slavery, nazism and colonialism.

252. Two attitudes today govern the behaviour of countries regarding the *apartheid* régime. To the collaborationist attitude of those that conduct the policy of constructive engagement is opposed—not without justice—the attitude of the true democrats, who want to put an end to the long agony of the South African people and to promote in that country the reign of law, liberty and fraternity, without consideration of race.

253. The first thesis, that of the collaborators, is based on the pretext of the alleged progressive changes in South Africa, on which the allies of the Government of Pretoria, seduced by its propaganda, are counting.

254. Reassured by the benevolence of these latter, the white South African racists have never felt as comfortable as they do today. As proof of their understanding, their economic and commercial partners have redoubled their activities on behalf of the *apartheid* régime, which ensures a return of the order of 15 per cent on their investments, as against 8 per cent or 10 per cent in the United States or Europe.

255. As for military collaboration, it is no longer encumbered by moral or juridical considerations. The watchword today is defence of the so-called free world, of which South Africa constitutes a forward bridgehead, to the extent that it considers itself to be free, Christian and anti-communist.

256. Thus, by assuring South Africa of all the necessary power, certain Western countries have quickly gone back on the commitments they made in the Security Council not to export either arms or military material to that country.

257. It is no accident that the military budget of South Africa has increased by more than 21 per cent since last year. This militarization of the country relates as much to the activities of the secret police as to those of the ordinary police, making South Africa a veritable internment camp for the majority of the population.

258. Above all it should be stressed that this warlike frenzy is developing at a moment when the Government of Pretoria is proclaiming, in the interest of its contacts with certain front-line countries, its "concern for peace, stability and prosperity" in southern Africa.

259. The diplomatic offensive of Pretoria has gone still further. Its Prime Minister, Mr. Botha, was received officially in May and June of this year in certain capitals of Western Europe, including Rome, at a time ironically, when the victory over nazism was being commemorated.

260. In the People's Republic of the Congo, we are not deceived and we know how to distinguish a sincere desire for peace from publicity manoeuvres. The notion of peace has too much more practical content than that proclaimed by the *apartheid* régime for us to be mistaken.

261. What is the significance of a peace which is solely for export and designed to entrench internally the policy of fragmentation of the people under the slogan of bantustanization or the rationalization of *apartheid*?

262. The homelands policy, which is designed to deprive all blacks of their South African citizenship, is going full speed ahead. With the so-called independence of Kwa Ndebele next December, there will be five bantustans that will have acquired their pseudo-autonomy under the sponsorship of South Africa, which remains the only country to recognize them.

263. There is no need to stress here the drama of the millions of persons affected by the forced displacement consequent on the policy of bantustanization. Men are forced to spend 11 months out of 12 far from their homes; women are brutally prevented from living with their husbands; children are cruelly deprived of the affection of their parents.

264. Imperturbably pursuing the methodical establishment of its policy, the *apartheid* régime has proceeded this year to its famous constitutional reform, which has made the partisans of constructive engagement so much more forthcoming.

265. By its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984), the Security Council declared this alleged reform null and void. For its part, the General Assembly rejected it by resolution 39/2. In so doing, the United Nations, faithful to the mission entrusted to it in the Charter, ranged itself on the side of the majority, the 73 per cent of the population excluded from the benefit of this so-called reform, and thus gave accurate expression to the feeling of the majority of those involved in the electoral masquerade of last August, because only 20 per cent of them had given way to the pressure to participate.

266. It should also be remembered that only the white minority was asked on 2 November 1983 to approve the new constitution, and the three chambers—one for the so-called Coloured, one for those of Asian origin and one, the major chamber, for the white minority, which was to be given legitimacy by the first two.

267. These facts speak for themselves, and we need not dwell on their misleading character. The question which we ask is simply, as Frantz Fanon put it, whether we can “humanize repression”. Should we try to get along with *apartheid* and consort with this régime or, on the contrary, should we demand that it find political solutions to the tragedy it is perpetuating?

