



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SIX HUNDRED AND NINETIETH MEETING

Held at H. adquarters, New York,
on Friday, 1 June 1986, at 7.30 p.m.

President: Mr. RABETAFIKA

(Madagascar)

Members: Australia
Bulgaria
China
Congo
Denmark
France
Ghana
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela

Mr. FARMER
Mr. TSVETKOV
Ms. SHI Yanhua
Mr. ADOKI
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. RAPIN
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. KASEMSARN
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. SAFRONCHUK
Mr. SHIRIR

Mr. MAXEY
Mr. OKUN
MR. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 7.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 10 JUNE 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZAIRE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18146)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Guyana, India, Romania and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya (Zaire) took a place at the Council table; Miss Jacob (Guyana), Mr. Krishnan (India) and Mr. Marinescu (Romania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Security Council that I have received a letter dated 12 June 1986 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee against Apartheid, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Council to permit me to participate in my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in the Council's consideration of the item presently on the Council's agenda."

On previous occasions the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters

(The President)

on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I therefore propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rana (Nepal), Acting Chairman of the Committee against Apartheid, took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 10 June 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/18146).

The first speaker is the representative of Zaire, upon whom I now call.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): As the racist South African régime is getting ready to subject the black freedom fighters to reprisals, massacres, torture and arbitrary arrest, I am pleased to see that the Security Council is being presided over by worthy son of Africa, our Africa, which has endured suffering and humiliation of all types for centuries. Your lengthy and rich experience in the United Nations complements your remarkable intellectual and moral qualities, and that is a major asset that will ensure the success of the lofty mission that has been entrusted to you for the month of June 1986. On behalf of the African Group as a whole, and on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, I extend to you most sincere congratulations on your unanimous designation to serve as President of the Security Council. I wish you complete success in your task.

Similarly, I should like to extend to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. James Victor Gbeho, Permanent Representative of Ghana, my thanks for the effective manner in which he guided the proceedings of the Council in the month of May.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

The African Group at the United Nations has thoroughly considered the situation prevailing in South Africa on the eve of the sad commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre. Given the unambiguous intention of the racist régime of South Africa to perpetrate new massacres of the black population of South Africa on this occasion, the African Group at the United Nations has requested the convening of this meeting of the Security Council so that it may adopt measures to prevent the premeditated acts of the abject régime.

On the morning of Wednesday, 16 June 1976, more than 20,000 schoolchildren of Soweto were peacefully parading in the streets of Soweto to protest the decree of the racist South African régime imposing Afrikaans, the language of the Boers, as the language to be used for education in black high schools. In the course of the demonstrations the South African police killed a youth, Hector Peterson, from behind his back. He was barely 13 years old. That led to the Soweto riots and gave the police and the South African army a pretext for firing point-blank into the crowd of young demonstrators, killing 618 and wounding 1,500.

The Soweto uprising sharpened the determination and yearning for liberty of the young blacks, who were ready to confront the machine-guns of the repressive forces of the racist South African régime and unambiguously expressed the pent-up anger of black youth at the régime's callous injustices.

Psychological liberation and black pride were fundamental to the youth movement established by Steve Biko; they also contributed to the outbreak of protests in 1976.

The Soweto uprising was a spontaneous outburst; no one had organized it beforehand. That eruption on 16 June 1976 was nothing other than an escalation

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of what had been fermenting for weeks among young blacks opposed to learning a language that gave them no educational advantage.

Wishing to throw off the chains of oppression, those young blacks were oblivious to the presence of armed police and to a fully equipped army ready to open fire on them. When one yearns for liberty, one fears neither guns nor bayonets. It was a consciousness-raising that spread throughout an entire country, awakening the whole black population of South Africa from a long sleep, motivating it and strengthening its capacity to fight the oppressor. The tide of South African history is and will remain irreversible despite the reinforcement of the apparatus of repression that the racist South African régime wishes to organize.

The international community witnessed those tragedies impotently, unable to do more than condemn those acts, unable to adopt appropriate measures against the régime. In the following 10 years both the South African students and their parents have continued to reject the system of separate education that gives white youth an education far superior to that given black youth.

