



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.63
2 December 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 29 November 1988, at 3 p.m.

President:

later:

later:

later:

later:

later:

Mr. CAPUTO

Mr. HUERTA MONTALVO (Vice-President)

Mr. ESSY (Vice-President)

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Vice-President)

Mr. CAPUTO (President)

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Vice-President)

(Argentina)

(Ecuador)

(Côte d'Ivoire)

(Bahrain)

(Argentina)

(Bahrain)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa: [36] (continued)

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

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/43/24)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/43/44)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/682, A/43/699, A/43/786)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/43/802)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/43/L.30 to A/43/L.38, A/43/L.41, A/43/L.42)

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The elections organized recently in South Africa by the racist Pretoria régime clearly show that the system of apartheid continues its reign over southern Africa despite the views of the international community, one indication of which is contained in a resolution recently adopted by this Assembly - resolution 43/13. The system of government based on the skin colour of the South African people - a system proscribed by every international organization - is the focal point, the unequivocal origin, of the problems that affect all of southern Africa: as the black South African population has been rejecting apartheid the leaders of that system have been engaging in a cruel and blood-drenched cycle of violence against the citizens of their own country and against neighbouring States.

It would be superfluous to repeat here facts with which all Member States are fully familiar. However, we are duty-bound once again to join in the international community's demands for the cessation of apartheid in South Africa, not only so that its black people may be able to enjoy their inalienable right to equality and well-being but also so that racist Pretoria will end its illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggressions against front-line States, and so as to avert the danger of a war and its incalculable and terrible consequences.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

This year the distinguished leader of the South African people, Nelson Mandela, has reached the noble age of 70. A life that might have been so useful to his community because of his lofty patriotism has been consumed in the goals of apartheid for the crime of abhorrence of and opposition to a system that attempts to turn black men into inferior beings, a system that has caused hundreds of his brothers to be persecuted, gaoled, tortured and murdered solely for engaging in noble undertakings. This Assembly would really be doing very little for those people if it did not once again unequivocally demonstrate its total rejection of racist South Africa and demand the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of conditions that will ensure that the people of South Africa enjoy equality and can sit among us as a united people. We must not allow ourselves to be sidetracked by a siren song, to fall into the apartheid propaganda trap or to be deceived by some of apartheid's benefactors who say the régime is headed towards reform. We must be very careful in the face of manoeuvres intended to confuse us or mere cosmetic gestures, for the essence of the apartheid system cannot be changed, and we must completely eradicate this terrible affront to our very nature. We cannot abandon the black people of South Africa, the victims of discrimination, as they justly struggle to occupy their proper place in the land of their birth.

In the mean time the General Assembly will have to condemn Pretoria, and ask the Security Council to apply full and mandatory sanctions against its régime. It must bar any kind of participation by that entity in international organizations, and continue and intensify moral solidarity with and material help for national liberation movement, the historic African National Congress, and its leaders gaoled and persecuted solely for the crime of fighting apartheid.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

South Africa is telling us that the sanctions are succeeding. Until apartheid has been eradicated we of the international community must not be prompted to stop or become more moderate. To this day Pretoria continues its brutal oppression of the black population by stifling every type of manifestation or demonstration against this régime, by most brutally violating human rights and by prohibiting the press from publishing any information on these inhuman practices.

Of the 154 speakers in the general debate at this session, 139 referred in strong terms to the situation in southern Africa, and by an overwhelming majority they condemned apartheid and demanded its speedy abolition. The peoples of southern Africa have the right to enjoy peace, full human dignity, recognition and life. Now that the sound of the guns seems to be lessening and there are some encouraging signs that reason seems to be beginning to prevail over force, we must demand the eradication of the apartheid system, which has correctly been described as horrendous and an affront to mankind.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): A year ago, during the general debate on the report of the Committee against Apartheid, the Ghana delegation reiterated the belief of its Government that the only effective measure that would bring apartheid South Africa to its knees was a co-ordinated international effort aimed at isolating South Africa politically, economically and socially. Our call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa predictably went unheeded.

We have assembled again this year to deliberate on the most effective means to rid the world of that unjust and shameful system - a system that stigmatizes the overwhelming majority of South Africans on account of their colour; a system that is an affront to the very dignity of man; a system that has driven the majority of its citizens into desperation in order that they may assert their dignity as human beings with the right to life, liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

When Ghana advocates the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, it does not do so out of any fanciful considerations. We are not unmindful of the serious negative economic, financial and even cultural implications for some, if not all, of the Member States of this Organization. In this interdependent world, and particularly in a forum such as the United Nations, which was conceived to maintain peace through friendly relations amongst States, any call to isolate any country has to be seriously and dispassionately considered. We are sensitive to the concern of certain Member States that isolation may have dire consequences in that some may suffer economic and political disadvantage in the bid to put pressure on apartheid South Africa to abandon its discriminatory practices based on colour and to promote the establishment of a non-racial democratic society.

We had wished that we could have changed our belief this year and join those that urge continued friendly relations with South Africa as a moral support for forces of reform in apartheid South Africa, for the phrase "peaceful means" commonly denotes the desire of all countries for change in South Africa. We are, however, constrained to restate that, taking all factors into consideration, total isolation of apartheid South Africa remains the only peaceful means of exerting pressure for changes in South Africa.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid presented to this Assembly does not tell of a genuine attempt by the racist régime to introduce reforms for the eventual eradication of apartheid; nor does it tell of praiseworthy efforts by Member States to implement limited sanctions against apartheid South Africa. The report is, rather, a catalogue of instances of escalated internal repression against anti-apartheid organisations, renewal of the state of emergency, continued and continuing imprisonment of political opponents of apartheid and

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

Africa (ANC), as well as the offer not to return Nelson Mandela to prison when he leaves hospital, are acts that will help lessen tension.*

We are, however, constrained to call on the racist régime to release unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners still being held, because their continued incarceration, whether in prison or under house arrest, helps to perpetuate the system of apartheid. In any case, South Africa owes it to the international community to explain how a man like Nelson Mandela came in the first instance to contract tuberculosis, a disease closely associated with insanitary conditions in a Government prison.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid also tells another story, a story of the enthronement of commercial interests over Charter obligations. During our deliberations last year the Ghana delegation dwelt at length on this issue and appealed passionately to Member States to discontinue their promotion and sustenance of apartheid through collaboration.

We want to place on record our appreciation of those Member States and institutions which are making genuine efforts to cut their economic, political and social links with the racist régime. We note in particular the United States Congress, for the passage of the comprehensive anti-apartheid Bill, which bans new investment in South Africa and new bank loans, except for the purpose of trade, prohibits exports to South Africa's police and military, and forbids the importation of a variety of South African goods. Also worthy of note and appreciation is the ban placed on the shipment of oil to apartheid South Africa by Norwegian and Danish tankers. We add to this list Spain, which has put an end to its direct air connection with South Africa. We also note with relief and

* Mr. Huerta Montalvo (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

interest, from the report of the Special Committee, that South Africa's trade with the Nordic countries has virtually ceased, and that that with the United States has also decreased as a result of measures these countries have taken in the recent past.

Though limited, these sanctions have forced apartheid South Africa to pay a high price for its discriminatory practices based on colour. As the report shows, the South African economy has reacted to these measures with slow rates of growth. Disinvestment, the denial of long-term credit, and the lack of new capital investment have boldly advertised to this Assembly the vulnerability to sanctions of South Africa's economy. No less a person than the Governor of the South Africa Reserve Bank, Gerhard De Kock, is reported to have told a conference held this month by the Financial Mail business magazine that:

"No one should underestimate the harmful effects of these constraints. The need for long-term structural adjustment in the economy cannot be stressed enough."

The bank had earlier announced that international economic pressures on South Africa had resulted in a net capital outflow of almost \$US 10 billion since 1985, the year when some international banks called in their loans to South Africa in protest against apartheid. The gold component of its foreign reserves had plunged by \$US 258 million to \$1.2 billion, the lowest level in 15 months. Foreign currency reserves are now said to be dangerously down, to six weeks' imports.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

It is against such revelations that the Ghanaian delegation shares the regret that the Special Committee has expressed about the efforts that certain Member States are deploying to fill the gap created by countries that have imposed limited sanctions. Japan, a country with which Ghana has cordial and fruitful relations, has sadly replaced the United States as the largest trading partner of South Africa, with a 40 per cent increase in its imports from racist South Africa. The other countries are the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Spain and Turkey. Now the Federal Republic of Germany is reported as the largest exporter to South Africa, followed by Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. In fairness to Japan, its Government has recently taken a number of measures against apartheid, but we are constrained to point out that there is still a need to curb its trade with South Africa. The statistical increase cannot be attributed to the appreciation of the yen alone.

If Ghana is worried about this pattern of trade which ultimately strengthens apartheid, we have a disturbing concern for the reported military collaboration. It was in that connection that, at the last session of the General Assembly, Ghana called upon the Federal Republic of Germany to clarify the alleged sale of blueprints of a submarine to the racist régime. We have since closely followed developments on this issue and despite official explanation we regret to have to say that the transaction has called into question the credibility of the foreign policy of a country which is so close to us. Press coverage of the botched internal investigations and recently released official documents tend to give credence to the view that the deliveries to South Africa were not unauthorized. Certainly, Ghana has not found convincing the claim that the constructional plans supplied to South Africa were not sufficient for submarines or parts of submarines to be produced. If 95 per cent of the plans were indeed supplied to South Africa

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

then, of course, South Africa is in a position to build the submarine. The fact that the Bundestag continues to investigate the matter should indicate that the Federal Republic of Germany's administration has been less than successful in explaining the unfortunate transaction. We urge the Federal Republic of Germany to demonstrate its commitment to the eradication of apartheid by an urgent and immediate review of its trade and other laws effectively to forbid any such transaction with the racist régime in the future.

Our observations on such treacherous deals with South Africa would not be complete if we did not refer to the shameful flirtations of some newly industrialized countries, like Taiwan, and other Asian countries, with the racist régime. We call on them to take a condemnatory stand against any form of collaboration with apartheid.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has submitted, in annex I to its report, an account of recent developments concerning relations between South Africa and Israel. It is again recalled that during the consideration of this agenda item last year, Ghana welcomed the laws enacted by the Israeli parliament to limit the scope of Israeli co-operation with South Africa as a "half step", which was better than no step at all. It is a matter of regret for us to learn from the Special Committee that Israel has continued with its military collaboration with renewed intensity and intimacy. Now, Israeli technicians and engineers are working in racist South Africa to upgrade the Cheetah fighter aircraft programme and also later to set up a plant for the manufacture of a new military aircraft. Israeli arms have been delivered this year to South Africa and Israeli military advisers were reported to have assisted the South African Air Force in its war on Angolan soil. Contrary to the Israel's declaration that it would sign no new military contracts with the apartheid régime, it has now been established that the master

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

agreement is not limited in its time-span. The pledge therefore was a sham. And the litany of activities spelled out by the Special Committee bears testimony to more vigorous and expansive Israeli military collaboration with racist South Africa.

I should now like to turn attention to a sector in which racist South Africa is particularly vulnerable - oil supplies to South Africa. According to the latest report of the Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau, which has been monitoring oil supplies to South Africa since 1979, there were at least 68 deliveries of crude oil to South Africa in 1985 and 1986. Those deliveries constituted almost half of the estimated import needs of South Africa and originated mainly from the Persian Gulf area. About half of the shipping companies involved in the secret oil trade were Norwegian, Greek, British and Singaporean companies. The main oil companies were identified as the Swiss-based Mark Riche and Mariapex, with headquarters in the Federal Republic of Germany and an office in Switzerland. Sixty-two of the 68 cases reportedly involved companies based in the European Community.

We have been candid in stating our views on this issue because we have assumed, probably naively, that all of us assembled here sincerely wish to see the end of apartheid. We have all, on the basis of the Lusaka manifesto, also opted for a peaceful change. What we are debating now is the means of effecting that peaceful change. Some of us argue against the total isolation of South Africa through comprehensive, mandatory sanctions. We have heard it said again and again that it is rather the majority which stands to suffer most from such measures.

The history of man teaches that no price is too high for human dignity. The black majority in South Africa is no exception. The slave trade was abolished not simply because the slaves were in poverty, nor were the various wars for national liberation and independence fought for material considerations only. They were all

(Mr. Gbaho, Ghana)

to restore to man his dignity as a human being. During our peaceful struggle for independence, we in Ghana rose to the truth that self-government, with all its dangers, was preferable to servitude in tranquility. In any case, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have concurred in the efficacy of sanctions. This is simply what the fight against apartheid is all about. It is not about which sections of the population would suffer most from sanctions. It is about which form of peaceful pressure would exact maximum response for the dismantling of apartheid.

The report of the Special Committee has indicated that comprehensive, mandatory sanctions remain the most effective peaceful means to induce the eradication of apartheid. The 12 months following the decision of the banks in 1985 to call in their loans is recorded significantly as the period of negative economic growth for South Africa. It is also the period when the most political reforms were made. These included the abolition of the pass laws, the recognition of trade unions and the granting of property rights to the black majority.

The momentum for change has to be sustained by the international community through co-ordinated efforts to enforce sanctions and monitor their implementation. It is for that reason that the Ghana delegation welcomes the recommendations of the Special Committee.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

It is our expectation that its recommendations will be translated into resolutions which will enjoy consensus support from this Assembly so that racist South Africa will for once be left in no doubt about our determination to secure the eradication of apartheid. We would particularly want to see reflected in the resolutions a call on member States to translate their policies against apartheid into domestic legislation.

The Managing Director of Anglo-American Corporation, Mr. Gavin Relly, recently predicted that if Pretoria did not try to remove sanctions by moving towards change the consequences would be dire. He thoughtfully added:

"We will move to a point where it becomes too dangerous to do anything because political frustration will have become pent-up and be constantly erupting ...