268. The *apartheid* régime and certain of its allies have sometimes stated that all in all the situation in terms of economic statistics is better in South Africa than elsewhere on the continent. We would prefer to hear our South African brothers, freed from oppression and repression, proclaim this themselves.

269. The nub of the problem is that freedom and well-being cannot be reduced to a question of statistics or of stomachs to be filled. Otherwise it would be enough to eat and shut up. Let us simply take the time to note that, essentially, the evil laws of *apartheid* remain intact. We can cite a few at random: the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Intimidation Act, the Internal Security Act, the Terrorism Act, the Labour Relations Act, of which everybody has heard, and another dozen, if not more.

270. What is more, the educational system in effect tends to put the blacks in a position of inferiority and to consolidate the division—starting from the physical criterion—of the whole of South African society, by placing the white race at the upper level and the black majority not at a lower level, which would be progress in itself, but totally outside the community, at the periphery of history.

271. In such a context of violence, one is not free to choose one’s own course. The struggle against *apartheid* derives logically from that situation. The majority which supports the thesis of radical change supports that view.

272. It is salutary that the people of South Africa itself should subscribe to the view by remaining at the vanguard of the struggle by virtue of its national liberation movement. This people has already paid a heavy price in this struggle—Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 are its symbols.

273. The struggle continues. It is being carried on every day and at every opportunity as shown by the strike movements that have been sweeping the country since last year, not to mention the students’ boycott of their studies to indicate their rejection of the system.

274. Every day the police and the army combine their actions, entering into peoples’ homes and even mutilating and massacring children. Repression, arrests, humiliation and harassment of all sorts are daily facts of life in South Africa.

275. My country supports the armed struggle of the ANC because we understand its motives. However, as compared with the enemy, the South African people is fighting practically empty-handed. But the people will prevail because there are some struggles that cannot be lost, since right is on their side. In this case, victory follows the trend of history itself, whatever tricks may be used to delay its outcome.

276. One should not claim that recent contacts with certain friendly front-line countries modify the core of the problem. That would be proof of self-induced blindness. The willingness to negotiate, as was pointed out here on 27 September last by the Congolese Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, is one of the components of the African position expressed since the Manifesto on Southern Africa, issued by the leaders of East and Central African States, meeting at Lusaka on 16 April 1969.¹¹

277. In citing our President, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the head of the Congolese delegation, stated during the general debate of the current session

“The development of the revolutionary struggle on the spot is always complex, and the path to victory is tortuous.” [See 11th meeting, para. 49.]

In this context current diplomatic activity

“is naturally part of the process of a long and complex struggle which the peoples of southern Africa have been waging against the white minority régime . . . We are deeply convinced that Africa will not betray the African cause.” [Ibid.]

278. In this multiform struggle, and the efforts of the United Nations on behalf of the people of southern Africa, my delegation wants to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for the dynamism and constancy of their efforts.

279. Given what the Special Committee advocates in its excellent report, the delegation of the Congo welcomes the heightened awareness of international public opinion on behalf of the cause of the people of South Africa. We reiterate our position in support of sanctions and the isolation of the *apartheid* régime, in conformity with the pertinent provisions of the Charter, in particular those in Chapter VII.

280. South Africa deserves the imposition of such international sanctions because it does not conceal the short shrift it gives to the norms and principles of international law in maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia and persisting in South Africa itself in the ideology and practice of nazism—a doctrine which was responsible for the demise of the League of Nations and led to the Second World War and, by reaction, the creation of the United Nations in order that certain deeds never be repeated.

281. On 23 October last Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Prize laureate, declared before the Security Council that in South Africa there reigned "endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed."⁹

282. Is it possible that the South African Government is aware of this malaise even though it is ashamed of its Nobel Prize winner?

283. What, finally, should one think of the banishment of Nelson Mandela? Is it possible that, to live in that country, there is no alternative to exile or death? The liberation of Mandela should be one of the major battles for human rights by all those who are concerned about such rights.