On 4 September 1984 the racist South African régime promulgated a new constitution denying South African citizenship to black people. That "reform" was judged unacceptable by the black people of South Africa, who had increased their activities, demonstrations and protests against it. The black people of South Africa, the original population of the region, cannot accept being relegated to the last row in their own birthplace as second-class citizens when the foreign occupiers of their property are arrogating to themselves all rights and denying the black people all civil and political rights in their own homeland.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

No matter how many black South Africans are killed, no matter how many atrocities are visited upon them, nothing can any longer stop their movement towards the recovery of their freedom and the elementary rights laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter.

The entire international community has counted the number of persons - 1,600 - that have been killed since precisely 4 September 1984; that is, almost 21 months since the implementation of this new constitutional reform in South Africa. This figure of 1,600 will be increased very soon - that is, on 16 June next, when the racist South African régime will pursue its policy of exterminating the black population.

Does one have the right, in strictly humanitarian terms, to show understanding for such a political system, based on force, injustice and repression? Will such a system survive if all the support and assistance it receives from abroad is withdrawn - particularly since the internal structures of that system are already being systematically dismantled?

The most striking illustration of that erosion of the apartheid system is the desertion of all the black leaders that had been given some functions within the urban councils, and the replacement of those councils by institutions established by the blacks themselves - such as "The Street Committee", "The Community Committee" and "The People's Court". Thus, the administration of the townships is increasingly escaping the control of the racist régime - particularly since the black policemen themselves have had to flee and take refuge in the shanties built outside the townships.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

The situation during the past three years has also made possible the emergence in South Africa of a spirit of organization and unity among the black unions. Indeed, the order to strike can now reach every South African worker, thereby immobilizing the black South African work force.

The trade-union initiatives by the blacks of South Africa have been strengthened to such an extent that the three large union organizations - KOSATU, KUSA and the Azania Trade Union Unity Council - are moving increasingly towards merger, with a view to achieving trade-union unity. That trade-union strength which the black people of South Africa now have is the first link in a long chain of elements that can thwart the racist régime's action and completely strangle it.

In their struggle against the oppressor, the trade unions have received the full support of the workers. They are co-operating closely with the churches and the student organizations in the move to eliminate the abominable apartheid system. In that context, the trade unions, the churches and the students have organized to commemorate the sad event of 16 June 1976 and they will participate actively in all the demonstrations scheduled for that purpose.

In the same context, the United Nations, together with the Organization of African Unity, will convene in Paris on the same date - 16 June - the International Conference on the Adoption of Sanctions against Racist South Africa.

Fortified by the resolution adopted by the summit conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity calling for the convening on 16 June 1986 - the anniversary of the massacres at Soweto - of the International Conference on the Adoption of Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the United Nations endorsed that resolution and thereby decided to uphold the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the black people of South Africa for their freedom and dignity and the recognition of their fundamental rights.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

The existing régime in South Africa has distinguished itself by its deeply inhuman nature, which makes such a régime intolerable at the end of this twentieth century - a century that will have witnessed the liberation of dominated and oppressed peoples.

The history of mankind is replete with instances of the existence of certain racist régimes which had the goal of exterminating entire peoples but which in the end themselves perished in the same way.

A striking part of the chronology of the tragedies in South Africa has been the massacres at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 and at Soweto on 16 June 1976, and the massacres that have been systematically taking place since 4 September 1984 and that will continue on 16 June next.

Indeed, on 21 March 1960, when the black people of South Africa were peacefully protesting against the adoption of the "pass law" system, the racist régime reacted brutally by killing thousands of persons at Sharpeville. In regard to that monstrous crime, the international community limited itself to purely and simply condemning that horrible act; nothing more was done.

On 16 June 1976, when the students demonstrated against the educational system, the racist South African régime reserved for them even more severe treatment: they killed young people. There again, the international community adopted only purely condemnatory resolutions.

On 4 September 1984, the blacks began their revolt against a new constitution enshrining the principle of racial discrimination. For that, they have had to pay the price so far of more than 1,600 persons killed - in addition to the thousands of persons arrested. Once again, the international community limited itself to a simple condemnation of these atrocities committed by the South African racist régime.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Despite, on the one hand, the South African racist régime's persistence in sharpening and expanding the repression and, on the other hand, the passive reaction of the international community to those horrors and barbarous acts, the black people of South Africa - inspired by the rightness and legitimacy of their struggle - are untiringly continuing to fight the repressive forces of the racist régime.

The Security Council, whose lofty mission is to bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has the right to support the just cause of the black people of South Africa. Just as it is true that on 16 June 1986 those black people will commemorate the anniversary of the massacres at Soweto, so it is also true that the South African racist régime will carry out other massacres. Can anyone imagine that the international community will once again remain a passive observer of those crimes?

