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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 18 February 1987, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. ZUZE

(Zambia)

Members:

Argentina  
Bulgaria  
China  
Congo  
France  
Germany, Federal Republic of  
Ghana  
Italy  
Japan  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Venezuela

Mr. DELPECH  
Mr. GARVALOV  
Mr. YU Mengjia  
Mr. MOUSSAKI  
Mr. BROCHAND  
Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER  
Mr. DUMEVI  
Mr. BUCCI  
Mr. KIKUCHI  
Mr. TIMERBAEV  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
  
Mr. BIRCH  
Mr. WALTERS  
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18688)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at the 2732nd meeting, I invite the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Senegal, South Africa, the Sudan and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Icaza Gallard (Nicaragua), Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Manley (South Africa), Mr. Adam (Sudan) and Mr. Djokic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, the German Democratic Republic, India, Kenya, Morocco, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity 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 accordance 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. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dasgupta (India), Mr. Kiilu (Kenya), Mr. Bennouna (Morocco), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Chagula (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter dated 17 February 1987 from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia, I have the honour, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, to request an invitation to the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, headed by His Excellency Mr. Hocine Djoudi (Algeria), Vice-President of the Council for Namibia, to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the item entitled 'The question of South Africa', which begins on 17 February 1987".

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Vice-President and the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should also like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter dated 17 February 1987 from the representatives of the Congo, Ghana and Zambia which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that during its meetings devoted to consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa' the Security Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. Mfanafuthi J. Makatini, Director of International Affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)".

(The President)

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/18695.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Makatini in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the duties of President of the Security Council for the month of February. I am confident that your great diplomatic skill and experience will enable you to conduct the proceedings of the Council successfully. It is indeed highly appropriate that the representative of non-aligned and front-line Zambia should preside over the meetings at which one of the most difficult international problems, the policy of apartheid and the situation in South Africa, is being discussed.

I should like to express our appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Venezuela, Ambassador Andres Aguilar, for the competent, indeed outstanding, manner in which he guided the work of the Security Council during the month of January.

Southern Africa has become one of the most explosive crisis spots in the world. The internal system of apartheid and racial discrimination and the external policy of aggression and occupation pursued by South Africa constitute the most serious threat to peace and stability in the region and the world at large.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

In a vain attempt to preserve domination and racial discrimination, the racist régime has stepped up oppression against the majority black population. It has reinstated the nation-wide state of emergency, bringing a new wave of terror. Hundreds of people have lost their lives; thousands have been put in gaol. Unarmed strikers and demonstrators are shot at; there are trumped-up charges against and trials of opponents of apartheid; and those fighting for freedom and liberation are killed while in detention.

The new and more brutal repressive measures, censorship, isolation of black townships, mass arrests, increased violence and killings are telling proof that the régime can no longer survive without military and police protection. It is therefore building up massive military forces, including nuclear capabilities.

The evil of apartheid is spilling over and is causing a crisis in the whole of southern Africa. The régime in Pretoria attacks and subverts independent neighbouring States in an attempt to destabilize their Governments. It props up its puppets in Angola and Mozambique and occupies a part of the territory of Angola. Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, too, are exposed to pressure and interference by the apartheid régime. Namibia remains occupied and its people is still denied its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. To perpetuate the situation and ensure its survival, the régime in Pretoria is seeking to transform the region of southern Africa into an area of bloc confrontation and rivalry between the super-Powers over spheres of influence and domination.

The racist régime shows no signs of willingness to start a dialogue and to seek a peaceful solution. It is through naked force alone that it is trying to preserve the system of apartheid, exploitation and domination.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

But, brutal as it is, the racist régime is not succeeding. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia, led by their liberation movements, are showing their determination to regain their human dignity. Even the heavy losses that the racist régime inflicts on them do not diminish their will to fight for freedom. On the contrary, the increasing terror and repression create even greater revolt. History shows that nothing can stop peoples resolved to fight for freedom and independence. The international community has to assist those heroic peoples. It must give them direct support and it must also exert strong pressure on the racist régime so that, together, they can bring about the inevitable change faster. Unfortunately, effective international pressure on South Africa has not yet materialized.