"We would become a country in which there is absolutely no freedom. On the one hand, people who have never known freedom. And on the other hand, people who are no longer aware that they, too, are totally unfree".

This forty-third session of the General Assembly has an opportunity to help racist South Africa to avert those dire consequences. South Africa has to be helped to make it possible for those who have never known freedom to know it now. The only way in which this Assembly can help South Africa is to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against that régime. In its attempt to remove the sanctions, apartheid South Africa would have to grant freedom and equality to those who have never known it. Only then will Ghana end its campaign against that heinous system, for until our brothers and sisters under apartheid are free our own freedom is meaningless.

Mr. KAM (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): In a few days 40 years will have elapsed since, in 1948, the peoples of the United Nations, reaffirming one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, welcomed with joy the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and proclaimed the common ideal that

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1)

In the four decades which have lapsed since then, there have been continuous efforts to put that common ideal into practice and to eliminate from the face of the earth all manifestations of violations of human rights, the most ominous of which is apartheid.

We affirm that, along with the struggle against colonialism, the struggle against the hateful system of apartheid is one of the tasks to which the United Nations has devoted its best efforts.

We can really say that we are witnessing confrontation between an international order based on respect for the human person, as a viable form of peaceful coexistence, and an oppressive régime based on the racial supremacy of the white minority over the non-white majority which make up the population of South Africa. On the one hand we have international morality, which demands respect for the fundamental rights of all individuals irrespective of race, colour or ethnic origin, and on the other, a régime based on racial segregation, State terrorism and the systematic violation of human rights. In the year that has elapsed since the General Assembly last considered this issue we have witnessed an intense struggle by the South African people, beset by increased repression on the part of the apartheid régime, and a harsh test for its creative capabilities in its resistance and vanguard organizations.

As was clearly reflected in the valuable report presented by the Special Committee against Apartheid, repression and terrorism on the part of that régime,

(Mr. Kan, Panama)

far from diminishing under international pressure, have increased considerably. Thus we have seen an increase in the suffering of the black people of South Africa.

Under cover of the state of emergency extended once again, the racist régime has used the combined power of the armed forces, the police, other security forces and its courts to unleash the most terrible repressive machinery, a machinery of torture and systematic extermination of black leaders, with the stated purpose of eliminating opposition.

Along with the severe restrictions already in force, we now have new limitations on the right to assemble and a tightening of the silence which the system imposes on workers' organizations and trade unions, as well as additional restrictions on the right of workers to strike.

Recently, a draft law was introduced for systematic internal repression, which is an attempt to impose restrictions on all groups and persons receiving assistance from outside, thus depriving the opponents of apartheid of external assistance although they are legitimately entitled to it.

The most sinister development of the past year is the new tactic of repression and terror which, under the auspices of the South African Government, has become a daily occurrence, particularly in those localities that are characterized by organized resistance against apartheid.

Indeed, this year the racist régime, in addition to the traditional strategy of detention without trial, has also helped in the establishment and operation of extremist groups, paramilitary groups, parapolice forces and ultra-right organizations which act with impunity against the opponents of the régime. As stated in the report of the Special Committee:

"In townships and rural areas ... vigilantes are waging concerted campaigns against individuals and organizations, often with the consent and assistance of the security forces". (A/43/22, para. 20)

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Panama strongly condemns such practices, which add to the already profound and painful wounds brutally inflicted by the régime on the long-suffering South African people.*

Panama, which today is also confronting a foreign Power with a colonial mentality, understands the liberation cause of the South African people and wishes to express its solidarity with and support for their leaders, particularly in the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Apartheid, which has rightly been declared a crime against humanity, may be directed against the peoples of South Africa, but its effects go beyond the borders of that country. First, because the violence, policies and practices which apartheid engenders are the primary cause of internal political instability and a threat to the peace and security of the South African region.

The aggressive nature of the South African régime and its mercenary forces, which it promotes and supplies for action against neighbouring countries, the front-line countries, has intensified in the last year. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of Mozambique and Angola have been repeatedly violated. Aggression against those countries has led to the destruction of important sectors of their economic infrastructure and heavy loss of life.

* Mr. Essy (Côte d'Ivoire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho have felt the impact of the aggressiveness of the minority régime of Pretoria with the consequent dead, injured, or displaced persons and material damage.

It is deplorable that the tolerant attitude of some States to the acts of aggression of the apartheid régime has served to encourage Pretoria to take its criminal action to even greater lengths. Those that support apartheid are helping the racist régime to gain time in order to carry out new manoeuvres, designed to deceive the international community by purely cosmetic measures. We therefore believe that only an intensification of the international campaign against that régime and the strict application of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions will convince Pretoria of the firm determination of the international community to isolate it until the final and complete elimination of the system of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations.

Panama today sees with amazement that a permanent member of the Security Council with the ability to exert a decisive influence on the South African situation continues to impede the imposition of full mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa. In contrast, that self-same State has imposed mandatory economic measures and used political pressure and military threats against the people and Government of my country, with the undisguised purpose of undermining our political independence and obtaining from us concessions which would be unacceptable to patriots anywhere in the world. The present foreign aggression, far from dampening the anti-colonialist fervour that inspires our people, has raised the level of its political awareness and enhanced the solidarity with the peoples of the world, particularly those of the third world, in their just liberation struggles.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

For Panama, this year, in which we celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Nelson Mandela, has been one of special significance in the struggle against apartheid. National action against that hateful racist régime is no longer merely an important postulate of our anti-colonialist, non-aligned foreign policy; it is also a precious heritage of the Panamanian people and all its representative organizations.

Thus the Panamanian Government, together with such various organizations as the Congress of Black Panamanians and the Centre for Latin American Studies, hosted between 11 and 18 July this year a national meeting on the fight against apartheid, solidarity with the South African people and the liberation of Nelson Mandela. In the course of the event the people and Government of Panama renewed their commitment to fight for the elimination of apartheid, demanded the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and reaffirmed their unshakable solidarity with the heroic South African people in its struggle for a free, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

At the conclusion of the event the Government of Panama conferred upon Nelson Mandela the Manuel Amador Guerrero Order, the highest such honour to be granted to a foreigner. In conferring that honour upon Nelson Mandela, Panama showed its staunch support for a noble cause and honoured an international personality who is a symbol of the struggle for freedom, justice and peace, ideals which are fully shared by the Panamanian people and to the universal achievement of which Panama has contributed its own struggle for independence, self-determination and the dignity of the Panamanian nation, which is proud to be a crucible of many races which live in harmony, disturbed only by foreign intervention in their internal affairs.

Mr. BOHENFELNER (Austria): Another year has gone by since the General Assembly last considered the policies of apartheid. For the United Nations it has

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

been a year of hope and progress in many respects, because some major conflicts were brought closer to a peaceful solution. Unfortunately this does not apply to the situation in South Africa. For most South Africans it has been a year of prolonged suffering as the obnoxious policies of apartheid continue to be applied. In South Africa racial discrimination continues as the organizing principle of society. The systematic and institutionalized violation of the most basic human rights remains indeed a fact of life.

The state of emergency seems to have become permanent; its regulations are becoming more and more harsh. The long-standing state of emergency is but one further desperate attempt to provide legal cover for the application of a whole range of repressive measures. It would take too much time to enumerate all the repressive measures maintained or recently introduced in South Africa. I should nevertheless like to mention two particular cases: the banning of the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations, including such representative ones as the United Democratic Front (UDF), and restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and 18 prominent anti-apartheid leaders. In the same vein the activities of the End Conscription Campaign have been banned. Both measures are aimed at stifling democratic protest movements; both measures clearly prove once more that the South African authorities' only answer to any form of peaceful pressure for the dismantling of apartheid is the promulgation of additional and even tougher restrictions and a new wave of repressive acts.

In order to conceal the consequences of this increasingly repressive policy the South African Government has banned several newspapers and imposed a total black-out on relevant news on the situation in the country. However, grave violations of human rights such as arbitrary arrest, torture, detention without

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

trial, the deaths of prisoners in mysterious circumstances and capital punishment after doubtful legal proceedings will not remain hidden; indeed, they cry out loudly and move the conscience of the world outside South Africa.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

One of the especially alarming trends in South African policy is the increasing victimization of children. One of the most vulnerable groups of human beings - perhaps the most vulnerable - which the community of nations is seeking to protect world-wide has thus come under particular harassment in South Africa. According to figures published in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, about 40 per cent of the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 were children aged 18 or under. Even the competent South African authorities admit that children younger than 16 years have been detained. The violence of the State apparatus is totally alienating the next generation of the majority population and encouraging them to resort to violent resistance, thereby generating a vicious circle which is bound to multiply the suffering over the years.

A relatively new and disquieting phenomenon is that of vigilante and paramilitary groups. At least tolerated by the security forces, they are promoting and exacerbating divisions within the black community. Some South African voices use this as a pretext to argue that unrest in townships proves that the country is not yet mature enough for equal rights for all its citizens, regardless of colour. In our view this kind of thinking is self-deceptive. Violence among black groups themselves - often, according to reliable sources, instigated by the State apparatus - demonstrates what can happen when a society is deprived of the right to free democratic expression. The longer the South African Government sticks to its intransigence in upholding the system of apartheid, the more turmoil and bloodshed will ensue.

Much to our regret, recent developments in South Africa have further entrenched the system of apartheid and give us no reason to hope for a better future. In the course of the past months we have noted a number of legal projects that would in effect result in a further tightening unlawful laws and regulations.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

In some cases the intensive internal opposition and pressure from the international community succeeded in having such new legislation shelved or postponed, but in many instances these new restrictions were enacted in defiance of the will of the overwhelming majority of South Africans and world public opinion.

In a society that is marked by the evil of apartheid the moral values of religion stand in stark contrast to the immoral acts of the State apparatus. Confronted with this challenge, South African Church leaders are fighting the evil of apartheid fearlessly and in an impressive manner. They are now in the vanguard of the anti-apartheid movement. As recent desperate attempts to suppress democratically manifested resistance to apartheid have proved, the South African authorities do not even show respect for bishops. Austria is deeply concerned at the restrictions on, and temporary detention of, Church leaders and at events such as the bombing of the offices of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference in Pretoria. It seems to be in line with the kind of policy on the Church practised today by the South African authorities that they made it impossible for a bishop of that country to accept an invitation to attend a conference in Austria, despite repeated requests by the Austrian Government. Furthermore, consistent with their basic approach, they refused to issue a visa to an Austrian Catholic bishop who wanted to visit the South African clergy. My Government protested vigorously in that case also, but to no avail.

The International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa, held last August in Oslo, succeeded in focusing public attention on the suffering of the hundreds of thousands that had to leave their homes because of the political situation in southern Africa. In our analysis, the massive violations of human rights in South Africa and the negative impact of South African policy on its neighbouring countries have the same root cause: apartheid and the desperate attempts to uphold that system.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

The very existence of independent African States with integrated white minorities is perceived as a threat to apartheid, as it tends to prove that black and white communities can get along with each other in one and the same State. South Africa therefore seems to be bent on destabilizing neighbouring States. This hostile policy towards its neighbours has grave consequences for the economy and social stability, as well as the development of the region as a whole. All States have a moral obligation to help in overcoming the adverse consequences of South Africa's policy of destabilization. To that end, Austria is engaged, for example, in the rehabilitation of the Beira corridor railway.

When we consider the negative impact of the policy of apartheid on the region, we are also faced with the situation in Namibia. I do not intend to repeat what I said on this item a few days ago, but I want to emphasize one aspect which we should not forget. It is precisely international pressure maintained over the years despite South Africa's long-standing intransigence that has brought the Pretoria Government to the negotiating table. There is no doubt that the South African Government cannot afford in the long run to be totally insensitive to the influence of the international community. The sensitivity of world public opinion has reached an extremely high degree where apartheid is concerned. Films, music and other media have played a decisive role in mobilizing world public opinion. We should not underestimate the impact of interventions by many countries and Governments, as well as of international and national commemorative events, such as the famous concert on the occasion of Nelson Mandela's seventieth birthday. We hope that we shall soon see the unconditional release of this universally known and esteemed leader of the anti-apartheid movement.

The release of Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala just a few days ago was welcomed by my country and gave us new hope that this step would be followed by the

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

release of other political prisoners. In the same spirit, we do not cease to demand that the South African authorities immediately grant unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned, detained, banned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to apartheid; nor do we cease to raise our voice to call for the prompt eradication of apartheid and the early holding of elections based on the principle of one man, one vote.

However, the international community can do more than exhort the South African Government and mobilize world opinion. It can contribute - as my Government does on a regular basis - to the various programmes and funds inside and outside the United Nations framework that are alleviating the suffering of the victims of apartheid. It can adopt sanctions, the last peaceful means available to the international community, to increase pressure on the South African Government.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

Although developments inside South Africa remain the most important factor in the struggle against apartheid, concerted international action can play a significant role. In accordance with Security Council resolutions 418 (1977), 558 (1984), 566 (1985) and 569 (1985), my country, Austria, has adopted concrete autonomous national measures. In this context we sponsor now, as in the past, together with like-minded delegations, the draft resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. We clearly see the necessity of effective international pressure on South Africa.

We are convinced that the perpetuation of the system of apartheid will result in ever increasing resistance by the oppressed people, using all possible means. Continued apartheid will produce even more tension and conflict with far-reaching consequences for southern Africa and for the world as well.

As a matter of fact, a heavy responsibility rests with the international community. We must not fail in accomplishing the task to eradicate apartheid.

Mrs. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French):

Apartheid, as we shall never tire of repeating, is an affront to the universal conscience and a grave threat to international peace and security.

Madagascar regretfully notes that that iniquitous régime continues to find comfort in a kind of neutrality and complicity by the affluent countries. May we remind those countries that supposedly cherish freedom and justice that every day apartheid is constant humiliation and continuous contempt of the individual, the breakup of the family, arbitrariness in the most repugnant manner. Apartheid, this monstrous form of racial selfishness, leaves for its victims only the certainty of oppression and repression.