So far, the racist South African régime has had laws permitting it to repress the demonstrators, to make arrests and to torture persons in detention. Thus, the "Riotous Assembly Act" forbade people to assemble; the "Existing Security Act" gave the police the power to arrest and torture; the "Detention Act" authorized the police to detain a person for 108 days without trial. If those laws seem not to meet the racist South African régime's present need to contain the revolt by the blacks, the explanation is very simple: the present South African régime is in the process of losing control of the situation and increasingly finds itself cornered.

Because of the seriousness and scope of the revolt by the black people of South Africa, the racist régime introduced in the South African Parliament the "Public Safety Amendment Bill" and the "Internal Safety Amendment Bill", designed to strengthen the repressive power of the police and to prevent the black freedom

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fighters of South Africa from commemorating the sad events of 16 June 1976. Having failed to obtain from the South African Parliament the adoption of those amendments, the racist régime found no other solution than to re-establish the state of emergency, on the night of 11 June 1986. The re-establishment of the state of emergency, whose end the racist régime had seemed to announce, has the aim of enabling that régime to arrest blacks without any pretext, to torture them without the police having to worry about any kind of punishment, to detain any black freedom fighter for six months - thus increasing the period of 108 days to more than 180 days - and to fire without warning on any black person.

The international community is confronted by a régime that has beaten the highest records in the world for hangings, arrests and detention. Indeed, there are at present at least 125,000 persons imprisoned in South Africa, and in the past three years the racist régime has had to cope with problems of processing and housing prisoners. Because of the shortage of prisons, the South African régime has had to build many new ones, the largest being the "Maximum Security Prison" that has just been completed in Diep Kloof and that can hold 11,000 persons - almost the population of an entire town.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

The South African racist régime has clearly shown the world that it has contempt for the universal conscience and that it has been able with impunity to perpetrate its outrages. At present six young Sharpeville blacks sentenced to death by hanging are awaiting execution; for the first time there is a woman, Teresa Ramasamola, among them.

More than 60 persons have been tortured to death, including young Steve Biko; yet, no white police officer has been charged, indicted or convicted in connection with these crimes.

The resistance of the black people to all these assaults by South Africa's repressive force has continued to harden, for it involves every South African black who protests the apartheid system and supports the revolution.

The international community too should react against any racial war in South Africa, whether pitting black against white or black against black, especially since confrontation among blacks is encouraged and organized by the racist régime of South Africa. More than 22 persons have died in the last three days of combat among blacks. White police officers have stood side by side with blacks who are their agents: the so-called wietdook.

We in the African Group consider that the international community cannot await further massacres and further loss of life to adopt a decision on the situation in South Africa. The slavery to which South African blacks are subjected must not continue. It is time that the international community supported the liberation of that people.

We are convinced that the Security Council will adopt the necessary measures towards South Africa, measures commensurate with the atrocities that country continues to commit. The preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that

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"it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law". (General Assembly resolution 217 A (III), third preambular paragraph)

That applies to the current situation in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The United States is convinced, now more than ever, that what is needed in South Africa are moves towards peaceful dialogue and an end to apartheid. We deeply regret the reimposition of a state of emergency and the widespread arrests of opposition figures. Such repressive measures are a serious mistake on the part of the South African Government and show a lack of appreciation of the fundamental causes of unrest and violence there. These measures will only serve to undermine opportunities for genuine dialogue; they will retard the restoration of public confidence and order. We have expressed our views on the current situation to the South African Government.

Regarding the statement to be read out today by the President of the Security Council, although we have gone along with the consensus we take issue with certain language contained therein. The goal of such a statement from this body should essentially be a call for calm in a volatile situation. My Government is convinced that all South Africans should use peaceful means on the solemn occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. It is to be regretted that this hope is not given more emphasis in the statement.

Furthermore, my Government does not consider it appropriate for the Council to dictate the kind of Government that ought to emerge in post-apartheid South Africa. This is a matter that should be determined by all South Africans themselves, but not by outside forces.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

With those reservations in mind, my Government goes along with the consensus statement.

Mr. MAREY (United Kingdom): I am obliged to speak, but I shall be brief. First, Sir, let me say how much pleasure it gives me and the other members of my delegation to see you in the presidency of the Security Council. We deeply respect your personal qualities and your wide experience, and we enjoy your wit and good humour. You are having a busy presidency, and we wish you continued success in discharging your responsibilities.