Is the international community unable to put an end to the criminal policy of Pretoria? Is the Security Council unable to fulfil its mandate and prevent the escalation of violence and conflict?

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

The ways and means to do it are available. What is missing, however, is the political will of some of the Member States to put the destiny of the peoples of southern Africa above their own economic and political interests. It is high time for the countries that maintain close relations and co-operation with South Africa to change their policies and join the rest of the international community, both in words and in deeds, in bringing about a speedy end to the policy and practice of apartheid.

The voluntary sanctions imposed by the Governments of many countries should be welcomed and supported, as well as the rising anti-apartheid movements all over the world, particularly in North America and Western Europe.

However, all the actions of the international community have so far proved insufficient. With the help of the countries supporting the racist régime, it has always found ways to flout international pressure and to continue its policy of terror and oppression.

Like the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, we believe that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, is a just way for the international community to deal with the outlaws in its midst.

The history of attempts to have those sanctions imposed through the decisions of the Security Council is only too well known. Theories that sanctions are not effective and can even be counter-productive are unacceptable. Even the voluntary boycott of South Africa practised by most countries is creating obstacles for the racist régime, which is especially sensitive to changes in the position of its traditional friends. In the interest of human rights, justice and lasting peace, even the neighbouring countries in the region advocate sanctions, although they would be hurt by them.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been dealing with the problem of South Africa throughout its existence and has traditionally been the strongest basis of support for the struggling peoples of southern Africa. Recognizing that expressions of solidarity with and support for the peoples and countries of southern Africa alone are no longer enough, since appeals and demands are a language unknown to Pretoria, the non-aligned countries have initiated a number of concrete and significant actions.

These actions are two-pronged. On the one hand, they seek to bring about the imposition of sanctions against South Africa - these meetings of the Security Council being part of the efforts to that end. On the other, they are aimed at mobilizing and rendering assistance to front-line States in order to reduce their dependence on South Africa and to aid the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against apartheid and colonialism. To this end, the fund AFRICA was established at the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Harare. The members of the Committee of the Fund, Yugoslavia among them, held recently a meeting at the highest level in New Delhi, India, and addressed an appeal to the entire international community to contribute to the Fund and assist the front-line States and the liberation movements of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

Having paid a heavy price for its own freedom and independence, Yugoslavia respects and supports the right of every nation to self-determination, independence, freedom and equality. It will continue to render its full support and assistance to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and to their liberation movements until the final elimination of apartheid is achieved.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Nicaragua. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like first to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The responsibilities that you have discharged as President of the Council for Namibia and as Permanent Representative of Zambia, a fraternal front-line country, amply prove your qualifications to preside over this debate. Without prejudice in the least to the impartiality of the deliberations of the Security Council and the correctness of the conclusions at which it is called upon to arrive, the cause of justice and freedom which we all seek for the people of South Africa will thereby be strengthened.

I should like also to extend our congratulations to Ambassador Andres Aguilar, of the sister Republic of Venezuela, who presided over the work of the Council during last month with his characteristic wisdom and expertise.

In the last few years of the twentieth century, after more than 300 years of injustice, it is unacceptable that examples of such evils as that of South Africa should persist on our planet. As long as apartheid exists, no human being, wherever he may live, will be able to affirm that he lives in a civilized world.

We ask: How much longer must we wait? How many more victims will be added to the long list of martyrs? How many more mothers will lose their children and how many children will be left without their parents? How long will those who today continue to oppose action by the Security Council to put an end to apartheid continue to harden their hearts against the cries of terror and the clamouring for justice before they recognize the claims of right and decency?