Oppression awaits the black South African from the cradle. South Africa, one of the most technologically advanced countries, has one of the highest infant mortality rates: 50 per cent of black children die before the age of five, while

(Mrs. Rakotondramboana, Madagascar)

white infant mortality is eight times less. Living conditions among the black majority are such that they are tantamount to a natural selection. The black South African child, if he survives, will be denied the right to quality education. The black population is considered only to the extent that it serves the interests of the white minority. Its role in South African society is to provide cheap labour. The black workman is but a tool, moved at will according to manpower requirements. Once a sector of the economy no longer requires his services, he is either sent to another work place or parked in a Bantustan far removed from white settlement areas.

As a consequence the family, which is the core of all human society, is broken up. The black South African wife, separated from her husband by the apartheid system, is alone in raising their children and, since the state of emergency was decreed in 1986, the internal situation in South Africa has worsened to such an extent that children are being arrested, gaoled, tortured, even shot, often without reason - thus tragically separated from their truncated family.

As to the fate of the adults, every one in the Assembly knows that to maintain its supremacy the white minority deprives them of fundamental rights, that Pretoria steps up repression and State terrorism against opponents of apartheid, as can be seen from the extension of the state of emergency, the serious restrictive measures imposed on organizations and individuals that peacefully oppose apartheid, the considerable number of arbitrary detentions, cases of torture and murder, increasing resort to self-defence groups and the muzzling of the press.

Not content with practising terrorism within its borders, the South African régime exports it to neighbouring independent States. The consequences can be seen in insecurity for the peoples of the region, the waves of local refugees and those coming from neighbouring States victims of aggression. Unemployment resulting from the collapsing economy and the dismantling of the infrastructure by South African

(Mrs. Rakotondrambo, Madagascar)

troops helped by bandits from UNITA and RENAMO in their pay are further disastrous consequences of South African aggression. Through its deliberate policy of aggression, Pretoria strives to weaken independent neighbouring States; unfortunately, it is succeeding. The losses inflicted on African States it has attacked is estimated, just for the period 1980 to 1986, at \$15 to \$16 billion. Railroads, highways, electric power stations, dams, pipelines, medical centres, schools, churches - all are targets for South African saboteurs.

Racist South Africa deliberately mobilizes and concentrates its economic, diplomatic and military forces against its neighbours. Brutal, pernicious and systematic destabilization undermines and ruins targeted States, resulting in famine which becomes a strong weapon in the war and a factor for economic expansion in the hands of Pretoria, which thus puts these States at the mercy of its power.

Gravely alarmed at Pretoria's intransigence in pursuing the odious policy of apartheid, my delegation joins the international community in condemning it. We shall support the resolutions against that policy and again demand the lifting of the state of emergency, the immediate and unconditional liberation of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, the commuting of death sentences, the lifting of all measures banning political organizations and opponents of apartheid, the unhindered return of all political exiles, the withdrawal of the régime's troops from the black townships, the termination of the policy of bantustanzation and the forced displacement of populations, and the end of military and paramilitary activities against neighbouring countries.

It is only once these conditions are met that the necessary elements will be present for the people of South Africa as a whole to debate freely a just and lasting solution to the conflict that is tearing that country apart.

(Mrs. Rakotonirainy, Madagascar)

Firmly convinced that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter would constitute the most appropriate, most effective and most peaceful means of putting an end to apartheid, we wish once again to stress the importance of isolating South Africa.

In this connection we welcome the fact that various countries and groups of countries have taken measures to apply sanctions. Without underestimating their efforts, we are however constrained to note that despite disinvestment and other financial and economic measures, as well as the application of various embargoes, South Africa continues to enjoy the complicity of its traditional partners or their replacements.

(Mrs. Rakotonirainy,
Made in Madagascar)

The lack of co-ordination between the various ministries within one and the same Government and the lack of co-operation at the international level enables some countries easily to bypass sanctions. The number and variety of the laws operating in the different countries reduce the effectiveness of sanctions. Furthermore, some countries take advantage of the vacuum left by those that impose sanctions to intensify and increase their business ties with South Africa. If sanctions are to be truly effective decisions must be taken collectively and internationally acceptable principles and procedures must be worked out.

Some people object that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would have a harmful effect on the black South African majority as far as employment is concerned. That statement is not wholly groundless, but the black majority, which suffers involuntarily from apartheid, is ready to make voluntary sacrifices. It has decided to pay the price of its liberation because it knows, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu states in his book, that it will be free, that there is not the slightest doubt about that, that the cause of black liberation will triumph, because it is a just and equitable cause, and that the only remaining questions are how and when freedom will come.

My delegation answers those two questions as the oppressed people of South Africa has answered them: we want it now and we want it to come in a reasonable and peaceful way.

It is the duty of the Member States of this Organization to make the legitimate aspirations of the black population of South Africa become a reality, so that a new political régime may be established under a constitution that guarantees to all South Africans equality under the law, without distinction as to race, language or religion.

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa,
Madagascar)

By implementing comprehensive sanctions, barring South African businessmen from international fairs and exhibitions, doing away with air and sea links, forbidding cultural, artistic or sports events, fighting disinformation and publicizing the misdeeds of the apartheid régime through the dissemination of objective information the international community can isolate racist South Africa and lead it to admit the immoral nature of its system.

In order to palliate the negative effects of sanctions on the black majority, we ask all States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, the media, municipal and other local authorities, and individuals immediately to provide the people of South Africa and its national liberation movements, in particular the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), with increased support on the political, economic, educational, legal and humanitarian levels, as well as in other fields in which they need assistance. We also ask all States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to strengthen their material, financial and other aid to the front-line States and other neighbouring States.

In order that the traditional partners of South Africa may not lose by the imposition of sanctions, we urge them to invest in the countries neighbouring South Africa, thus helping those States to develop their economies and reduce their dependence upon Pretoria.

We congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on its tireless efforts to ensure the triumph of the cause of the black majority and assure it of our unswerving support in the fulfilment of its task. It played an important part in getting the death sentence on the Sharpeville Six commuted to imprisonment. We also take this opportunity to congratulate all those from far and wide who worked to save the lives of those patriots. They proved that international solidarity is not an empty expression.

Mr. SALIH (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend my delegation's heartfelt thanks and appreciation to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the sincere efforts they are making, in keeping with the mandate entrusted to them by the General Assembly 25 years ago, to combat the policies of apartheid and the practices of the racist Pretoria régime, which run counter to all civilized and human values.

My delegation also wishes to reiterate its thanks to the Committee and commend it for its comprehensive report, which reflects the Committee's actions against those policies and its efforts to enlighten world public opinion and the international community regarding developments in the region of southern Africa and the significant steps that should be taken to ostracize the Pretoria régime and force it to comply with the will of the international community and the rules of international law.

Over the years, the people and Government of the Sudan have followed with concern the negative developments in southern Africa arising from the persistence of the Pretoria régime in its racist policies and practices against the opponents of apartheid, the detentions and imprisonment and the banning of trade unions and mass organizations, with the aim of crushing peaceful opposition to the racist policies. There are now more than 17 banned unions and mass organizations. The number of women and children in detention is on the increase. The racist South African Government's policy of destabilizing neighbouring countries continues unabated, through air strikes and the support extended by Pretoria to the subversives active within the territories of those countries.

From this rostrum my delegation calls insistently for unlimited and unqualified support by the international community for the struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of liberation movements recognized by the

(Mr. Salih, Sudan)

Organization of African Unity (OAU) - namely, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). Sudan calls for the establishment of a democratic society, free from racism, based upon the principle of majority rule, and for an end to the dominance of the racist minority. In this context, we call for the lifting of the state of emergency that has been imposed on the African people since 1985, and the unconditional release of all political prisoners, especially the freedom fighter Nelson Mandela.

(Mr. Salih, Sudan)

We also called for the release of the Sharpeville Six, who had been sentenced to death in the teeth of clear evidence that they are innocent of the charge levelled at them by the racist régime. The life sentence imposed on them by the President of that régime when he commuted the death sentence should be rescinded. The exiled freedom fighters should be allowed to return to their homeland in safety. All the military and paramilitary forces of the régime should be withdrawn from the areas of the African citizens. The racist régime's bantustanization policy regarding the African population should be abolished. The military and other incursions into the territories of neighbouring countries should cease forthwith.

The Pretoria régime's racist practices against the African people in their own homeland and the flouting of the resolutions of the international community adopted by the Assembly and the Security Council and of international instruments which protect human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all peoples could never have been possible and the Pretoria régime could never have been able to persist in such practices and ignore the international community had it not been for the support and assistance it receives from certain Western States. The most recent reliable statistics show that this régime continues to rely fully on that support, which includes every type of military and security equipment as well as satisfaction of the régime's economic and commercial needs. Those statistics show that certain major Western Powers continue to be the source of that support, especially in the economic and commercial fields. That support is not confined to the economic and military spheres but is most evident politically and diplomatically.

Some permanent members of the Security Council consistently prevent the international community from applying the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which provides for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory

(Mr. Salih, Sudan)

sanctions against countries that fail to abide by the decisions of the international community. The racist Pretoria régime has been ignoring those decisions for more than 20 years.

In the light of these facts, the delegation of Sudan has been following with concern the increasing collaboration between the Zionist entity in Palestine and the racist régime of South Africa - a collaboration attested to by the liberation movements that lead the struggle of the African people against apartheid and for the establishment of a democratic society under majority rule and the immediate accession by Namibia to independence.

The report of the Committee against Apartheid has amply documented and demonstrated the danger of this continuing collaboration, which focuses on the military field and the development of nuclear potential, as well as on the intelligence and economic fields. All this is contained in the report of the Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) and its annexes, adopted by the Special Committee on 26 October 1988.

Since its independence in 1956, Sudan's foreign policy has focused on supporting world liberation movements, especially in Africa. Sudan, therefore, wishes to state very clearly and forcefully its strong position with regard to Africa's struggle against all forms of apartheid.

The Government and people of Sudan would like to reiterate the following. There must be total condemnation of the racist practices in South Africa. Full support should be extended to the struggle of the African majority in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. There is an urgent need for the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society under majority rule and for the ending of the dominance of the racist minority. There is a need for a continuing boycott of the

(Mr. Salih, Sudan)

Pretoria régime in every shape and form - on oil, commerce and military supplies - as well as the imposition of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The use of the veto by some member States to protect the racist régime from collective economic sanctions must be condemned. A special session of the General Assembly must be held to consider the policies of apartheid, to draw the attention of public opinion to this human tragedy and to call on the international community to take further effective action to put an end to these policies, which contravene all human and civilized values. The African front-line countries must be supported in their steadfast stand against the acts of aggression by South Africa.

The Sudan has been struggling against these policies since independence through continued participation for 25 years in the work of the Committee against Apartheid. We emphasize that we will support all the draft resolutions before the Assembly that are supported by the African Group and the other countries which cherish human justice, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): There are at least six major reasons why apartheid is doomed to extinction.

First, apartheid is the only major social and political relic of the nineteenth century trying to worm its way into the twenty-first century. The notion of white supremacy held some sway over eighteenth- and nineteenth-century minds as Europe colonized the world. Even though this was the result of the Industrial Revolution's erupting first in Europe, concepts of racial supremacy also surfaced. Today, in contrast, we have overwhelming evidence of the equal human potential available in every race. The notion of racial supremacy, which provides the bedrock for the apartheid system, has been shattered. This explains why the theological defenders of apartheid lost the battle in their own heartland when

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

South Africa's orthodox Dutch Reformed Church decided to withdraw its theological sanction from apartheid.

Defenders of lost causes can fight bitterly, even against great odds, if they believe that they have either the forces of justice or the tide of history on their side. The Afrikaners now know that they have neither. While they have tried to boost their own morale by creating myths of their own - myths based, for example, on the Afrikaners rallying behind the stockaded wagons of the laager - they must in their heart of hearts know that they will eventually be overwhelmed by the inevitable rush of history.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

This explains the increasing dissension within the white community, as demonstrated by the success of the End Conscription Campaign and the growing white emigration from South Africa.

Secondly, the Afrikaners are sitting on a demographic time bomb. From 1966 to 1980 the black population rose by 90 per cent, compared with a rise of only 30 per cent in the number of whites. The whites' share in the total population of 32 million has thus dropped from 18 per cent to 15 per cent. If present trends continue, white South Africans will be outnumbered not by five to one but by 10 to one early in the twenty-first century. At the same time, the population of the African continent is also experiencing steady and significant growth. If present trends continue, the continent of Africa, which had a population of 225 million in 1950, will have 1.6 billion people in 2025. The correlation of forces is therefore moving inexorably against South Africa. How long can a few million white South Africans hold out against such a continental change?

Thirdly, the white domination of South Africa was made possible only by the ruthless exploitation of the black population to extract the seemingly endless and seemingly invaluable mineral resources of South Africa. It seemed inconceivable that this economy could ever experience real hardship, but it is experiencing it. The rand has collapsed in value, hurting most of all white South Africans. As Allister Sparks, a South African journalist, remarked in the 16 September 1985 issue of the Johannesburg Star:

"One didn't hear many cries of distress coming from Soweto the other day when the rand crashed to 34 US cents ... But the reaction from the other side of the apartheid track suggests that, for all its vaunted resilience, white South Africa, spoiled by years of affluence and privilege, has a very low threshold of tolerance for economic pain."

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

The present collapse of the rand may be temporary. It could be helped by a resurgence of gold or diamond prices. Yet it is becoming increasingly clear that the problems faced by the South African economy are structural and not cyclical. Mr. Gerhard De Kock, the Governor of the South Africa Reserve Bank, said recently:

"The need for long-term structural adjustment in this economy cannot be stressed enough."