I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Gbeho of Ghana, on having met the challenges of his presidency with such efficiency and aplomb.

The gravity of the situation in South Africa is clear to all, and of deep concern to all. It is of particular concern to the United Kingdom, as it is to our friends in countries neighbouring South Africa, and to all who have participated in the search for justice and for peaceful solutions there.

My delegation accordingly gave its wholehearted support to the proposal that the Security Council should engage in preventive diplomacy by making an appeal in advance of the anniversary of the tragic events in Soweto in 1976. It is for that reason that we have joined with other members of the Council in endorsing the statement which the President will shortly be reading out.

Nevertheless, I must register our reservations about two aspects of the presidential statement. First, we believe that statements of this kind should be based meticulously on positions held in common by all members of the Council. They should express our deep feelings in statesmanlike and restrained language if the standing of this Council is to be preserved. The reservations which my delegation has previously expressed about some of the terms used in this statement, for example in our explanation of vote on 13 February 1986, remain valid.

(Mr. Maxey, United Kingdom)

Secondly, the United Kingdom strongly regrets that the statement did not go further. A vital element is absent. One of the purposes of the United Nations is to bring about, by peaceful means, the adjustment or settlement of disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. Primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred on the Security Council. Consistent with this essential principle we should all be concerned to try to prevent further bloodshed in the attainment of our common objective, which is the total eradication of apartheid. For that reason my delegation proposed that the statement should express the Security Council's preference for peaceful and just solutions, and that it should appeal to all concerned to show the greatest possible restraint and to work together by peaceful means.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations sincerely wish to see the people of South Africa living and working together peacefully and harmoniously in a democratic multi-racial society. I believe that the overwhelming majority here and throughout the world do not desire further bloodshed and violence. I therefore regret that the Council has been prevented from expressing the desire that even at this late stage a peaceful means should be found of eradicating the evil of apartheid. However difficult the task may be, it is the responsibility of the Security Council to encourage dialogue and peaceful solutions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, Sir, I should like to welcome you as President of the Security Council. In you we have an experienced, highly qualified diplomat and a worthy representative of the African continent. The Soviet delegation is sure that your great experience will help ensure success for the Security Council in its work this month.

I wish also to express our thanks to the representative of Ghana, Ambassador Gbeho, for his skilful and knowledgeable guidance of the Security Council's work in the month of May.

The bloody reprisals carried out on 16 June 1976 by the South African racists against anti-apartheid demonstrations in Soweto, like the many other harsh reprisals against other demonstrations, recall to members of the Council ever fresh memories of the victims of these occurrences. We must express our great respect to those victims of this terror carried out by the racists in South Africa which continues today against those leading the heroic struggle against apartheid.

The holding today of a meeting of the Security Council bears witness to the solidarity amongst States Members of the United Nations for those people fighting in South Africa to eradicate the system of apartheid. Specifically, the Council is meeting because the deteriorating situation in South Africa has reached a critical point. Millions of inhabitants in South Africa wish simply to be treated as human beings. They wish only to be able to live in their homeland without being victims of scorn and discrimination. They wish to see the elimination of all political, economic and social barriers erected by the racist régime against the dignity of the human person.

In response to the legitimate demands of the majority, the South African authorities have resorted to armed violence against a peaceful population. We have received information about new crimes committed by the Pretoria authorities, which

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

have perpetrated the harshest repression against the indigenous population struggling for the elimination of the apartheid system, thus showing that the apartheid régime is striving to maintain its existence through bloody repression throughout the country while at the same time increasing its aggressive activities against front-line and other independent African States - in particular Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions, it is also continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia.

We already have before us a complaint by the Permanent Representative of Angola calling for the urgent convening of the Security Council to consider fresh acts of aggression committed by Pretoria against Angola. All these actions of Pretoria are worsening the situation in southern Africa and constitute a growing threat not only to security in the region but also to international peace and security as a whole.

The United Nations and its Security Council, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on whose behalf we have just heard the Ambassador of Zaire, the non-aligned movement and the international community have all unanimously declared apartheid to be a shameful manifestation of racial oppression and a crime against mankind and a flagrant trampling on human rights and dignity.