(Mr. Icaza Gallard,  
Nicaragua)

Increased internal repression, sustained aggression and destabilization against the front-line States, the illegal occupation of Namibia - in other words, the continuing tension prevailing in southern Africa - is a direct result of the South African régime's policy of apartheid which, by its very nature, requires terror and oppression for its very survival.

In 1963, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Hendrik Verwoerd, stated the following to Parliament:

"The problem, reduced to its simplest form, is no more than this: we want to keep South Africa white, which means under white domination; not led by whites, not guided by whites, but under white control, under white supremacy."

In the South Africa of today, this wish takes the practical form of the so-called bantustans, where 23 million blacks occupy 13 per cent of South African territory and where 5 million whites share the remaining 87 per cent. Those bantustans are not led by whites, they are not "guided" by whites, but they are indeed under white domination, under white control and under white supremacy.

The human rights situation in South Africa speaks for itself. Those who appoint themselves "crusaders" in this cause and at the same time support South Africa should look very carefully at the report of the Special Rapporteurs of Austria, Ghana and India, submitted to the Commission on Human Rights, which is now meeting in Geneva, a report that would cause even the most brazen to blanch.

In the face of the tragic situation in which the people of South Africa are suffering and the continued collaboration of the powerful allies of apartheid, armed struggle is the only alternative that remains and the only hope of salvation.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

Those allies of Pretoria that express concern about violence by the people are precisely those that are encouraging it. They describe as terrorism the violence of the oppressed and as legitimate defence the violence of the powerful. But we know that the power of the most powerful is so great that it has undermined the language, by corrupting words - though not the simple and pure soul of the peoples, which can distinguish the sounds of peace from the sounds of war.

If those who urge moderation on the wretched and dying, who appeal for calm to those being butchered, really want moderation and not violence, let them take action now, before it is too late, to make a real contribution to the elimination of the crime of apartheid.

Comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the most effective peaceful means left to the international community to put an end to apartheid.

The situation in South Africa is becoming increasingly explosive. But we must be aware that the brutal repression and South Africa's threats against, and attacks on, its neighbours reflect not the strength of the system, but its weakness and the imminence of its inevitable end.

The international community must, through the Security Council, respond to the call of the suffering people of South Africa and the call of the whole of Africa for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

So far Washington's response has been to pretend that sanctions most affect the black population. Such hypocrisy exceeds the limits of the seriousness and credibility expected of any leader.

Bishop Desmond Tutu answered that sophistry with his characteristic wisdom recently, when he said:

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

"Some Western countries have rejected sanctions because they say they would most affect the blacks. I hope that those who use this argument will see the wisdom of withdrawing it and will cease such hypocrisy."

When sanctions serve its interests the United States Government applies them enthusiastically; when they harm its interests they miraculously become ineffective. Why are sanctions illegally and unjustly imposed against Nicaragua and not against Pretoria?

The South African Government is well aware of the effectiveness of sanctions - so well aware that, while the Security Council has been earnestly debating the imposition of sanctions against it, South Africa has for many years been applying sanctions against its neighbours.

Colonialism, apartheid, shaped the economies of southern Africa, in accordance with Pretoria's interests. As long as apartheid exists, South Africa's economic relations with its neighbours can never be mutually beneficial. What is more, the economic relations that South Africa seeks are those described by Lord Malvern with respect to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "The white rider on a black horse".

The dependence of the neighbouring countries on the South African economy has been intensified by the terrorist acts of the colonialist puppets of UNITA and RENAMO, created specifically to serve imperialist interests.

Aware of the importance of the means of communication to the economies of the fraternal front-line countries, South Africa has concentrated on destroying that very sector. Sabotage is one of the mainstays of South Africa's policy towards its neighbours. The important railway lines from Beira to the Indian Ocean and from Benguala to the Atlantic have been a key target of South African attacks, with the

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

purpose of forcing the neighbouring countries to transport their products through South Africa, thus increasing their dependence.