South Africa might have been able to cling on to its primitive social and political structures as long as its economy was only asked to perform the relatively simple task of extracting and exporting minerals. But in today's increasingly interdependent world, where economic advancement is tied clearly to a nation's mastery of the new industrial, technological and information revolutions, South Africa's economy will also have to modernize if it wishes to retain the same level of affluence. But to participate in these new economic revolutions South Africa will have to abandon its primitive social and political structures, especially apartheid. The brutal oppression of the black majority was in the past an easy road to economic affluence for whites. Today that same brutal oppression is creating a huge millstone for the South African economy. This helps to explain why some large South African and multinational business corporations are turning against apartheid.

Fourthly, we are on the verge of entering a truly multipolar world, a world that we have not been acquainted with for most of our lifetime. South Africa has been a victim as well as a beneficiary of the bipolar world that is fading before our eyes today. Whatever the drawbacks of the bipolar world, South Africa could at least count on a relatively predictable global political environment, one in which it had learned how to insure its losses.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

But such insurance policies will be harder to obtain in a multipolar environment. South Africa will have to deal not with one or two but with a variety of major Powers, none of which alone will have the power to protect, directly or indirectly, the interests of white South Africans. Over time, no major Power will find it in its interest to sacrifice its global interests for the sake of a close association with a pariah State in the international community.

Fifthly, the world is becoming more transparent. We have satellites that can take microscopic pictures of even square inches of the world's surface. The information revolution, which has been vastly accelerated by advances in computers, satellite relays, Fax machines, and so on, has made it difficult to hide international transactions. Hence, while in the very short term South Africa may continue to survive growing levels of sanctions by engaging in furtive under-the-counter deals with all sorts of agents and countries, it is going to find it increasingly difficult to maintain such furtiveness when the bright lights of modern technology focus even more clearly on South Africa.

Many South Africans are beginning to admit that they are engaging in a futile battle to evade international sanctions. A South African publication, Finance Week, of 18-24 August 1988, said that unless South Africa dramatically changed international political perceptions or hugely boosted exports - which the writer deemed to be quite impossible - it would not be possible for it to meet its foreign debt commitments over 1991 to 1992 without far more vigorous tightening of domestic economic policies. The publication added: "the price of apartheid is growing evermore horrendous." In short, the sanctions are beginning to bite.

Sixthly, the impending liberation of Namibia will demonstrate to South Africa the futility of ignoring the will of the international community. No man, no country, can remain an island today. The globe is shrinking. Even some Afrikaners

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

have begun to concede this. Mr. Henri de Villers, Chairman of the South African Standard Bank, said recently

"In this day and age, there is no such thing as economic self-sufficiency, and we delude ourselves if we think we are different."

In the past South Africa has heard distant voices calling for the dismantling of apartheid; soon it will hear fists pounding on its doors.

The tide of history is moving inexorably, if not rapidly, against the Afrikaners who are trying to cling on to the apartheid system. In deciding how to cope with this tide, they may be well advised to remind themselves of an old oriental folk tale. This is a tale told of a young boy who woke up early one morning and left his village by the sea to walk up a hill to work on the rice harvest that had just been collected. When he reached the top of the hill and looked down he saw to his horror that a tidal wave was approaching and about to engulf and destroy the village and the villagers. He knew immediately that he had no time to rush down to wake up and warn the villagers. Out of desperation he decided to burn the rice harvest, knowing that the fire would bring up all the villagers. The rice harvest was lost, but the lives of the villagers were spared.

Today, if white South Africans insist on retaining the present harvest of political and economic power that they have reaped after years of oppression, they will only be washed away by tidal waves that will crest and break upon them in the coming years. On the other hand, if they decide to burn away this bitter harvest and try to fashion a new relationship with complete equality between peoples, regardless of race, in South Africa, the village may yet be saved and transformed.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

To make a small start in that direction, the South Africans could do no better than to release Nelson Mandela immediately and unconditionally and work out a new social and political structure with him. As far back as 1964, Nelson Mandela said:

"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

If South Africa does not want this ideal to die with Nelson Mandela, they should work quickly against the ticking clock and start fashioning a new society today.

Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (interpretation from French): On 10 December next we will be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During the past 40 years the promotion of human rights has achieved remarkable success which must be attributed to the United Nations. That Declaration is a valuable and indispensable tool, which the United Nations has put at the disposal of the international community, but its universal nature unfortunately remains threatened by a special kind of political system, desperately maintained in the south of the African continent, namely, apartheid.

Apartheid is a word which expresses a dramatic, painful, abominable, outrageous reality for the whole international community, tantamount to racial discrimination built up as a political system. At the outcome of the Second World War, which caused so much destruction and which was triggered mainly by racial pride, the international community wisely drew up the Charter of the United Nations, which from its very first article advocates the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Although all the States represented here generally respect

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

that principle of the United Nations, we regret to note that one single State, isolated from the international community, has made racial discrimination a political system, which it calls apartheid and which it alone seems to understand.

It was in 1948 that the white minority in South Africa conceived, set up and officially established a régime based on racial discrimination. The tyrannical and oppressive policy of apartheid, pursued by the white minority régime of South Africa, is a flagrant, gross violation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related international agreements.

The reports submitted to us make it abundantly clear that intolerance and contempt for human rights continue to characterize life in South Africa. The Pretoria authorities continue to subjugate the black people, denying it its most basic rights. The policy of apartheid, condemned by one and all since 1948, is now stronger than ever, supported by laws which erect all sorts of barriers between the white community and the coloured population.

Desperately seeking to maintain the privileged situation of the white minority, the Pretoria régime rigorously applies the so-called security laws, which were strengthened in July 1985 by the law on the state of emergency. It is under those laws that the South African régime is arresting and torturing more and more people; that such a large number of anti-apartheid militants have been executed; and that thousands of others have been thrown into jail. It is under those laws that the freedom fighters of the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), or the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, are sentenced to death. Hardly a day passes without police violence, be it the bloody repression of peaceful demonstrations or innocent schoolchildren felled by the bullets of the security forces.

(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

Since he assumed the leadership of the abhorrent apartheid régime, President Botha has always tried to give a more civilized albeit more cynical appearance to apartheid with the so-called constitutional reforms which have been rejected by all. Such reforms had but one objective, namely, to systematize and further strengthen the policy of apartheid by isolating the blacks even more. But the more Botha preached reform the more his skill at repressing the blacks and the freedom fighters grew.

Proceeding from the universally-rejected principle of the "new constitutional dispensation", the Pretoria régime, on 26 October last, sought to impose on the population the so-called municipal elections, resorting to terror and intimidation to conceal the truth. Thus, any statement against the elections was declared illegal. Over 500 anti-apartheid activists were arrested and jailed without trial. The elections were condemned almost unanimously by the General Assembly. At the time, Archbishop Desmond Tutu - who disapproved those electoral operations - said:

"Today, as yesterday and the day before, the fact is that the blacks in South Africa reject apartheid and the Government's attempts to gloss it over." Happily, the apartheid policy is condemned and unanimously opposed by the international community.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

Indeed, even before it had become institutionalized as a political system by the white minority in Pretoria, the international community in 1946 had risen up against this policy in resolution 44 (I), adopted by the General Assembly at the first regular session.

Since 1946 the numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have been openly trampled underfoot by the apartheid régime. The appalling crimes of the white minority of South Africa, the carnage in Sharpeville and Soweto, summary executions, imprisonment without trial, brutal deportations of black populations, the creation of bantustans, making the peaceful front-line States hostage to the policy of aggression and destabilization, as well as other manifestations of apartheid in various guises, will neither discourage the black South African majority, determined to fight until the eradication of that inhuman system, nor dissuade the international community from taking all necessary measures to achieve its total elimination.

On behalf of my delegation I should like here warmly to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid, and in particular its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for the important public activities of the Committee aimed at bringing South Africa to its senses.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who, determined to achieve respect for human rights all over the world, spares no effort to ensure the implementation of the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

For how long will the international community resign itself to the challenge posed by South Africa and its apartheid policy? It is likely that that régime will continue to defy the international community for as long as it is able to rely on the help of certain countries for which South Africa remains a privileged partner.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

Because of the so-called understanding they show to the Pretoria régime, these countries refuse to go along with the relevant United Nations resolutions or to implement them. The goal of these resolutions that request all States to put an end to diplomatic, economic, military, sporting and other relations with the racist South African régime in order to impose upon it sufficient penalties to compel it to abandon its inhuman policy of apartheid has never been reached. The main partners concerned hide behind the smokescreen of their Constitutions and of their national public opinion, as if their peoples were incapable of appreciating the suffering of the black South African people and the injustice of which it is the victim.

It is high time that States that in one way or another maintain relations with South Africa based on their interests understand that it is they who sustain and encourage apartheid in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and at the expense of the black people of South Africa.

My delegation believes that, if those States so wished, they could ring the knell of apartheid in South Africa in the interests of the dignity of man, which must remain the ultimate objective of all our activities. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes for mankind the right to a social and international order which must respect its rights and fundamental freedoms. This is the commitment to which all States have subscribed in signing or adhering to the Charter, by proclaiming their faith in "fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person". These rights are universal, inherent to humankind, and cannot change according to the colour of one's skin.*

* Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

For its part, the Togolese delegation will never tire of repeating, as stated by General Gnassingbe Eyadema, Founding President of the Rally of the Togolese People and President of the Republic, that:

"Togo cannot acquiesce in the situation of injustice and oppression now reigning in that part of the world, where a régime unworthy of man and of our times and contrary to any morality stays in power at the cost of untold violence against a population whose only crime is the colour of its skin."

All States should evince greater political will to mobilize and unify their efforts for the black South African people in order to help it to free itself from this abject apartheid policy. It is high time that the Pretoria régime understood that it cannot indefinitely maintain the coloured populations under such domination. History shows that no people can witness its own destruction without reacting. In this regard, resistance to constitutional reforms is rather significant. As the late Mangaliso Sobukwe said,

"The beginning of the end of a system comes about when the people refuses to ensure the operation of institutions aimed at perpetuating its oppression."

The abolition of apartheid must start with the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the outstanding fighter to whom the whole of Africa pays tribute because of what he represents: a symbol of resistance against injustice, arbitrariness and racism.

We must hope that the day will soon dawn when the black people, having been granted their attributes as human beings, will finally, with their white, mixed race or yellow brothers and sisters, work together for the establishment and strengthening of a multiracial, free and democratic society oriented towards progress for mankind as a whole.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid for its positive and effective work in alerting international public opinion to the gravity of what is happening in southern Africa, and its constructive proposals, which could contribute positively to putting an end to the racist régime in South Africa. For many years we have been condemning the racist régime in the southern part of our continent. For many years we have been adopting one resolution after another with a view to putting an end to the tragedy of our people in southern Africa.

A cherished part of Africa, whose peoples have struggled for their independence and freedom and made one sacrifice after another in defence of man and his dignity, is still at the mercy of the most heinous form of racial discrimination as practised by the abominable apartheid régime of the racist minority. That minority, despite international condemnation and an international boycott - which is not yet complete, and I shall come to that later - insists on pursuing that policy, thus flouting all our resolutions and trampling all international norms, just as the other racist régime, that in Palestine, flouts all United Nations resolutions and imposes an abominable racist régime against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. The two racist régimes are counterparts in their policies; they are bound together by an organic and unnatural alliance against the whole of humanity.

The imperialist régime which created the racist régime in the southern part of the continent, which created this affront that still stigmatizes the southern part of Africa, is the same colonialist, imperialist system as created the Zionist régime in Palestine. Even though the two régimes were created at different times, they are being brought together through military and economic co-operation, thus demonstrating to all the extent of the legitimacy of our common struggle as an Arab

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

nation and as African States, with the support of the international community, to put an end to those two racist régimes.

In spite of our strong resolutions and our appeals, the apartheid régime, still pursues the same racist policies. Repression continues. Genocide continues. The detention of thousands, including Nelson Mandela, the leader of the struggle of this militant people, continues in spite of international appeals.

What is it that has prevented our common struggle from putting an end to that régime? When we say "putting an end to" we are not taking a racist stand against whites; rather we want the black African to have the same rights as the white African, because we reject discrimination of any kind, whether on the basis of colour, religion or race. Just as we reject the so-called Promised Land given to a certain group of people at the expense of another people, so we reject the idea of God-given privileges for the white minority in the southern part of the continent.

Why have our actions not been effective? The reason is that some of us still circumvent implementation of those resolutions although all our peoples, including the peoples of those very States which continue to co-operate with the racist régimes, demand the severing of all relations with the racist régime. The boycott is still ineffective because many of us - I cannot even except some of us in Africa - have continuing relations with the régime in the southern part of the continent; hence, we cannot ask others to refrain from that which we ourselves are doing, since we should set an example, as Africans, by our full commitment to the boycott resolutions. In saying that, I am proud that my country is fully committed to those resolutions and has absolutely no relations with South Africa in any area whatsoever.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

We call upon those States that still maintain relations with the racist régime to put an end to those relations. We call upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, which we thought represented the German people, who were once the victims of racist nazism, and which we thought would be the first to sever relations and implement Chapter VII of the Charter against the régime in the southern part of the African continent. However, as we see, it has become the major trading partner of that racist régime, just as it is a major partner of the racist régime in Palestine. It provides the régime in Palestine with weapons, and compensates it on the pretext that it is compensating for the actions of nazism. The actions of nazism were not committed against any particular group or any particular religion but against humanity as a whole. We feel that the best way that the Federal Republic of Germany could make amends to humanity for the crimes of nazism would be by severing relations with South Africa and putting an end to its support for the other racist régime, that in Palestine.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

We are certain that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany would heed such an appeal from the international community.

