

apartheid is unjust and that it is unworkable. In this context, we all wish to do what we can, within the realm of practicality, to bring this policy to an end. We differ only as to the best means of doing so and, in essence, as to what is practicable. While there is much in the resolution before us with which my Delegation agrees, we regret that there are some parts of it which we must oppose because we do not think the measures recommended are practical or desirable.

My Delegation is opposed to the application of sanctions in this situation for a number of reasons. First of all, we have grave doubts about the appropriateness of the use of sanctions by the United Nations in a situation which does not include external aggression or a question of peace or war. Second, we doubt that, even if they could be applied, sanctions would have the desired effect of causing the South African Government to change its apartheid policy. Third, it may well be that sanctions would hurt most the non-white population of South Africa -- the very people we most want to help. We intend, therefore, to vote against operative Paragraph 4 of the resolution.

It is, in our view, urgently necessary that we bring to bear upon South Africa, the full pressure of world public opinion by taking such practical steps as may be at our disposal. One such forward step would be the establishment of a special committee to keep the racial policies of South Africa under review when the United Nations General Assembly is not in session. We would, in this way, impress once again upon the South African Government the fact that the United Nations is resolutely opposed to its policies. We intend to support Paragraph 5 of the resolution.

If it is the common purpose of the great majority of members to bring to bear the full power of world opinion on South Africa in order that it may be influenced to abandon its policies of racial discrimination, this cannot be achieved by expelling that member. The United Nations will have more opportunity to influence South Africa so long as it remains in the organization. Secondly, it should be our purpose to maintain the comprehensive nature of the United Nations as a world forum which has proved to be our most effective bulwark in the troubled times in which we live. My Delegation intends, therefore, to vote against operative Paragraph 8.

It follows from what I have said that my Delegation would not be able to support a resolution which contained paragraphs asking for application of sanctions against and recommending expulsion of South Africa.

Finally, my Delegation now joins those who have urged the Government of South Africa to heed the urgent appeals which have been made in this debate. We earnestly hope that the South African Government will reconsider its policies in order to end the growing isolation of their country. There should be no place in the modern world for apartheid. South Africa has much to contribute to the economic development of Africa and can, if it chooses to do so, continue to play a significant role in the development of that great continent. As many of those who have spoken before me in this debate have pointed out...time is growing short. The forces of history and the pressure of world opinion are much too strong to be long resisted by any nation.