South Africa has threatened that if sanctions are applied against it, Pretoria will apply sanctions against its neighbours. But such sanctions have already been applied for years. The policy of "comprehensive strategy" pursued by Pretoria involves the use of every available means in the defence of apartheid, including the destabilization of its neighbours and the weakening of their economies. Those objectives have been encouraged by the notorious policy of constructive engagement, which was recently declared by a special group with impeccable credentials to be a resounding failure. The group had been appointed by the Reagan Administration, which has striven for so long to defend that hypocritical policy. The policy has simply helped South Africa expand its apparatus of repression and invest in arms in a way which has enabled it to increase its military budget since the Sharpeville massacre from R44 million to more than R4 billion in 1986.

While some members of the Council veto the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, South Africa is already imposing them on its neighbours. It is conservatively estimated that Pretoria's sanctions have meant the loss of much more than \$20 billion to the economies of the front-line States.

The many sanctions measures that South Africa has taken against its neighbours include Pretoria's recent ban on the employment of citizens of Mozambique and its order expelling more than 60,000 Mozambicans working in South Africa.

Therefore, while imposing sanctions on Pretoria, the international community must urgently expand its bilateral economic co-operation with the front-line States and increase its co-operation with the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

At the same time, the international community should lend its full support to the Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. That Fund, which was recently set up in Harare, Zimbabwe, is co-ordinated by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India. The importance of this initiative was clearly stated by the Chairman of our Movement, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, when he said:

"We have thrown down a challenge to the non-aligned countries and the world, in creating the Fund as a concrete step in our struggle against apartheid."

Today the Security Council faces a historic challenge. It can continue to be passive and to be hobbled by the veto in the face of a situation, which cannot be justified, still less tolerated, or it can discharge its mandate and contribute to bringing peace to southern Africa by eradicating apartheid.

We Nicaraguans, who are also victims of the policies and ideas that stimulate and sustain apartheid, can only humbly, but with dignity and solidarity, extend our hands to the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

We reaffirm our unswerving solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization and the African National Congress, the vanguards of peoples that will, sooner rather than later, regain control of their own destiny and be the architects of their own future.

Let me end by quoting the words of Comrade Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial in 1964, referring to the just cause of his people, words that led to his imprisonment, which is still continuing:

"A political division based on the colour of the skin is absolutely artificial, and with its disappearance there will disappear the domination of one racial group over another. The African National Congress has been struggling against racism for half a century. Its struggle is truly national; it is the struggle of the African people, inspired by its own suffering. It is the struggle for the right to life."

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Nicaragua for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Oramas Oliva. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for this opportunity to address the Security Council in connection with its consideration of the present item.

I should like to say how happy and gratified I am to see you, Sir, presiding on this occasion over the deliberations of the Council, this important United Nations body. The commitment of the people and the Government of the Republic of Zambia to the cause of colonial peoples and their outstanding contributions to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, in particular as an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia over the past two decades and as its Chairman delegation for a number of years, are a matter of record and require no elaboration in this forum.

This series of Council meetings has been convened at a moment of profound crisis. This is so not only because the international community's efforts to bring about genuine independence for Namibia by peaceful means have been at a standstill owing to the intransigence of the minority racist régime in Pretoria, but also because of the deteriorating international situation in southern Africa brought about by the repeated armed attacks and acts of aggression and destabilization by the South African racist régime against neighbouring independent African States, and the escalation of violence against the oppressed peoples of southern Africa by the apartheid régime. That régime's brutal oppression and violence against the people of South Africa, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its repeated acts of

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee of 24)

aggression and subversion directed against independent African States signal a wider conflict in the area with unforeseeable consequences.

Despite the repeated and unanimous calls by our Organization for an end to violence and repression against the African peoples and the renewed pleas for clemency and the release of persons arbitrarily detained or imprisoned, South Africa continues to defy the international community's will by its intensified application of inhuman and unjust laws. The truth is that of late the situation has drastically worsened, as evidenced by the rampant murder of political prisoners, a wave of mass arrests - including even children - and the execution of young men who are members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). This criminal system and its enforcement through sweeping laws and brutal police methods contravene all the principles and objectives of the Organization, especially those embodied in Article 55 of the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Without question the international community would be utterly failing in its duty if it did not categorically condemn these barbarous sentences and arbitrary juridical procedures, demand that they be reversed and call for the immediate and unconditional release of imprisoned patriots and freedom fighters held in South African gaols.