284. In conclusion, aware as we are that man is the most precious of all creations in the world, we remain certain that his rehabilitation will be the task of all nations. For we are certain that, even from their graves, by the blood they have shed for freedom the martyrs of the South African people continue to struggle against *apartheid* and thereby to fertilize our conviction and our own commitment to that struggle.

285. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first express to the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR our deepest condolences on the death of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of that country, Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. My people and Government wish to express their sorrow to the Government and the people of the Ukrainian SSR to whom we are linked by close ties of friendship and solidarity.

286. That the Government of South Africa is totally racist has been clearly reflected in the so-called constitutional reforms by which that Government tried, without success, to deceive the people of South Africa and the international community.

287. On 2 November 1983 that constitutional farce was endorsed by an electorate that was made up completely of whites. Three chambers segregated by race were set up to which the whites elected 178 members, the so-called Coloureds 85 members, and those of Asian origin 45 members.

288. This made it clear that, in the eyes of the Pretoria régime, there are four classes of citizen in South Africa and that their rights are correspondingly graded. In first place we have the whites, who, although numerically in the minority, have and can exercise all rights. The second place is occupied by the Coloureds and the third by the Indians and Asians. The fourth and last place is held by the blacks, who do not have or exercise any rights as South African citizens in spite of the fact that they are the majority and the indigenous population.

289. The exclusion of that majority of the population is disguised by the creation of so-called bantustans in which, supposedly, blacks can exercise their political rights and their rights as citizens. Whereas approximately 87.5 per cent of the territory of South Africa has been declared "white South Africa", the blacks, through a process of despoliation and expulsion, have been shunted into 10 bantustans—in other words, 12.7 per cent of the land has been allocated to 10 million blacks. Furthermore, the land allocated to the blacks is for the most part arid and subject to erosion.

290. In point of fact the blacks cannot exercise their rights, both because of their exclusion from all the political and legal systems of their nation and

because, in the bantustans, it is poverty, deportation and economic domination that in fact govern the fate of the inhabitants.

291. Recently, in resolution 556 (1984), the Security Council demanded the dismantling of the bantustans and the cessation of uprooting, relocation and denationalization of the indigenous African people.

292. To ensure for itself complete control, the white minority also decided that each of the chambers should deal only with the affairs of each corresponding racial group and that Coloured and Asian members of Parliament should only have the right to put forward their cases in their own racial chambers on condition of having a certificate issued by the President to the effect that the item being proposed truly represent an affair proper to the corresponding population group. Likewise, the white minority has ensured that the Presidency of State will always be held by a white by setting up an electoral college composed of 50 white members, 25 so-called Coloured members and 13 Asians.

293. The so-called new constitution that entered into force on 3 September 1984 thus made quite clear the total lack of respect of the racist Pretoria Government for the decisions of the United Nations. A year or so ago this Assembly adopted resolution 38/11, which stated that what were at that time "constitutional proposals" were contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that the results of the referendum were of no validity whatsoever. Similarly, it warned that if the constitutional proposals were put into effect the conflict in South Africa and southern Africa would be exacerbated.

294. During 1984 the body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council, adopted resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984). The former resolution rejected, *inter alia*, and declared null and void the so-called "new constitution" and the August 1984 "elections", and urged Governments and organizations not to accord recognition to the results of the so-called "elections". The second resolution reiterated the Council's condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and called for an immediate cessation of the killing and for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.

295. Towards the end of September, at the current session, the General Assembly reiterated its rejection of the so-called "new constitution" and once again, in resolution 39/2, declared it null and void.

296. The States Members of the United Nations have had an opportunity to express their rejection of those measures, which are aimed at consolidating the racist and terrorist system of *apartheid*. None of those resolutions, however, has had the support of the United States, which thus demonstrates the falsity of its "lessons in democracy".

297. To date, we have heard no statement from Washington to the effect that the so-called constitutional reforms and elections in South Africa were a farce. Why is it that, if the United States feels it to be its responsibility to overthrow Governments around the world, it does not give its assistance to the black patriots of South Africa in their struggle against the heinous *apartheid* régime?