We may now be witnessing the end of South Africa's occupation of Namibia, the question of which we have dealt with in past weeks. While welcoming the agreement achieved on the withdrawal of South Africa and the granting of independence to Namibia to crown the struggle of its people, we must not allow it to distract us from the basic issue, which is our common struggle against the apartheid régime. The independence of Namibia must not be used by any country as justification for circumventing the boycott system under the pretext that South Africa has changed its policies. The freeing of Namibia from illegal occupation by South Africa and the granting of its independence is one thing; the termination of apartheid is another. We welcome South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and Angola. We emphasize that the struggling, independent Namibia will stand side by side with us in our common effort to put an end to the racist régime.

The boycott system should be one of our basic concerns. Although only partial, it has proved completely successful. We consider the decision by the United States Congress, despite the attempts by the United States Administration to circumvent that decision, to be a positive step towards participation in our joint action to put an end to the apartheid régime. We are confident that other decisions will be taken in support of the decision of the United States Congress in the continuing human struggle to eliminate apartheid.

The military co-operation with South Africa by the Zionist entity and some Western countries, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany, and the fact that they are supplying it with weapons gives us cause for concern, because this not only poses a threat to the people of South Africa but also endangers the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

neighbouring African States. We have witnessed a series of acts of aggression by the racist régime against Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and other African peoples.

My country sympathizes with and fully supports the neighbouring African States, which, despite the harsh economic conditions and continuous aggression by South Africa, have not capitulated to the racist régime but have continued to pursue an effective and realistic policy.

We cannot but be very proud of and admire the friendly people of Lesotho, a small country surrounded on all sides by South Africa, which with great valour admirably affirms its commitment to our common policy in our joint struggle against the racist régime. It is more than ever incumbent upon the international community to stand by, support and provide every form of assistance to the African front-line States. The white minority must realize that the world has changed and that it will not, at the end of the twentieth century, allow people to be despised on the basis of their colour or creed.

We have seen how Rhodesia has been transformed into Zimbabwe and the whites and blacks live together under a democratic régime. We look forward to the day when South Africa will be transformed into Azania, where all will live as a democracy.

In conclusion, I applaud the struggle of the people of South Africa, represented by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, under the leadership of African freedom fighters. We shall stand by them and support them until the human tragedy that besets us all is ended.

Mr. Li Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The current session of the General Assembly is considering the item entitled "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa" in a changing international situation, which is

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

characterized by a certain degree of relaxation, improved East-West relations, a tendency gradually to replace confrontation by dialogue and a growing trend towards the peaceful solution of international disputes. The recent general debate at the current session gave full expression to the ardent desire of the world's peoples for peace and development. The situation in South Africa, however, is completely out of tune with the atmosphere of relaxation in the world at large.

Since the last session of the General Assembly the South African authorities have intensified their suppression of the anti-apartheid struggle of the South African people. Last February they announced a ban on the political activities of 17 major anti-apartheid organizations, including the United Democratic Front, the biggest of its kind, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. This was one more repressive step taken by the South African authorities against the struggle of the South African people since the ban in 1977 on 18 anti-apartheid organizations. At the same time, the South African authorities resorted to terrorism by assassinating leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) outside the country. At the end of last March ANC's representative to France was murdered by an agent hired by the South African authorities. The South African régime has extended the state of emergency time and again and arbitrarily arrested, detained and killed people who dare to resist its policies of apartheid.

While reinforcing their suppression, the South African authorities have stepped up their control of, and restrictions on, the mass media.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

A most recent example is the banning of the publication of The Weekly Mail. What angers people most is that on 18 November the South African authorities convicted four anti-apartheid leaders of treason and threatened them with the death penalty, trying in vain to stifle the voice of the South African people against apartheid.

All these acts have shown fully that the "reform", "dialogue" and "power-sharing" allegedly carried out by the South African authorities are nothing but hoaxes. History has repeatedly shown that a handful of rulers who go against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people can in no way stop by means of repression the people's struggle for freedom and equality. On the contrary, it will only evoke even stronger resistance. By turning a blind eye to historical development and social progress, the South African authorities, which continue to go against the trend of the times, will eventually have to face more severe punishment by history. As far as the international community is concerned, it is high time that it made all possible efforts to compel the South African régime to end its evil system of apartheid.

The apartheid system, which, through violence and repression, deprives the black people, who account for more than 70 per cent of the population of South Africa, of their fundamental human rights, has also deprived that country of peace and tranquillity. The South African people have persisted for a long time in their unrelenting and heroic struggle in order to build a society based on equality and basic human rights. They have not stopped their struggle in the face of harsher crackdowns by the South African authorities over the past year. The united front against apartheid is expanding. The black trade unions and religious organizations are playing a vigorous role in uniting and mobilizing the masses. Many white people, having realized the evils of the apartheid system, are joining in increasing numbers in the struggle of the black people. Breaking the ban by the

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

authorities, many white scholars, businessmen and personages in the religious, educational and sports fields have conducted a dialogue with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). More and more white youths are resisting conscription. The struggle of the South African people against racism is surging forward and increasing in both depth and scope.

During their struggle over the decades the people of South Africa have always found by their side the countries and peoples the world over which uphold justice and which have offered them solidarity and support of one kind or another. The contributions made by the African front-line States are universally acknowledged. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have over the decades adopted many resolutions and decisions expressing strong condemnation of the apartheid policies of the South African authorities and firm support for the just struggle of the South African people. The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, under the leadership of Ambassador Joseph Garba, has done a great deal of work in mobilizing world opinion in support of the just struggle of the South African people, thus winning the acclaim of the international community. We should not, however, overlook the fact that one or two major Western Powers still pursue a policy of appeasement and tolerance towards the South African régime. We hope that at the present critical moment the international community, especially the countries that have influence on South Africa, will bring still greater pressure to bear on the South African régime so as to force it to abolish apartheid altogether, thus making it possible for the black people in that country to enjoy the equal rights that are their due, and to halt its aggression and sabotage against neighbouring countries, thereby bringing peace and stability to the entire southern African region.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Since the beginning of this year the South African authorities have taken part in negotiations aimed at achieving peace in Angola and the independence of Namibia, and have also made some diplomatic moves in an attempt to extricate themselves from international isolation. Nevertheless, as long as the South African authorities stick to their apartheid policies and system they will continue to be subjected to international rejection and condemnation. If the South African régime wants to free itself from international isolation it must end the state of emergency, lift the ban on anti-apartheid parties and organizations, immediately and unconditionally release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, and negotiate with the genuine leaders of the South African black people with a view to eradicating the apartheid system and establishing in South Africa a society based on racial equality. This is the only way out for the South African authorities.

The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn the South African authorities' policies of apartheid, unswervingly support the just struggles of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States, and continue to provide them with assistance within the limits of our ability. The Chinese Government firmly supports all effective sanction measures designed to put greater pressure on the South African authorities to compel them to abolish the apartheid system. We are convinced that the South African people and their liberation organizations, closing their ranks and persisting in their struggle, will win victory in the end, with the support of people throughout the world.

Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand): Since 1962 the General Assembly has called upon the South African authorities to cease their policy of apartheid. So far this call has been spurned by the intransigent Pretoria régime. Instead, it has continued to pursue relentlessly this repressive and inhuman system. This intransigence violates not only the principles enshrined in the United Nations

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and relevant United Nations resolutions, but also universally recognized principles, laws and norms governing civilized societies.

The Thai position on this issue is clear and consistent. In the statement addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid when it commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, on 6 May 1988, the then Acting Thai Foreign Minister said

"Thailand shares with the international community the view that discrimination against a fellow human being on racial grounds violates human decency and is repugnant to mankind. Racism ... racial discrimination ... and apartheid are abhorrent to the Thai Government and people".*

The continued repression of the black majority in South Africa by the Pretoria régime through its armed forces and police, facilitated by the imposition of the state of emergency and press censorship, have resulted in the loss of countless innocent lives over the years. Arbitrary arrests, detention without trial and torture and killing of black South Africans have been carried out in the name of law and order. My delegation cannot condone these brutal acts. In this connection my delegation would like to express its deep concern that scores of black Africans are in gaol for their political reasons; many could be executed because of their political convictions.

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

My delegation, furthermore, shares the grave concern of the members of the Security Council regarding the intention of the South African authorities to enforce the death sentence imposed on Paul Tefo Setlaba on the basis of the doctrine of "common purpose", and likewise wishes strongly to urge Pretoria to stay the execution and commute the death sentence on Mr. Setlaba in order to avoid further aggravating the situation in South Africa. At the same time, my delegation has followed the news concerning Nelson Mandela with great interest. Even though Pretoria will not return him to Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town, the sad fact is, as Winnie Mandela herself said, that her husband "still remains in the prison of the Pretoria régime". Thailand joins with the vast majority of the international community in reiterating the demand that, for humanitarian reasons, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees should be released immediately and unconditionally.

It is regrettable that on 8 March 1988 the Security Council once again failed to adopt a resolution calling for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the South African régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. It was argued that such sanctions would have the least impact on the South African régime, harm the oppressed black majority and severely affect the economies of the southern African region.

My delegation strongly questions those assertions. An overwhelming majority of the States Members of the world Organization also questions them. Sanctions may be the best means available to bring about changes in South Africa and thereby avert the tragedy of major magnitude about to occur in that country.

For those reasons, my Government has been steadfast in its support of the relevant resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations on South Africa, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions, in order to hasten the eradication of apartheid.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

The holding of the "municipal elections" on 26 October is another setback imposed by the racist régime. Those elections were designed not so much to enfranchise the black majority as to consolidate apartheid at the municipal level. It was rightly condemned by this Assembly in its resolution 43/13 of 26 October. My delegation was totally supportive of that condemnation by the international community.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. For 25 years the Special Committee has been the vanguard of the anti-apartheid cause. Throughout its existence, it has committed itself to the cause of the struggle of the black people in South Africa and to the efforts to bring peace and prosperity to the southern African region.

In that connection, my delegation joins the other members of the Assembly in expressing our sincere appreciation to the Special Committee for the excellent work it has performed through the years and especially to its able Chairman, Ambassador Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria. He and his Committee can count on my delegation for its unstinted support for their valuable work.

Finally, my delegation would like to take this opportunity also to express our support for the call by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries this September for the convening in 1989 of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid. My delegation believes that such a meeting would be timely and could advance the search for an effective settlement and avert the tragic and destructive consequences of apartheid in southern Africa.

Mr. OKEYO (Kenya): In an international arena that has recently seen genuine positive developments in resolving long-standing disputes in areas of conflict, it is most distressing to note that one of the most insidious crimes against humanity has been unaffected by the present climate of goodwill and

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

conciliation. I refer to the evil policies of apartheid that are actively practised by the racist régime in Pretoria.

The racial policies of South Africa have been a concern of the Organization for the past four decades. It is a sad measure of the total lack of concern and mistaken sense of superiority of the racist régime that, despite continuous international pressure and appeals, no effort has been made to abandon the practice of apartheid. The black majority and other non-white races in South Africa continue to be denied their basic human rights, recourse to justice and participation in a democratic political process. Indeed, the South African régime has undertaken and encouraged even more perverse acts of brutality and intimidation against its own non-white population, arrogantly assuming that its deceitful cosmetic changes in apartheid will convince the world of its willingness to initiate genuine change. Let none of us be appeased by the meaningless, superficial changes of the Pretoria apartheid régime. Let none of us be gullible enough to believe that an evil such as apartheid can be reformed. We cannot and should not accept anything less than the complete dismantling of that odious system, which has rightly been termed a crime against humanity.

Let us not be fooled by these devious methods of the Pretoria régime. It is quite clear that racist South Africa has no intention of bringing real changes and democratic rule to South Africa. This is well illustrated by the increasingly repressive and ruthless methods employed by the régime to protect its interests and the status quo. The sharply deteriorating situation in South Africa is a sign of the desperate struggle by the régime to maintain and further entrench its repugnant system of apartheid. Intensified repressive measures against all opponents of the

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya,

system are evidenced by a continued state of emergency, increased indiscriminate arrests, unlawful detentions, press censorship, torture, murder and killings. No one, not even young and innocent children, is immune from that totally depraved and immoral system.

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

It is pertinent here to refer to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) to bring ourselves up to date regarding the situation obtaining in South Africa. In this report we are informed, among other things, that up to 30,000 persons have been detained over varying periods since the state of emergency was declared in 1986. Currently there are between 2,000 and 2,500 persons in detention, including 250 children, some of whom are 17 years old, and one who is 14 years old.

The effects of apartheid, as we are all aware, are not confined to the borders of South Africa but also have had a devastating impact on the southern Africa region as a whole. Repeated acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against the front-line and other neighbouring States have had dire consequences for those States. Obviously their economic and social infrastructures are affected. National resources, which are badly needed, have of necessity, and at the expense of development, been diverted to self-defence purposes, while mass movements of refugees fleeing South Africa's State terrorism have put further strains on these countries' already stretched and limited resources.

Kenya fully supports the right of front-line and other neighbouring States to give shelter to refugees of apartheid and agrees there is a need, as put forward by the Organization of African Unity, for international burden-sharing in resettling those displaced persons. We whole-heartedly commend those States for their magnanimous deeds. Kenya further supports any efforts by the front-line and other neighbouring States to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa and thereby lessen the impact of the deliberate acts of destabilization by the racist régime.

The apartheid policies of racist South Africa are the main cause of conflict in southern Africa and pose a serious threat to international peace and security. Kenya strongly believes that concerted international efforts are the only way to bring about the establishment of a genuine democratic system of government in South

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

Africa in which all people, regardless of race, will have both the right and the opportunity to participate.

Kenya is further convinced that the only means at the disposal of the international community to effect such peaceful change in South Africa is the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime. We are not impressed by the arguments of some countries that sanctions will not work and indeed we view such arguments as nothing more than an attempt to protect extensive economic interests within South Africa. Sanctions already imposed have had an adverse economic impact on the racist régime and should serve as an impetus for an intensification of such measures until such time as the desired goal of the total eradication of apartheid is achieved. Kenya therefore urges all members of the international community to heed the call for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Kenya further calls for strict observance of the United Nations oil and arms embargoes against South Africa, firmly convinced that concerted international action will rapidly bring the arrogant régime to its knees.