This deplorable reality in southern Africa continues to exist not because of a lack of concern or neglect on the part of the international community - for we are deeply conscious of the fact that the United Nations has consistently maintained its efforts to find equitable and peaceful solutions to the problems in the region. Every aspect of the situation obtaining in southern Africa has been carefully reviewed by the United Nations bodies concerned. I do not need to stress

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee of 24)

the fact that if the situation continues to deteriorate despite these efforts, it is due solely to the non-compliance of the minority racist régime with its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

In the light of South Africa's continuing defiance of its Charter obligations in respect of the fundamental rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and its systematic use of force to perpetuate its inhuman, racist domination over them, as well as its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, the effective application of measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter remains the key by which the United Nations can obtain that régime's compliance with the decisions of the Security Council regarding Namibia and South Africa.

We cannot ignore such a serious threat to international peace and security in the region; nor can we - except at our own peril - continue to remain inactive in the face of the grave injustice and human suffering inflicted upon the majority of the peoples in South Africa and Namibia, as upon the other peoples of the region. We must realize that our Organization is weakened further by the frustrations, disillusionment and mistrust which the perpetuation of this state of affairs engenders. Action is long overdue; now we must act decisively and without further delay or equivocation.

The Special Committee is aware that the Security Council has been prevented from discharging effectively its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security in the region owing to the opposition of certain of its permanent members. None the less, the Special Committee recommends that the Security Council respond positively to the overwhelming majority demand of the international community by imposing forthwith comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee of 24)

The Pretoria régime must be left in no doubt whatsoever of the international community's determination to restore peace, justice and equality to all the peoples in southern Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Vice-President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Hocine Djoudi. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria), Vice-President of the United Nations Council for Namibia (interpretation from French): Mr. President, it is with pride that your colleagues in the United Nations Council for Namibia, on behalf of whom I have the honour to speak, see you in the seat of the President of the Security Council. Your wisdom and experience, which you have demonstrated in your leadership of the Council for Namibia, assure us that your presidency of the Security Council will be successful. In these deliberations the Council will find in you the enlightened leadership guaranteed by the fact that you come from Zambia, which has played a remarkable part in the liberation struggle of southern Africa and has demonstrated determination in its chairmanship of the front-line States.

It is my particular pleasure to convey to your predecessor, Ambassador Aguilar of Venezuela, the congratulations of the Council for Namibia on the effective and talented way in which he discharged his functions last month.

The Security Council is meeting at the urgent request of the African Group to examine the grave situation in South Africa. We can only welcome this African initiative, which gives us the opportunity to express before the Council the constant concern of the international community throughout the past year in the face of the tragic situation in southern Africa. The process of apartheid presents a continuing challenge in South Africa, which is in the grip of racial domination, in Namibia, which is illegally occupied, and in the independent States of the area, which are the victims of constant aggression.

In South Africa, the state of emergency that has been decreed is the means the Pretoria régime has decided on to defend itself against the national liberation struggle, whose indomitable determination has exposed the spuriousness of the "reforms" proclaimed by the racist authorities. Similarly, by its very bitterness and the magnitude of its sacrifices, that struggle has punctured the conspiracy of

(Mr. Djoudi, Vice-President,  
United Nations Council for  
Namibia)

silence which, though reinforced by apartheid, did not prevent the hideous echoes of the crimes of apartheid reaching our ears.

In the last few months victims of racism have fallen by the thousand. More than 25,000, including young persons, have been arbitrarily detained, tortured and murdered in cold blood. Even so, and despite the hopes of the Pretoria régime, this unbridled violence has had the effect of galvanizing even further the African masses in their fight against oppression. In the final analysis, the South African people, which has just commemorated the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress, has forged in the crucible of racial repression its iron determination to put an end to its exile on its own national soil, to forced labour and to segregation in all its forms.