298. How can we explain the fact that for the United States there are no "freedom fighters" in the national liberation movements? With regard to the

conduct of the United States in relation to this problem, the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* states, *inter alia*:

"The United States Government, in particular, has opposed and frustrated all international action to deal effectively with the acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime. It has welcomed and encouraged the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to entrench racism as positive changes.

"While professing abhorrence of *apartheid*, it resists any action against the *apartheid* régime. While professing attachment to democracy, it attacks the main instruments of democratic transformation, the national liberation movements of the great majority of the people. It extols elements of the oppressive régime as forces for peaceful change and condones blackmail by the Pretoria régime against independent States as a peace process." [A/39/22, paras. 330 and 333.]

299. *Apartheid* as a form of exploitation and oppression must, in order to survive, resort to terror as its principal means of survival. That is the only way in which a minority can impose its will on the majority. The legal institutions, the armed forces and the police of South Africa all depend upon a régime of terror. In order to practice terrorism against the inhabitants of South Africa, the Pretoria Government has a whole series of laws that grant it license to intimidate, abduct and liquidate persons and organizations that refuse to accept this state of affairs. Under the national security laws the repressive forces of South Africa can disperse, attack, imprison and murder demonstrators. It is against this background that we must view the latest events in the streets of South Africa, where the Government of South Africa unleashed its violence against the South African people who, rightfully, were rebelling against their oppressors.

300. Turning to the outside, the terrorist régime of South Africa overruns its borders and attacks neighbouring countries and illegally occupies Namibia, for which the United Nations is directly responsible.

301. The attitude of total intransigence by the South African Government, its constant defiance of United Nations resolutions, its continued aggression against its neighbours and its apparently incorrigible racist policy are assisted by the protection that régime receives, mainly from the most powerful State in the Organization.

302. My delegation welcomes and shares the hopes expressed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that

"Governments and peoples of the world, committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will exert all their influence to persuade the Government of the United States of America, and others concerned, to desist from their present policies and co-operate in international action for the elimination of *apartheid*." [Ibid., para. 339].

303. The valiant struggle of the South African people, the heroes who have offered their lives to achieve the liberation of their country and those who day by day suffer the horrors of *apartheid*, demand that the United Nations devote itself with determination to the implementation of its resolutions and to overcoming the obstacles to the imposition of sanctions on South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

304. The people of Nicaragua, which throughout its history has also been the victim of oppression and exploitation by hegemonistic interests, expresses its full solidarity with its South African brothers fighting against *apartheid*. We shall not cease to raise our voices in condemnation and repudiation of this heinous régime.

305. The PRESIDENT: As announced at an earlier plenary meeting, a number of draft resolutions will be submitted under this item, and some of them may have programme budget implications. The voting on those draft resolutions will therefore take place at a subsequent meeting.

306. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

307. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of Israel saw fit last Wednesday [69th meeting] to ignore the item "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" and, instead of finding a pretext for the close collaboration between zionism and racism in all fields, especially the military and nuclear, chose to speak of oil production, the importation of diamonds and gold, and foreign aid; and it used the traditional colonial argument to the effect that the close and direct contact between Israel and South Africa was the best way to achieve a change in South Africa's policy. What the representative of Israel said is not new. We have heard exactly the same thing from his predecessors, and it is not at all surprising. The Zionist movement is a racist movement—that is well known—based on the superiority of a certain race and a chosen people.

308. The first head of State to visit Israel after its foundation was the racist Smits from South Africa. He was warmly received by the leaders of zionism and said after his arrival: "Israel, like South Africa, is surrounded by Coloured enemies."

309. The representative of Israel also saw fit to attack the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and to speak about what he called "reports that to this very day in the interior of the Arabian peninsula slavery or something very much like it continues to exist". [69th meeting, para. 87.] The heart of the Arabian peninsula is open to everyone, and if there were any kind of slavery there, there would have been no need for false reports, which are only figments of the Israeli representative's imagination.