Kenya remains unwavering in its condemnation of apartheid and calls on the Pretoria régime to avoid a blood bath by lifting its state of emergency; immediately and unconditionally releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in order that they may be able to participate fully in the political process; lifting the ban on all liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia; refraining from its acts of destabilisation against its neighbours; and immediately and completely dismantling the repugnant system of apartheid.

Kenya shall, for its part, continue actively to support the peoples of South Africa and southern Africa in their just struggle against the oppressive racist régime. We shall continue to provide moral and financial support to the liberation

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

movements in South Africa and Namibia, looking forward to the time when the evil of apartheid is totally eradicated from the face of the Earth.

Before concluding I should like to pay special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid. That Committee, under its able and dynamic Chairman, Ambassador Joseph Garba, has done a good job in sensitizing the world to the evils of the diabolic policy of apartheid practised by that racist régime.

Mr. LEWIS (Antigua and Barbuda): The deliberations of this year's General Assembly session started with positive speculations regarding likely solutions to problems in many of the troubled areas of the world. Each year many delegations endeavour to bring something new to the deliberations on any given item. However, on the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, each year we are all compelled to bring more of the same. Each year we present more examples of terror, of exploitation, of intransigence, of genocide. Much to our dismay, we learned that President Botha of South Africa, as recently as 22 October, referred two controversial Bills to the President's Advisory Council for approval. Both Bills seek to tighten racial-segregation laws in that country. The Group Areas (Amendment) Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatters (Amendment) Bill have already been approved by South Africa's farce of a Parliament. Furthermore, it is known that the President's Council, appointed by the ruling party, will simply rubber-stamp what has been decided in the white Chamber. The coloured and Indian representatives have rejected both Bills in South Africa's so-called tricameral Parliament.

In that land of oppression the Government is endeavouring to remove every non-white family from prescribed metropolitan and white areas. The continuing displacement of millions of blacks presently residing in those areas will result in more confrontation and bloodshed, since it is most unreasonable to expect the dispossessed to acquiesce without a long and bitter struggle.

(Mr. Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda)

The policy of apartheid is an evil policy. The Government which perpetuates an evil policy is an evil Government, and an evil Government is not expected to be concerned with the humanity and welfare of the majority of its people. It is a Government which, because of its nature, has generated condemnation of its treatment of South Africa's non-white citizens. Its hesitation in granting independence to Namibia and its wanton acts of aggression against its neighbours for the sole purpose of destabilization have also brought it universal condemnation.

I feel compelled to recall briefly some aspects of what has happened over the past 25 years.

During the 1960s, the international community witnessed the passage of a series of Draconian laws, such as the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act. They were clearly intended to provide the racist régime with the so-called legality needed to carry out additional and intensified acts of violence against the black population. These measures ultimately brought about, in 1974, the suspension of South Africa's participation in the General Assembly after this body finally recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Nevertheless, it was not until 1977 that a mandatory arms embargo was adopted by the Security Council. This in itself is obviously inadequate to tackle the problems of South Africa, and more stringent action has been continually urged by most countries of the world.

Over the past 25 years the South African Government has increased real spending on its military budget by 200 per cent. A country which was not producing rifles in 1960 now boasts the tenth largest armaments industry in the world. These armaments have been used primarily to subjugate its own majority population and to molest, interfere with and terrorize its neighbours.

(Mr. Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda)

During the past 25 years, however, the Pretoria régime has not been able to stifle the resolve of the South African people, who are determined to be free. From the Reverend Allan Boesak we have heard that there is much optimism and an abounding recognition of the fact that white domination in South Africa will soon come to an end. Allan Boesak has reminded us that the oppressed people of his country have placed on the agenda of the world

"This one sentence that no one will ever be allowed to forget any more: namely that apartheid is so wrong, so indefensible, so intrinsically evil, that it cannot be modernized, streamlined or reformed; it can only be irrevocably eradicated ...".

The Secretary-General stated in his report that

"Developments in, or relating to, the continuance of a situation of racial discrimination, which is so repugnant to the spirit of our age, lend further force to the repeated - and hitherto unheeded - urgings of the international community that apartheid be dismantled." (A/43/1, p. 5)

We again call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all others incarcerated in South Africa as a consequence of their struggle for their right to be free and to be liberated from all shackles of bondage in their own country. We have noted with approval that the death sentences on the Sharpeville Six have been commuted, but deplore the fact that they will be serving prison terms ranging from 18 to 25 years. The machinations of the Pretoria régime are never surprising, though constantly distressing, as the South African Government has sought to balance the commutation of the death sentences on individuals convicted without evidence of having contributed physically to the death of Councillor Kuzwayo Dlamini with the pardoning of white policemen blatantly guilty of murder.

(Mr. Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda)

The racist régime continues to stifle all opposition to its abhorrent practices by such means as the insulation of South Africa from scrutiny by the international press and the banning of all anti-apartheid organizations. Acts of terror are also being carried out by agents provocateurs against newspaper offices, as was recently the case with the weekly tabloid The Namibian. The South African Government makes no effort to control groups such as "White Wolf", which are dedicated to the continued victimization of the non-white population.

We are never surprised by the actions of the South African Government, and we had occasion to mention during the general debate that we were hopeful, though sceptical, about the prospects for peace in Angola and Namibia - hopeful, yet sceptical, for we well remember that five years ago the Lusaka agreement was to have produced a cease-fire, disengagement on the part of South Africa, and the establishment of a joint commission for the purpose of monitoring. That agreement, however, collapsed by the end of the year of its inception.

My delegation joins others in urging the international community to provide the front-line States with the assistance required to guarantee respect for their sovereignty. We also continue to urge the adoption of mandatory sanctions of a comprehensive nature against the apartheid régime.

One final word: I am here forced to recall the moving and touching words of Nobel Peace Prize winner, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in May of this year, before the Special Committee against Apartheid. He stated:

"Apartheid will not tolerate any opposition. Apartheid kills. Apartheid exports death. Apartheid has been responsible for the atrocities we learn about in Mozambique. Apartheid is responsible for the suffering of the people of Namibia. Apartheid cannot bear the wonderful examples of racial harmony

(Mr. Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda)

that exist in Botswana. Apartheid cannot tolerate the experiment in a non-racial community that is happening in Zimbabwe. Apartheid cannot bear for people to exist amicably together in Zamiba. Apartheid sponsors terrorism, kills in Paris, kills in Maseru, in a hospital bed. Apartheid kills and maims."

Antigua and Barbuda consequently reaffirms its commitment to the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia, people who remain undeterred despite the intensity of the brutality of the racist Pretoria régime. The violence of apartheid is the issue in South Africa, not the reaction of groups and organizations rightly striving for the liberation of those in bondage. What is sought is the democratization of the entire South African society so that blacks and whites can live together in peace and harmony in a just and equitable society.

Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The last quarter of the twentieth century has been noted for its revolutionary changes, in both substance and significance. For the first time in its history mankind has shown itself able to resolve many problems that for centuries had slowed down its progress.

In the positive changes taking place in the world, in which the United Nations has begun to play a substantial role, we see the implementation of the idea of comprehensive security for all, and the beginning of this. Consideration of varying interests, the priority of universal human values, the primacy of political means in resolving international problems, the transition from confrontation to dialogue - all these and other components of the new political thinking are now helping to improve the international climate and leading to the overall reduction of the military threat and the settlement of international crises and regional conflicts.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

Our struggle to improve substantially the international climate also presupposes unified and increased efforts for the rapid eradication of the inhuman system of apartheid. In creating the United Nations, the peoples of the world reaffirmed their belief in fundamental human rights, dignity and human values. International co-operation to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, is enshrined in the United Nations Charter as one of the objectives of the world Organization. Mankind cannot then condone any acts of discrimination against people for reasons of race or nationality, wherever they occur.

The indignation with which the United Nations and the entire international community decisively condemns apartheid is natural. It is the most open, cynical and inhuman form of racism, which the South African authorities have elevated to the level of State policy and a constitutional system. Under the system of apartheid in South Africa, the basic rights and freedoms of the majority of the population are being trampled upon. The country has been turned into a vast gaol where millions of blacks and coloured Africans have been deprived of their freedom. According to the racist legislation any African can be put behind bars without trial or investigation.

Under the cover of an emergency situation, the Pretoria régime is using the armed forces, the police, security forces and racist courts for the suppression of any resistance to apartheid. Besides the practice of arrests without any charges whatsoever, the racist courts have more and more frequently taken to classifying any expression of protest against apartheid as terrorism and State treason punishable by death.

Recently the racist Supreme Court of South Africa declared guilty of State treason and terrorism a number of activists belonging to the United Democratic Front and other anti-racist organizations in South Africa. As was rightly pointed

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

out in the statement of the African National Congress, the decision of the South African Supreme Court once again testifies to the fact that the legal bodies are a tool of repression in the hands of the Pretoria authorities. Actually, defendants are being sentenced only for consistently defending the interests of the African majority, exposing the criminal nature of apartheid, and calling for its eradication and the establishment of a democratic society in the country.

Millions of people living in South Africa are demanding that they be treated like human beings so that they can live in their own country without being subjected to humiliation and discrimination. They demand the removal of the political, economic and social barriers set up between people for racial reasons, which are an affront to human dignity. The authorities are responding to those legitimate demands with even harsher mass repression and unbridled terror. Each day more victims, including even children, swell the ranks of the many thousands of political prisoners whose only guilt is that they were not ready to come to terms with the policy and practice of apartheid.

For more than a quarter of a century the outstanding symbol of Africa, Nelson Mandela, has been incarcerated. The racists are using such repression to secure their unrestricted economic exploitation of the majority of the population, which has been deprived of its basic civil, political and socio-economic rights. The entire socio-political system of South Africa assures the governing white minority of a privileged position, while millions of black Africans live in poverty and injustice.

As is rightly indicated in many United Nations documents, the economic, financial, and other forms of co-operation on the part of foreign monopolies - and certain States which support them in South Africa - in fact help to maintain the

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

system of apartheid. Were it not for their continuing assistance and co-operation in various fields, the system of apartheid would long have been brought to an end.

The United Nations was fully justified in branding the policy and system of apartheid as a crime against mankind, a gross violation of international law and a threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly, the Security Council, and other United Nations bodies have frequently demanded that the Pretoria authorities put an end to the crime of apartheid and grant the entire population its democratic rights and freedoms. However, the South African authorities remain deaf to the persistent demands of the United Nations and of the entire world community.

In spite of the numerous decisions taken by the world Organization, Pretoria continues with its condemned policy of bantustanization, using even more cruel violence against the non-white population of the country and the national liberation movements, and banning the activities of democratic organizations. It is increasing its censorship and introducing other draconian measures against any act of protest against apartheid.

Racism and aggression cannot be dissociated. This is confirmed by the numerous acts of aggression and subversion perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring African States. As was pointed out by the President of the Security Council in his statement of 24 June:

"... peaceful change in southern African can only be brought about by the total eradication of apartheid which is the root cause of tension and conflict in both South Africa and the region as a whole." (S/19959)

In conformity with our principled foreign policy in favour of the final eradication of colonialism and racism in any shape or form, the Soviet Union consistently favours measures aimed at the unconditional liquidation of the inhuman system of racial suppression that is apartheid. We support the decisions of the

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

United Nations aimed at the achievement of that goal and observe them strictly in our policy and practical actions.

We consider that comprehensive, increased efforts must be made by the entire international community in order to ensure the total eradication of the crime of apartheid as soon as possible. The Soviet Union adds its voice to the demands of the world community for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other South African patriots.

The Soviet Union considers that all States must strictly observe the embargo proposed by the Security Council on the supply of arms to South Africa and on imports from South Africa, and strictly implement the General Assembly resolution concerning the embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

We are also in favour of the Security Council's adopting measures against the acquisition of nuclear weapons by South Africa. The Soviet Union shares the view of African and other States that the task of the eradication of apartheid requires decisive efforts on the part of the international community, including the introduction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under the United Nations Charter.

The Pretorian authorities should have long realized that the future of South Africa is linked not with the suppression of the struggle of its people against the system of apartheid but with an end of repression and a change of thinking leading to the end to the shameful system of apartheid and to uniting the efforts of all South Africans for the creation of a unified democratic non-racial State. Apartheid is doomed. It will not be saved by any new wave of terror or repression or by any act of armed aggression against the front-line African States, nor by manoeuvres or cosmetics of any kind. The recourse to terror and violence, to the suppression of rights and freedoms, illustrates not the strength but the weakness of the régime. It demonstrates its lack of foundation.*

During the course of a visit to the Soviet Union in August, a delegation of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, headed by its Chairman, Mr. Garba, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, the Soviet Union stated that the eradication of the anachronism of apartheid in our time was one of the requirements for the establishment of security for all.

We wish to stress from this lofty rostrum that the Soviet Union will, as in the past, continue to exert efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement in South Africa, so that people of all races and nationalities will be able to

* Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

live in conditions of equality. We intend to contribute further in the struggle of the United Nations for the eradication of apartheid.

Mr. KATEKA (United Republic of Tanzania): It is a sad commentary on the state of the world that as we approach the end of the twentieth century the international agenda still has an item on the question of apartheid. The international community is still seized of one of the most heinous and brutal systems that mankind ever invented, for apartheid comprises all that is evil, ranging from slavery to nazism. It is a negation of all the values that decent and civilized human beings hold dear. It is a shameful policy whereby a minority of racists has arrogated for itself the role of determining the fate of the majority which happens to be of a different skin pigmentation. It is State-sanctioned terrorism.