In that struggle, which has earned our admiration and calls for a warm tribute from us for the magnitude of its sacrifices, the South African people has stood in unity against all the manoeuvres of apartheid. Its unshakeable faith in the legitimacy of its cause, supported by the gigantic wave of international solidarity, has awakened the universal conscience to the crime against humanity it is fighting. Indeed the measures individually adopted by certain countries have proved to be a further important contribution to the effort to abolish apartheid. In this regard, the sanctions recently decided upon by the United States should be viewed as an example of what the international community should do collectively. If proof were needed of the effectiveness and timeliness of those measures, we need only consider the consternation they have caused the Pretoria authorities.

The challenge posed by apartheid in South Africa is reflected in the acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion against all the independent States of southern Africa. Its natural inability to understand, still less to embark on, a policy of peaceful change has resulted in the Pretoria régime's vain attempt to

(Mr. Djoudi, Vice-President,  
United Nations Council for  
Namibia)

control the internal situation by stepping up its direct attacks against its neighbours and its systematic efforts to destabilize them through the use of armed gangs.

In addition to the constant violations of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and Mozambique, there is alternating or simultaneous invasion of the other front-line countries. That policy of aggression is accompanied by the stepping up of attempts to strangle the countries of southern Africa economically by destroying their means of communication and through the proliferation of blackmail and other kinds of pressure.

The regional hegemony of racist South Africa is bolstered from illegally occupied Namibia. With the help of a contingent of more than 100,000 soldiers maintained there by the Pretoria régime, apartheid has been set up, and the exploitation of labour and the national resources of Namibia has been consolidated, while the whole Territory has been transformed into a springboard for aggression.

In illegally occupied Namibia, the credibility of the United Nations and the authority of the international community as a whole are at stake. As the legal Administering Authority of the Territory until it becomes independent, the United Nations Council for Namibia is in duty bound to neglect no opportunity to remind the international community of that fact.

Like the International Conference in Vienna in July last, all international meetings in 1986 tackled the question of Namibia from the standpoint of the need for the national independence for that country. Indeed, it is essential that such independence be brought about immediately.

With the emergence of the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, their long-standing struggle has become a veritable war of national liberation.

(Mr. Djoudi, Vice-President,  
United Nations Council for  
Namibia)

For two decades now the United Nations has borne a special responsibility for the Territory, in the face of a challenge that has not been met. The hope aroused by the adoption of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence has been dissipated because of the zigzagging of the South African authorities, while the Security Council's authority has been undermined by the repeated and groundless claims of Pretoria, which have but one purpose: to hinder the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and keep Namibia under the domination of apartheid.

In the face of the repeated acts of defiance of the Pretoria régime, the United Nations Council for Namibia believes that it is particularly urgent for the Security Council to take the decisions necessary to attain the universally proclaimed objectives of dismantling apartheid, liberating Namibia and ending the aggression and destabilization in independent southern Africa.

(Mr. Djoudi, Vice-President, United Nations Council for Namibia)

Indeed, the rebellious attitude of the Pretoria régime in face of the appeals and decisions of the international community makes it necessary today to have recourse to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to re-establish the rule of law and to restore peace throughout southern Africa. In spite of all the delays granted it, the apartheid régime has abused the patience of the international community for so long that it must finally be met with the determined and unanimous response of the Security Council, which must fulfil its duty and increase its assistance to national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, as well as to the States of southern Africa that have been the victims of aggression.

In so doing, it must reaffirm the prevalence of international will over the obstinacy of an isolated racist régime and the primacy of law over injustice. Ultimately, it must reaffirm the authority of the United Nations itself.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Vice-President of the United Nations Council for Namibia for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on the list for this morning's meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be held this afternoon at 3.30.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.