310. All that we want to say to the Israeli representative is that he should look to the state of slavery to which the Palestinian people are subjected in their homeland, the demolition of their homes, the closing of their schools and universities, the usurpation of their sacred places, waters and territories, and the racist repressive and oppressive acts practised by the Israeli entity against that defenceless people. After that, does he have the right to shed crocodile tears over the Africans against whom racial discrimination is practised?

311. As for the allegation of the Israeli representative that the Arab countries are not generous towards their African brothers, I should like to quote from a document of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. It reads:

"During the past 10 years, the total amount of financial assistance extended by Saudi Arabia through bilateral channels only was \$US 35 billion. This aid was untied and took the form of either

pure grants or very concessional loans, with a grant element of at least 60 per cent on average. "More than 68 developing countries all over the world have benefited from the Kingdom's bilateral aid, 38 of whom are in Africa, 24 in Asia and 6 in other regions.

"On average, Saudi Arabia's development assistance amounted to \$US 3.5 billion per annum during the said period. Of this \$US 3.5 billion about 40 per cent were pure grants and the remainders were very soft loans.

"In addition, Saudi Arabia contributes to 12 regional development institutions which have a total capitalization of more than \$US 15 billion with the Kingdom's share averaging 20 per cent of the total capital contributed. These institutions include the OPEC Fund for International Development to which the Kingdom's contribution is over 30 per cent of total resources, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, the International Fund for Agricultural Development to which the Kingdom is the second major contributor, the Islamic Development Bank, the Arab Monetary Fund, the African Development Fund and other institutions.

"The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has also been a major source of finance for the leading international financial institutions. During 1974-82 period, Saudi Arabia has supported the activities of the World Bank by providing \$US 4 billion in loans. It has also provided nearly \$US 16 billion to the International Monetary Fund."*

312. After hearing those facts no impartial person can accuse Saudi Arabia or the other Arab countries that contribute equally towards co-operation with the fraternal African countries of not being generous, in the way suggested by the sophistry of the Israeli representative.

313. It is not surprising that a Government that flouted all the norms and committed all kinds of crimes against the Palestinian and other Arab countries should distort the facts elsewhere, especially in the General Assembly, which has had sufficient evidence of the Israeli crimes.

314. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): Three speeches made in this debate require a brief comment in exercise of the right of reply.

315. The Soviet Union again seized upon the subject of *apartheid* to indulge in gratuitous, extended attacks on the United States. We find that odd, coming from a country ostensibly pledged to *détente* in an institution pledged to resolving disputes rather than exacerbating them. These attacks upon us

seemed especially odd, since they came from the representative of a Power whose most notable contribution to Africa has been guns.

316. In the process, the representative of the Soviet Union alluded to the fact that we acknowledged that the United States and South Africa fought on the same side in the Second World War. That is true, and we have not forgotten that fact. Indeed, the Soviet Union and South Africa fought on the same side during the Second World War, although the Soviet Union's famous selective memory may have trouble recalling that fact. We even remember having fought on the same side as the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and the human rights record of that country before and since does not alter the fact of the enormous sacrifice its people made during that struggle.

317. The Syrian and Nicaraguan representatives also spoke about my Government's policies in the context of *apartheid* and South Africa. We are always happy to hear concern expressed about human rights. We can only hope that the concern expressed about human rights by those representatives will give rise to reflection on their part on how their Governments can contribute to greater enjoyment of human rights within their own borders.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹The delegations of El Salvador and Mauritius subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

²See E/CN.4 '1984/8/Add.1.

³E/CN.4/Sub.2/425/Add.7.

⁴See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1984, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1984/43.*

⁵The delegation of El Salvador subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

⁶The delegation of Mauritius subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on that part of paragraph 12 of the draft resolution.

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1981, document S/14750, annex.*

⁸See A/40/87, annex, para. 18.

⁹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, 2560th meeting.*

¹⁰See A/38/451-S/16009, annex.

¹¹*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

*Quoted in English by the speaker.