While racial prejudice exists in many countries, South Africa is the only country where racism and racial discrimination are institutionalized in national legislation and have the full backing of the Government. We all have problems of differing magnitude of human rights, but in South Africa massive violation of human rights is the sine qua non of the system.

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states,

"South Africa is now a police State undergoing a process of increased militarization". (A/43/22, para. 16)

There is no let-up in the oppression and suppression of the black majority. The order of the day consists of the never-ending state of emergency, resort to vigilante terrorists and unknown assassins, detentions without trial of innocent people, including children, and other forms of killings. In addition to having the world's largest number of political prisoners per capita, South Africa has one of the highest - if not the highest - execution rates in the world. This year alone

(Mr. Katska, United Republic
of Tanzania)

South Africa's minority régime has already executed 115 innocent blacks whose only crime was opposition to apartheid. Indeed, South Africa has become such an outlaw that it even has the temerity to carry out assassinations of its opponents in distant foreign lands. The cold-blooded murder of Ms. September in Paris is a case in point.

In the midst of this repression at home and arrogant disregard of international law abroad, we have recently been treated to more antics of the apartheid régime. Last week, "state president" Botha displayed a convoluted sense of justice which is typical of oppressive tyrannies. He commuted the death sentence of the Sharpeville Six to long prison terms ranging from 18 to 25 years. What was the crime of the Sharpeville Six? It was the strange crime of "common purpose" which exists in the statute books of South Africa only. Interestingly enough, this clemency came after an international outcry concerning the Six. The same was the case regarding the stay of execution of Paul Setlaba, an anti-apartheid activist who had also been sentenced to death on the basis of so-called common purpose. The Setlaba case prompted the Security Council to adopt resolution 623 (1988), which strongly urged South Africa to stay execution and commute the death sentence imposed on Setlaba in order to avoid further aggravating the situation in South Africa.

While Botha was commuting certain death sentences, he was at the same time hanging five blacks who had been convicted of alleged capital crimes. The leader of the apartheid régime is hoodwinking the international community by feigning magnanimity and enlightenment, but we cannot be taken in by meaningless gestures which make a travesty of the real situation inside South Africa. For example, we have nothing to be grateful for to Botha for releasing the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader, Zephania Mthopeng, who spent many years of his precious life inside

(Mr. Kateka, United Republic
of Tanzania)

the goals of South Africa. His only crime was opposition to apartheid. Mr. Harry Gwala of the African National Congress (ANC) was also released for medical and humanitarian reasons. The release of others of the anti-apartheid movement is long overdue. These martyrs, who should never have been incarcerated in the first place, should not be used as pawns in Botha's chess game. We are tired of the false hopes about the release of Nelson Mandela. Comrade Mandela should not be used in Botha's strategy of buying more time. He should be released unconditionally and immediately.

While it has intensified internal repression, the apartheid régime has been on the offensive diplomatically by indulging in dialogue which is supposedly for bringing peace to southern Africa. But we can only express cautious optimism lest we are deceived by South Africa.

(Mr. Kateka, United Republic
of Tanzania)

If previous experience is anything to go by we should take with a pinch of salt any promises by Botha. That the quadripartite talks may culminate in a peace agreement in South Western Africa should be believed only when Botha implements what has been agreed upon.

In that connection I wish to quote from the statement of my Foreign Minister, when he addressed this Assembly on 6 October 1988:

"The genesis of conflict, war and general chaos in southern Africa is apartheid. The fact that, today, the apartheid régime has been forced to talk should not be taken as meaning that the South African Government has decided to abandon apartheid in South Africa or the politics of force against its neighbours. Rather, the apparent change of stance is a direct result of military defeats of its occupationist forces in Angola and the resulting political and economic pressures inside South Africa, and of the relentless pressure of external sanctions against the apartheid régime. The uprising by the black majority and some enlightened white elements, including those who now refuse to be drafted, has exerted combined pressure on the régime to abandon the war in Angola. This is the reality. We must remain vigilant and not fall prey to the apartheid propaganda or to that of the régime's allies and benefactors, which claim that it is on the road of reform."

(A/43/PV.20, pp. 18-19-20)

Its so-called reforms are only cosmetic. The black majority in South Africa is still excluded from the democratic process. The régime continues both its internal and its external destabilization, yet we are being urged by our detractors to be reasonable and moderate and to talk to South Africa. We are told that the racist masquerading as a benevolent dictator is changing his ways for the better. We for our part do not see the basis for that call. It is sheer mischief on the

(Mr. Kataka, United Republic
of Tanzania)

part of those who are urging dialogue with South Africa. Why cannot South Africa's white minority talk to the black majority before embarking on a dialogue with its neighbours? It is often said that charity begins at home. South Africa should first take the log out of its own eye before dealing with the speck in another's.

In this regard we condemn South Africa's recent political manoeuvring for dialogue with African States that are far removed from the situation in southern Africa. We deplore Botha's junketings through African capitals that are not directly affected or involved in any way. We do not see the need or the desirability of such dialogue. Botha has his hidden agenda. He wants acceptability and even respectability, and what better way to achieve that than to coax some Africans into dialogue. It has even been suggested that Botha should have a meeting with leaders of the front-line States. I wish to state categorically that Tanzania for its part will never have any dialogue with the racist régime until it grants independence to Namibia and until it embarks on a genuine and irreversible road towards dismantling apartheid.

The ultimate solution to the situation in southern Africa is the total eradication of apartheid, which is the root cause of the problem. However, we should not be deceived into thinking that apartheid will disappear on its own. South Africa will have to be pressured into abandoning apartheid. In the process many people will suffer. It will be a painful process, but the racist régime has a chance to alleviate the suffering. It could do that by first implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That would be the litmus test of its sincerity. Delaying tactics of postponing the date for implementation of the Namibian independence plan are counterproductive. The price for holding on to Namibia as a buffer zone between racist South Africa and independent Africa is already too high

(Mr. Katoka, United Republic
of Tanzania)

and unsustainable. Self-interest and common sense demand that Namibia be free - now.

South Africa should abolish the fictitious States called bantustans. Even the minority régime must now know that the international community has unequivocally rejected the bantustans, as have the South African people themselves. As part of the confidence building measures and in order to show that it means business, South Africa should stop supporting the UNITA and MNR bandits in Angola and Mozambique respectively.

The international community could put pressure on South Africa by imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. Sanctions do work. In this context we reject the misleading view that sanctions would hurt the black majority. We call upon the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Meanwhile we urge the scrupulous observance of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo. We condemn the merchants of death who violate the arms embargo out of selfish interests of profit-making. We support selective sanctions pending the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. We believe that a ban on the import of South African coal, manufactured products such as textiles, agricultural products and other goods would hurt the racist régime. We ask those who still trade with South Africa to discontinue financing apartheid. It is not good enough to say that one's volume of trade with South Africa has gone down. Total withdrawal is the solution. Free and peace-loving nations should have no business doing business with South Africa.

This annual debate on the question of apartheid should serve as a reminder that, although we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we are still confronted with the challenge of apartheid, which is the worst possible violation of human rights. The apartheid régime continues to

(Mr. Katska, United Republic
of Tanzania)

display contempt for the United Nations by refusing to implement the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Unfortunately the régime continues to enjoy the backing of powerful allies. That is why it can afford to ignore or pretend to ignore the United Nations. If we were all united in our resolve to fight apartheid we would shorten the period of suffering and hasten the defeat of the minority régime, for no one should be deceived: the day of reckoning is near. The writing is on the wall. History will judge us unkindly if we do not stand on the side of justice. We cannot exercise moderation or be less radical in the face of the monster of apartheid. If we do not want to fight apartheid, the least we can do is not stand in the way of those who are ready to sacrifice anything and everything to do away with the last bastion of oppression.

Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): As we debate agenda item 36, on the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa, I want to state from the outset that my delegation is fully committed to the efforts of the international community to persuade the South African régime to abandon its infamous system of apartheid. It appears at times an interminable task to bring that renegade régime to the realization that its retrograde policy of apartheid is irrational and a threat to world peace and security.

The system of apartheid, which has already been condemned as a crime against humanity, must be recognized as one of the most abominable practices known to man. Under this perverse system, which pervades every aspect of life in South Africa, some 25 million non-whites are routinely and systematically denied even the most fundamental of the human freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments on human rights.

Under apartheid, a system whose very essence is inequality, South Africa has succeeded in institutionalizing racial discrimination on a scale unique in history. Not only is the black population formally excluded from participating in the political process, but a formidable arsenal of repressive legislation has been assembled to ensure that its legitimate grievances are not articulated. The hundreds of patriots imprisoned on infamous Robben Island and the many thousands who have been detained or banned are living testimony to the ruthless determination with which this legislative weaponry is deployed. Meanwhile, the spontaneous, though peaceful, protests to which such extreme repression must necessarily give rise have been met repeatedly with the murderous brutality characteristic of the police State.

For those who may underestimate the violence inherent in a system as oppressive as apartheid, the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto remain a grim reminder of the homicidal extremes to which the racist régime in Pretoria will go

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

in its attempts to terrorize the black majority into submission and acquiescence. This has been further underlined by the decision of the South African régime to reintroduce a state of emergency and to ban anti-apartheid organizations and individuals, as well as to enforce the strict application of sanctions against the free flow of information through the domestic and foreign press. For those who cherish the principle of a free press, the action of the South African régime is a grim reminder of the determination of the régime to suppress any attempt to inform the international community of the realities of the situation in South Africa.

The diabolical policies of apartheid, of which this Assembly has been seized since its inaugural session, represent an absolute negation of the

"faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person"

reaffirmed in the Preamble to the Charter.

Of all the acts of systematic oppression and brutality inherent in apartheid and escalated over the past two years to unprecedented levels of savagery against the black population in South Africa, none is more troubling to my delegation than the régime's war against innocent children. In fact, the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights report "The war against children: apartheid's youngest victims", of April 1986, gives details too odious to recount here.

As admitted by the apartheid régime in February 1986, a total of 2,016 children below the age of 16 were then in detention. In 1988, 71 per cent of all blacks arrested for openly demanding their right to the "dignity and worth of the human person" - 13,556 out of 18,966 - were less than 20 years old. In December 1986 the régime announced that 256 children under 16 years of age were in detention, 140 of whom were 15 years old and the rest between 14 and 11. My

(Mr. Salah, Gambia)

delegation is, of course, aware of the fact that these figures provided by the apartheid régime are grossly underestimated.

A report compiled from affidavits, court records, newspaper reports and statements shows that, of the more than 1,400 people who died in political violence, more than 200 were children; that more than 2,000 children were detained under the first emergency; and that several children, including many under the age of 13 years, died in detention. In South Africa, children who are shot and wounded risk detention if they seek medical treatment.

In the homelands - a modern-day euphemism for concentration camps - where the already disenfranchised black population is being stripped of its citizenship and assigned on the basis of ethnic criteria to the barren wastelands, upon which nominal independence is then literally forced, children suffer the most. In the homelands in particular, infant mortality is exceptionally high and malnutrition severe. A high percentage of children in rural areas are suffering from various diseases resulting from malnutrition. Usually, these children end up with cholera, typhoid, polio, blindness, pneumonia, mental weakness or speech defects. The health service is segregated, and its services for blacks are inferior and inadequate. It is noteworthy that since 1968 the régime has prohibited the publication of figures on the malnutrition of blacks.

The personification of South Africa's racist régime is also found in recent events in Pretoria, such as the wanton murder of six unarmed blacks by an ex-policeman allegedly belonging to the neo-Nazi Afrikaner resistance movement. The entire world press has taken note of and reported as extensively as possible the influence of this fascist group on South Africa's policy of apartheid, despite press censorship by the apartheid régime. In spite of the seriousness of the crime, the perpetrator is only to be confined to a mental hospital, eventually to be released to commit an even more ghastly crime.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

In contradiction of some judicial practices that abound in the civilized world, South Africa has convicted Popo Mofe, Terror Lehota and Moses Chihane of terrorism after a three-and-a-half-year trial and detention without bail for 40 months. All three men constituted the senior leadership of the United Democratic Front, a multiracial coalition striving for justice, freedom and self-determination. It is probable that, unlike the neo-Nazi, these men will be sentenced to death should the international community not raise a collective outcry against this judicial perversion.

My delegation welcomed the commutation of the death sentence on the Sharpeville Six, but it is convinced that the commutation of their death sentence was a direct result of a premeditated and shameful device to save the lives of some whites convicted of murder without attracting international outcry. This action by the apartheid régime only goes to prove once again that as far as the racist régime is concerned the life of a black person is worth less than that of a white person.

In order to placate the international community, the Botha régime has also announced that Nelson Mandela will not return to prison once his recovery from tuberculosis is complete. As far as my delegation is concerned, house arrest under apartheid is no different from prison, and we shall therefore not be satisfied until Mandela is unconditionally freed.

In apartheid South Africa even churches and religious organizations are not immune to systematic violence. Right-wing extremists and security forces, encouraged by the régime, often take part in community crimes. A graphic illustration of these violent actions was seen in the bombings of Khatso and Kanya Houses, the main mission of which is to preach the gospel and demand that the régime "undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free".

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

Apartheid and its concomitant manifestations constitute crimes of the first order against humanity and justice and therefore must be obliterated. Acquiescence in its continuance and tolerance of its indignities places a plight on the international community, which purports to bring justice against it. To permit the continuance of apartheid is to make a farce of all resolutions adopted against it and shows a total disregard of and complete irrelevance for the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and more especially General Assembly resolutions 2106 A (XX), 3057 (XXVIII) and 3068 (XXVIII), relating to actions to be taken to combat racism.