For many years the international community in all international forums has called for the application of mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. However, throughout this time the Western protectors of the South African racist régime, chiefly the United States and the United Kingdom, have prevented the Security Council from adopting such sanctions. Washington already applies discriminatory sanctions against countries whose régimes are not to its liking, but at the same time it defends the racist régime of South Africa. Moreover, it does not conceal the fact that the

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

United States considers this régime to be its historical ally in carrying out its global strategic plans.

The Soviet Union supports the General Assembly's condemnation of the "constructive engagement" policy carried out between South Africa and the United States and certain other Western States.

The Soviet Union, like the overwhelming majority of countries in the world, expresses its unswerving support for the South African people, led by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for the complete elimination of apartheid. We fully support the international community's demands upon South Africa immediately to halt its arbitrary actions and its tyranny against the people of the country, to abolish its repressive laws, to release immediately the heroic freedom fighter, Nelson Mandela, and all other political prisoners, to cease its acts of repression against those fighting against apartheid and to ensure freedom of action for the ANC and all organizations in favour of creating in South Africa a single, democratic society.

The existence of apartheid is a source of dangerous tension in southern Africa seriously complicating international relations. It is one more argument that the apartheid system, which constitutes a hotbed of tension in southern Africa, must be eliminated. The Security Council must take preventive, effective measures to force the Pretoria régime to heed the demands of the international community that it halt its violence and bloody repression against the African majority in South Africa and discontinue its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States.

We regret that the statement you intend to make, Mr. President, on behalf of the Council at the end of this meeting with regard to the disturbing situation in South Africa does not go far enough on the question of adopting truly effective measures against the racist régime as provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

In our view, the Security Council should issue an unambiguous warning to the South African racist régime, given its bloody repression of the people, and unreservedly and authoritatively confirm the legitimacy of the African people's struggle to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination. The Security Council must speak out strongly against the new laws promulgated by the régime, such as the infamous "internal security" laws, added to the already inhuman "security" system. These laws have become a new instrument of terror and violence against the indigenous population of the country.

In conclusion, I should like to stress once again that, as stated in the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted at its Twenty-seventh Congress, the Soviet Union is on the side of States and peoples that reject the aggressive forces of imperialism and are fighting for freedom, independence and national dignity. Our solidarity with them is an important part of our struggle for international peace and security. We consider it our international duty to support the struggle of peoples that are still under the yoke of racism and victims of the apartheid system.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): It is a great pleasure for me to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. There is no doubt that, in the person of the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Madagascar, with which my country maintains close friendly relations, the Security Council has as President an outstanding politician and a renowned diplomat whose many years of experience and savoir-faire are sure to contribute to the smooth performance of the Council's work this month.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

I wish also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, for the great competence with which he accomplished his tasks during the month of May.

At the request of the African Group, the Security Council has once again been urgently requested to consider the alarming situation developing in South Africa on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the sad events which occurred in Soweto. Ten years ago the Security Council reacted strongly to the racist régime's brutal violence against thousands of inhabitants of the South African Republic. At that time the President of your country, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, drew the Council's attention to the fact that the events in Soweto were "the logical consequence of the legal violence inflicted for decades by the white minority on the black majority of the country".

Ten years after those remarkable words and 10 years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 392 (1976), in which it stresses that the policy of apartheid is "a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind" and that that policy is a serious threat to international peace and security, international opinion continues to be witness to brutal physical violence against millions of people in South Africa whose only crime is their legitimate aspiration for a life of equal rights and dignity in their native country.

Today world public opinion is once again justifiedly concerned at the events occurring in southern Africa. Every day, for two years now, reports from there have told of the tragic end of hundreds of heroic sons and daughters of the South African people. We can imagine the blood-baths that the racist minority régime is preparing for the South African people this time.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

The Security Council in its resolution on events in Soweto, to which I have just referred, called on the racist South African régime urgently to end all violence against the majority of the population in the country and to take swift steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination. However, we note with bitterness that 10 years after that appeal apartheid and racial discrimination continue to poison the climate in southern Africa. Furthermore, a few days ago Pretoria adopted new racist laws in addition to the obscurantist security laws in the country. By those measures the racists are legalizing mass repression and massacres of South Africans who dare to raise their voices for an equal and dignified life, without discrimination or apartheid. The world learned with shock that the racists had made good their threats and proclaimed a state of emergency in the country to prevent the legitimate protests of the black population. The information that we have received gives rise to fear and concern for the lives and destiny of millions of people in South Africa.

At the same time the racists are increasing their aggressiveness against neighbouring independent and sovereign States, thus giving new dimension to the threat to international peace and security. Still suffering under the heel of the colonial occupier, Namibia was recently transformed into one of the main military bases of Pretoria and its overseas allies so as to destabilize the People's Republic of Angola. South Africa continues to occupy a part of Angolan territory. We recently received reports on the concentration of racist military units in northern Namibia to carry out new military incursions into Angolan territory and to support the bandit Savimbi who, unfortunately, enjoys the protection not only of the racists but also of the United States Administration.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

Just a few days ago, naval units of the Pretoria racists perpetrated a new piratical act of State terrorism and open aggression against the port of Namibié of independent and free Angola; following those acts by Pretoria, a Cuban ship was sunk and two Soviet merchant ships were seriously damaged. In that connection the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency published the following statement:

"The Bulgarian people categorically condemns this new premeditated act of State terrorism and expresses its solidarity with the Angolan people's struggle against the South African aggressors to defend its national sovereignty and its legitimate right to determine its destiny."

That South African aggression occurred against the backdrop of aggressive acts committed by the racists only two weeks ago against Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. At that time the Security Council was prevented by two of its permanent members from adopting a resolution which would have condemned that aggression and proposed that effective measures be taken against that régime in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

In light of the latest events and as a result of the constantly deteriorating situation in South Africa as a consequence of the bloody acts of terror against the majority of that country's people, we consider that the Security Council must urgently demand that the racist South African régime abolish the new laws it has recently adopted, lift the state of emergency and allow the great majority of that country's population freely to commemorate its anniversaries and historic dates. The Security Council must demand that the racist South African régime implement without delay all the Council's decisions aimed at eradicating the system of apartheid and bringing to an end the violence against that country's population. Otherwise, full responsibility for the possible consequences will lie completely with the racist South African régime and with those of its friends who persist in hindering the adoption of stringent measures to eradicate that infamous and inhumane régime.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has constantly supported the heroic struggle of the South African people and would like to state here that the only way to solve the problems in South Africa and in the southern region of that continent is to proceed to the total eradication of apartheid; in order to achieve that, mandatory comprehensive sanctions must be imposed pursuant to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the kind words he kindly addressed to me.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The members of the Security Council, on the occasion of the observance of the tenth anniversary of the wanton killings perpetrated by the apartheid régime in South Africa against the African people in Soweto, wish to recall Security Council resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976, which strongly

(The President)

condemned the South African Government for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people, including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination. They are convinced that a repetition of such tragic events would aggravate the already serious threat that the situation in South Africa poses to the security of the region and could have wider implications for international peace and security.

"They condemn the policy and all the repressive measures which only serve to perpetuate the apartheid system, in particular the recent imposition of a nation-wide state of emergency and the arrest and detention of thousands of persons involved in the struggle against apartheid. They urge the immediate and unconditional release of all persons detained in this respect. In particular, they call for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in order to allow the observance of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre without any provocative interference or intimidation on the part of the police and military forces.

"In this regard, the members of the Security Council, committed as they are to work for a just and equitable solution which will totally eradicate apartheid and avert further human suffering in South Africa, warn the South African Government that it will be held fully responsible for any violence, bloodshed, loss of life, injury and damage to property which may result from acts of repression and intimidation on the occasion of the observance of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre.

"The members of the Security Council reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the total elimination of apartheid and recall previous resolutions calling upon the racist régime in

(The President)

South Africa to abolish apartheid and to establish a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult universal suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa."

There are no further speakers on the list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be scheduled following consultations among the members of the Council.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE THIRTY-SEVENTH, THIRTY-EIGHTH, THIRTY-NINTH AND FORTIETH SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As we approach the end of the period covered in the annual report of the Security Council submitted to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter, that is, from 16 June 1985 to 15 June 1986, the Council has agreed that I place on record that since 16 June 1985 the members of the Security Council have been engaged in consultations of the whole in connection with the issues raised in the annual reports of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization presented to the thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and fortieth sessions of the General Assembly during which members have explored possible ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Council in accordance with the powers entrusted to it under the Charter.

These consultations are being pursued informally.

Before adjourning, I should like to announce that, as agreed during the course of consultations, the Security Council will consider the question of "Complaint by Angola against South Africa" on Monday, 16 June 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 8.50 p.m.