If my delegation appears at times depressed and disheartened before this Assembly when we debate the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, it has rightful cause. The incidents cited above are evidence of the continued intransigence of South Africa in refusing to comply with the most basic human rights of its people and the jurisprudence of the civilized world. The issue of apartheid has been before the Assembly for decades. Many resolutions remain in force, but at times seem unenforceable. We may recall that the General Assembly, by its resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of November 1973, adopted and opened for signature and ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and appealed to all States to sign and ratify it as soon as possible. As of 31 July 1988, 87 States had acceded to, signed or ratified the document. Far too many States have yet to comply. In the ensuing years South Africa has not sought to remedy the crime of apartheid. Rather, Pretoria has passed more repressive legislation, banned legitimate protests, interfered with the decent ritual of burial of apartheid's victims, mostly children, and engaged in sophistries such as puppet elections and linkage negotiations - all in a desperate hope that the contumely heaped upon Pretoria will diminish with the passage of time and as the economic needs of the more industrialized nations become more pressing.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

My delegation, despite the grinding pace of the process, the disappointment and cost in human lives of black South Africans and those of the neighbouring front-line States, remains hopeful that a peaceful dissolution of the apartheid régime will come about through the imposition of mandatory sanctions. Given the now awesome military and nuclear capabilities South Africa has attained through its supporters, the alternative beggars description in its possible human costs, not just to blacks but to committed, compassionate whites and other people of colour. It is the view of my delegation that the most effective means of dismantling apartheid is to impose mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, which no doubt will compel the racist régime to enter into negotiations with the authentic representatives of the oppressed majority. My delegation notes with satisfaction the continued positive developments in this regard. It is most fervently hoped that South Africa's bid to ease nuclear sanctions by secretive bargaining to gain concessions in the signing of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) would be dismissed out of hand by the three NPT depositary Powers, given the ongoing duplicity of the Pretoria régime in other international treaty matters.

The specious argument that economic sanctions hurt black South Africans cannot be bruited about again by the industrialized States, for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), the South African Council of Churches, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), as well as the recently convicted and imprisoned leaders of the United Democratic Front, are on record in support of sanctions. It is indicative that the African National Congress of South Africa supported sanctions against South Africa as early as 1959, as a method to topple apartheid. My delegation is proud to place on record its admiration for the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid in his

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

efforts to bring all States into the community of conscience by acceding to sanctions.

To those who have paid the ultimate sacrifice, they are always in our hearts. It is especially in their name that a speedy and just resolution of the problems of apartheid and the complete eradication of the evil system must be accomplished.

Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): The year 1988 marks the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which we will be solemnly commemorating in a few days. This historical event has profoundly affected the evolution of all mankind in the course of these recent years inasmuch as it has not only allowed us to become keenly aware of human rights but also contributed to having these rights respected increasingly throughout the world. This evolution, which all countries welcome, seems, unfortunately, to escape the leaders of South Africa whose acts and policies run counter to history.

Indeed, that country remains the only one in the world where respect for human rights has not progressed even one iota since the historic proclamation on 10 December 1948. Quite to the contrary, their leaders through their inhuman apartheid policy, continue to draw up ever more iniquitous and perfidious measures to oppose the legitimate aspiration of their people to freedom and the full enjoyment of their inalienable rights. In spite of appeals by the international community, and especially the United Nations, they remain deaf and persist in their blindness, turning themselves into real pariahs in the community of nations.

Apartheid has thus become a permanent concern of the international community since its inclusion, in 1952, on the agenda of our Assembly. Based on the persistent denial of the most basic human rights, it is supported by a machinery of repression, oppression and aggression, whose devastating effects extend well beyond South Africa's borders to southern Africa as a whole, where it seriously undermines

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

peace and harmonious development. So it is just that the Final Declaration of the 1981 Paris International Conference on economic sanctions against South Africa declared the apartheid régime as constituting

"no longer a threat but a blatant attack against international peace and security".

The repeated incursions of South African troops into front-line countries, the economic blackmail imposed on several States in the region, the illegal continuous occupation of Namibia, the imposition of a permanent state of emergency in South Africa for almost four years, the strict censorship of the press and media and summary executions of anti-apartheid militants are clear evidence that as long as apartheid persists in the region there will be no peace. In fact, it is the source of evil in the region as a whole.

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

Recent developments in South Africa have been marked by a notable increase in internal suppression, as in the repressive measures of 24 February last, and aggression in the region. In the face of of this situation, the resolute resistance of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) has continued to grow. Tribute should be paid to the sacrifices of the brave African fighters, and we should salute the memory of all the martyrs who have fallen on the field of honour. My country, which has always been in solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, will spare no effort to ensure the triumph of its just cause. Because we are faithful to that solidarity, we had the honour to host this year in our capital, from 16 to 18 June 1988, the second preparatory meeting for the Trial of Apartheid, which was presided over by the Head of State.

Events in South Africa in recent years have led the international community to recognize that comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions are the only possible alternative to total civil war in the country and a general military conflagration throughout the region. For this reason we appeal to the Security Council, and especially to its permanent members, finally, and in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter, to decree mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. While appreciating the voluntary embargoes on certain products imposed by certain countries, and some more general measures on the part of some Nordic countries and Canada, we continue to believe that as long as the Security Council does not impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime, that régime will continue to find ways and means of bypassing those sanctions.

In recent days we have seen the results international opinion can bring about once it is resolved to make the lords of apartheid listen to reason. Because of multiple pressures, the world has been able to save the lives of the Sharpeville

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

Six. However, that victory does not allow us to bask in illusions. Apartheid remains what it was, since its two main pillars, the Group Areas Act - residential segregation - and classification by colour still remain in place. The municipal elections organized on 26 October last, which the Assembly rejected in its resolution 43/13, testify to the refusal of the South African leaders to envisage a society other than a racial one. Finally, South Africa is still keeping up its sinister record of death sentences: the very day that the Sharpeville Six were saved from execution, five others suffered that tragic end, bringing the total number this year to 115.

In conclusion we wish to repeat once again the active solidarity of Mauritania with the struggle of the people of South Africa and all the peoples of the region suffering repeated attacks by the racist troops of Pretoria. We reaffirm our support for the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization in their heroic and just struggle against apartheid and colonialism. We hail with admiration the fight of Nelson Mandela and the other imprisoned patriots, and we demand their immediate and unconditional release.

We remain convinced that only the complete and total dismantling of apartheid and a dialogue with the real representatives of the South African people, especially the ANC, can establish a new era of freedom and democracy in South Africa.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): It is indispensable at certain stages in the work of the United Nations to eradicate racial discrimination to pause and turn to the crux of the question, to the very raison d'être of the resolutions which we approve, the mandates we grant and the measures we adopt, in other words to the moral and social essence of international action against racism.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

To oppose racism is not only a political imperative, neither is it only an option for peace. Essentially it is an ethical matter, a moral imperative which has to do with the material and spiritual ability of our Governments and peoples to affirm universal respect for democratic principles whereby all human beings are born free and with equal dignity and rights.

The dilemma is clear: either we struggle against racial discrimination and apartheid, or we protect and harbour them. That is not Manichean logic. It is an ethical option and as such allows of no intermediate positions.

Since 1952, when the question of apartheid was first included on the agenda of the General Assembly, more than a quarter of a century has passed, during which the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination has marked important achievements such as the establishment of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the approval of the arms embargo against South Africa, the resolutions on the oil embargo, the International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and in particular the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Thus the universal conscience has been forged; an unprecedented international legal order has been created; and sanctions, though insufficient, have been adopted. The racist régime of South Africa has, in relative terms, been isolated. The discrimination that existed in the colonial world has been eliminated, as has, in recent years, even the institutional racism that existed in certain industrialized societies.

All of this has been the fundamental work of the anti-colonial movement, of struggles for national independence, of the struggle of peoples against racial oppression. The United Nations has supported those struggles and correctly interpreted their historic role.

(Mr. Alzamor, Peru)

In this context, it is necessary at the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its creation to mention the ever-increasingly effective and successful work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, presided over by Ambassador Joseph Garba with such distinction. The new method of holding smaller meetings concentrated on informing and orienting public opinion, such as those held in Peru attended by journalists from Latin America and the Caribbean, is an effective method of motivation and mobilization that has important political repercussions on the world's struggle against apartheid.

South Africa's efforts to undermine meetings of that kind, one of which was attempted in Lima without success, demonstrate their effectiveness and their value.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

In that process we must all shoulder our responsibilities as States that belong to an international community governed by principles and standards of international law that are incompatible with the apartheid régime. We have a moral obligation, but also a legal obligation - that is the crucial point - to continue our efforts to eradicate apartheid. This involves, in extremis ratio, the contrary legal obligation, namely, not to protect the racist régime of South Africa directly or indirectly.

In this sense, the growing financial and commercial co-operation of certain States with South Africa - to refer only to the economic aspect - undermines the efforts of the international community to eliminate apartheid and helps to support it. That economic collaboration goes hand in hand with resistance to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, thus prolonging the life of apartheid and delaying a negotiated political solution to the South African problem.

We cannot, even indirectly, protect apartheid, because in practising it the South African Government has put itself outside international law. It is even using within the country its own legal order to violate human rights and the rights of peoples. This is the only case in contemporary history in which the systematic violation of human rights is carried out not by violating but by applying internal laws.

Despite this, and as a great lesson of a collective struggle for human rights in the various periods of South Africa's history which form the past, present and future of apartheid, the South African people are suffering and struggling, and their greatness lies precisely in their moral ability to struggle more, the more they suffer.

The South African Government, at the same time as it practises its repressive policies, is attempting a series of reforms, which in recent months have involved the electoral field. But apartheid is not a negotiable matter. There cannot be

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

more apartheid or less apartheid. Apartheid cannot reform, nor can it be reformed. Apartheid must be destroyed, eliminated, wiped out. Therefore it is imperative that the favourable winds of a new détente which today gives rise to well-founded expectations of peace and reconciliation should lead as soon as possible to a firm decision by the international community to fulfil its commitments and adopt the measures necessary for the elimination of apartheid.

The agreement reached in the quadripartite negotiations to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia must be respected and given full effect. In addition to enabling the people of Namibia to achieve self-determination, it is a huge step forward, but it will acquire a historic dimension only when apartheid is abolished and the light of a non-racist South Africa illuminates a future of lasting peace in southern Africa.

With a free Namibia we shall have healed only one wound. The other is the continuing régime of apartheid, and while this remains lacerated and continues to bleed peace will not be lasting, either in southern Africa or in the world conscience.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a tribute to Nelson Mandela and the other South African prisoners, recalling here his words when he was sentenced to imprisonment 25 years ago:

"History teaches us that punishment does not discourage men when their conscience is at stake, and my people and the comrades with whom I have worked will not be discouraged. I am prepared to pay the price even though I know the difficult situation of Africans in prison. My horror at the appalling conditions of the inhabitants of this country who live in an imaginary freedom is infinitely stronger than my fear of the appalling conditions of prisoners. I think I have done my duty to my people and to South Africa."

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

Therefore the commitment that brings us to this rostrum is not a ritual; it is an act of faith and of support for the cause of the South African nation. To the African peoples and to all men and women on earth we reaffirm once more our fullest brotherly and militant solidarity.

Mr. HUERTA MONTALVO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): I regret that I must refer to the subject of Namibia as a typical case of sterile unanimity. I believe that since, after more than 40 years, the General Assembly is still discussing the subject of South African discrimination against the non-white population - that is, the people who inhabited that Territory even before the present racists were there - we are faced with another case of sterile unanimity.

With regard to apartheid, not only do we hear the fundamentally African outcry heard about Namibia, but condemnation comes from all corners of the world. Despite that, the valuable and excellent report submitted by Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, teaches us how little progress has been made and how we have regressed with regard to concerted world efforts against racial discrimination. But I am not here to copy Jeremiah, the prophet of lamentations. Why should I? Forty years of complaining has achieved nothing. Practical reasons deafen those who do not wish to hear.

From Joseph Garba's report and draft resolution A/43/L.30, there emerges a complete plan of action which could allow us to go from words to deeds and which my country welcomes, knowing that in no way does it violate the principle of non-intervention. On the contrary, in relation to the defence of human rights, joint action is an international obligation with which all States must comply.

Thus, Ecuador supports the necessary lifting of the state of emergency; the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Jeff Masemola, child detainees and other political prisoners; the establishment of freedom of

(Mr. Huerta Montalvo, Ecuador)

association and freedom of the press; the safe return of political exiles; and the cessation of the threat or use of force, in South African territory and in the neighbouring States.

Ecuador also supports the plea to Member States to comply with the arms embargo against South Africa and not to violate resolutions with regard to military co-operation and other measures against the racist régime. Therefore it agrees with the initiative suggesting that the Security Council adopt measures to strengthen the mandatory arms embargo. Obviously, strict monitoring and suitable sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter are imperative if we are to go beyond the merely rhetorical.

Ecuador sincerely commends the countries and institutions which, on the subject of apartheid, have made clear declarations against the Pretoria régime.

However, since my country supports draft resolution A/43/L.34, I wish to call attention to the fact that the United Nations continues to insist, without updating them, on draft resolutions that could be defined as anachronistic or historic but which continue to be part of the item because some time ago it was decided that they should be included.

(Mr. Huerta Montalvo, Ecuador)

I hold this view because it is obvious that, while Israel has in certain areas limited the scope of its relations with South Africa, other countries have ostensibly increased theirs, although no mention has been made of it.

In any event, a review of events in connection with the supplying of oil to South Africa, the variety and extent of Pretoria's relations in the purchasing and selling of arms, or the granting of credit and the transferring of technology is sufficient to demonstrate the inconsistencies in this matter.

Hence, there should in future be appropriate co-ordination of the many resolutions to be adopted here on item 36. It should be based on a careful and realistic evaluation of the progress already achieved. This obviously requires a more vigorous Special Committee against Apartheid if we are to remove the item from the agenda before the year 2000.

A life as useful to mankind as that of Nelson Mandela, who has endured so many sacrifices so dictates, and, of course, unanimity must cease being sterile.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.